

Edward Crawen Hawtrey



Edward Crawen Hawtrey



Edward Crawen Hawtrey

9504. f. 14.

THE

HISTORY

OF

ENGLAND,

FROM

The INVASION of JULIUS CÆSAR

TO

The REVOLUTION in 1688.

IN EIGHT VOLUMES.

By DAVID HUME, Esq;

VOL. VIII.

A NEW EDITION, Corrected.

LONDON:
Printed for A. MILLAR, in the Strand.
MDCCLXIII.

CONTENTS

OF THE

EIGHTH VOLUME.

CHAP. LXVI.

Prerogatives [illegible] of the [illegible]—Remonstrances of Sir Wil-
liam Temple—Campaign of 1674—A Parliament—Pacific
obedience—A Parliament—Campaign of 1675—Congress of
Nimeguen—Campaign of 1676—Uncertain conduct of the
King—A Parliament—Campaign of 1677—Parliament's
difgrace of the King—[illegible] the Prince of Orange
with the Lady Mary—[illegible]—Negotiations——
Campaign of 1678—Negotiations—Peace of Nimeguen—
State of affairs in Scotland. Page 1

CHAP. LXVII.

The popish plot—Oates's narrative—and character—Coleman's
letters—Godfrey's murder—General consternation——The
Parliament—Zeal of the Parliament—Bedloe's narrative—
Accusation of Danby—His impeachment—Dissolution of the
long Parliament—Its character—Trial of Coleman——Of
Ireland——New elections—Duke of Monmouth—Duke of
York retires to Brussels—New Parliament—Danby's im-
peachment—Popish plot—New council——Limitations on a
popish successor—Bill of exclusion—Habeas corpus bill——
Prorogation and dissolution of the Parliament——Trial and
execution of the five jesuits—Trial of Langhorne——Fanati-
cism acquitted—State of affairs in Scotland—Battle of Both-
well-bridge. 61

CHAP. LXVIII.

State of parties—State of the ministry—Meeting of Parliament—Whig
and Tory—A new Parliament—Violence of the Commons—
Exclusion-bill—Arguments for and against the Exclusion—
Exclusion-bill rejected—Trial of Stafford—His execution—
Violence of the Commons—Dissolution of the Parliament—
New Parliament at Oxford—Fitzharris's cafe—Parliament
dissolved—Victory of the Royalists 115

CONTENTS

OF THE

EIGHTH VOLUME.

CHAP. LXVI.

Prepoſterous ſchemes of the cabal—Remonſtrances of Sir William Temple—Campaign of 1674*—A Parliament—Paſſive obedience—A Parliament—Campaign of* 1675*—Congreſs of Nimeguen—Campaign of* 1676*—Uncertain conduct of the King—A Parliament—Campaign of* 1677*—Parliament's diſtruſt of the King—Marriage of the Prince of Orange with the Lady Mary—Plan of peace——Negotiations——Campaign of* 1678*—Negotiations—Peace of Nimeguen—State of affairs in Scotland* Page 1

CHAP. LXVII.

The popiſh plot—Oates's narrative—and character—Coleman's letters—Godfrey's murder—General conſternation——The Parliament—Zeal of the Parliament—Bedloe's narrative—Accuſation of Danby—His impeachment—Diſſolution of the long Parliament—Its character—Trial of Coleman——Of Ireland——New elections—Duke of Monmouth—Duke of York retires to Bruſſels—New Parliament—Danby's impeachment—Popiſh plot—New council——Limitations on a popiſh ſucceſſor—Bill of excluſion—Habeas corpus bill——Prorogation and diſſolution of the Parliament——Trial and execution of the five jeſuits—And of Langhorne——Wakeman acquitted—State of affairs in Scotland—Battle of Bothwel-bridge 61

CHAP. LXVIII.

State of parties—State of the miniſtry—Mealtub plot—Whig and Tory—A new Parliament—Violence of the Commons—Excluſion-bill—Arguments for and againſt the Excluſion—Excluſion-bill rejected—Trial of Stafford—His execution—Violence of the Commons—Diſſolution of the Parliament—New Parliament at Oxford—Fitzharris's caſe—Parliament diſſolved—Victory of the Royaliſts 115

CONTENTS

OF THE

EIGHTH VOLUME.

CHAP. LXVI.

Prerogatives [illegible] of the realm—Remonstrances of Sir William Temple—Campaign of 1674—A Parliament—Pacific obedience—A Parliament—Campaign of 1675—Congress of Nimeguen—Campaign of 1676—Uncertain conduct of the King—A Parliament—Campaign of 1677—Parliament's dispraise of the King—[illegible] the Prince of Orange—with the Lady Mary—[illegible]—Negotiations—Campaign of 1678—[illegible] Peace of Nimeguen—State of affairs in Scotland—[illegible] Page 1

CHAP. LXVII.

The popish plot—Oates's narrative—and character—Coleman's letters—Godfrey's murder—General consternation——The Parliament—Zeal of the Parliament—Bedloe's narrative—Accusation of Danby—His impeachment—Dissolution of the long Parliament—Its character—Trial of Coleman——Of Ireland——New elections—Duke of Monmouth—Duke of York retires to Brussels—New Parliament—Danby's impeachment—Popish plot—New council——Limitations on a popish successor—Bill of exclusion—Habeas corpus bill——Prorogation and dissolution of the Parliament——Trial and execution of the five jesuits—And of Langhorne——Fifth-monarchy conspirators—State of affairs in Scotland—Battle of Bothwel-bridge 61

CHAP. LXVIII.

State of parties—State of the ministry—Meadows's plot—Whig and Tory—A new Parliament—Violence of the Commons—Exclusion-bill—Arguments for and against the Exclusion-bill—Exclusion-bill rejected—Trial of Stafford—His execution—Violence of the Commons—Dissolution of the Parliament—New Parliament at Oxford—Fitzharris's cale—Parliament dissolved—History of the Royalists 115

CONTENTS

OF THE

EIGHTH VOLUME.

CHAP. LXVI.

Prepoſterous ſchemes of the cabal—Remonſtrances of Sir William Temple—Campaign of 1674—*A Parliament—Paſſive obedience—A Parliament—Campaign of* 1675—*Congreſs of Nimeguen—Campaign of* 1676—*Uncertain conduct of the King—A Parliament—Campaign of* 1677—*Parliament's diſtruſt of the King—Marriage of the Prince of Orange with the Lady Mary—Plan of peace——Negotiations——Campaign of* 1678—*Negotiations—Peace of Nimeguen—State of affairs in Scotland* Page 1

CHAP. LXVII.

The popiſh plot—Oates's narrative—and character—Coleman's letters—Godfrey's murder—General conſternation——The Parliament—Zeal of the Parliament—Bedloe's narrative—Accuſation of Danby—His impeachment—Diſſolution of the long Parliament—Its character—Trial of Coleman——Of Ireland——New elections—Duke of Monmouth—Duke of York retires to Bruſſels—New Parliament—Danby's impeachment—Popiſh plot—New council——Limitations on a popiſh ſucceſſor—Bill of excluſion—Habeas corpus bill——Prorogation and diſſolution of the Parliament——Trial and execution of the five jeſuits—And of Langhorne——Wakeman acquitted—State of affairs in Scotland—Battle of Bothwel-bridge 61

CHAP. LXVIII.

State of parties—State of the miniſtry—Mealtub plot—Whig and Tory—A new Parliament—Violence of the Commons—Excluſion-bill—Arguments for and againſt the Excluſion—Excluſion-bill rejected—Trial of Stafford—His execution—Violence of the Commons—Diſſolution of the Parliament—New Parliament at Oxford—Fitzharris's caſe—Parliament diſſolved—Victory of the Royaliſts 115

CONTENTS.

CHAP. LXIX.

State of affairs in Ireland——Shaftesbury acquitted—Argyle's trial—State of affairs in Scotland—State of the ministry in England—New nomination of sheriffs—Quo warrantos—Great power of the crown—A conspiracy—Shaftesbury retires and dies—Rye house plot—Conspiracy discovered—Execution of the conspirators—Trial of lord Russel—His execution—Trial of Algernon Sidney—His execution—State of the nation—State of foreign affairs—King's sickness and death—and character 157

JAMES II.

CHAP. LXX.

King's first transactions—A Parliament—Arguments for and against a revenue for life—Oates convicted of perjury——Monmouth's invasion—His defeat—and execution—Cruelties of Kirke—and of Jefferies—State of affairs in Scotland—Argyle's invasion—defeat—and execution—A Parliament—French persecutions—The dispensing power—State of Ireland—Breach betwixt the King and the church——Court of ecclesiastical commission—Sentence against the bishop of London—Suspension of the penal laws—State of Ireland—Embassy to Rome—Attempt upon Magdalen College——Imprisonment—trial—and acquittal of the bishops—Birth of the Prince of Wales 208

CHAP. LXXI.

Conduct of the Prince of Orange—He forms a league against France—refuses to concur with the King—Resolves to oppose the King—is applied to by the English—Coalition of parties—Prince's preparations—Offers of France to the King—rejected—Supposed league with France—General discontents—The King retracts his measures——Prince's declaration——The Prince lands in England—General commotion—Desertion of the army—and of Prince George—and of the Princess Anne—King's consternation—and flight—General confusion—King seized at Feversham—Second evasion—King's character—Convention summoned—Settlement of Scotland—English convention meets—Views of the Parties—Free conference betwixt the houses—Commons prevail—Settlement of the crown—Manners and sciences 266

THE HISTORY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

CHAP. LXVI.

Prepoſterous ſchemes of the cabal.——Remonſtrances of Sir William Temple.——Campaign of 1674.——A Parliament.——Paſſive obedience.——A Parliament.——Campaign of 1675.——Congreſs of Nimeguen.——Campaign of 1676.——Uncertain conduct of the King.——A Parliament.——Campaign of 1677.——Parliament's diſtruſt of the King.——Marriage of the Prince of Orange with the Lady Mary.——Plan of peace.——Negotiations.——Campaign of 1678.——Negotiations.——Peace of Nimeguen.——State of affairs in Scotland.

CHAP. LXVI.

1674. Prepoſterous ſchemes of the Cabal.

IF we conſider the projects of the famous Cabal, it will be hard to determine, whether the end, which they propoſed, was more blameable and pernicious, or the means by which they were to effect it, more impolitic and imprudent. Though they might talk only of recovering or fixing the king's authority; their intention could be no other than that of making him abſolute: ſince it was not poſſible to regain or maintain, in oppoſition to the

CHAP. LXVI.

1674.

people, any of those powers of the crown, abolished by late law or custom, without subduing the people, and rendering the royal prerogative intirely uncontroulable. Against such a scheme, they might foresee, that every party of the nation would declare themselves, not only the old parliamentary party, which, though they kept not in a body, were still very numerous; but even the greatest Royalists, who were indeed attached to Monarchy, but desired to see it limited and restrained by law. It had appeared, that the present Parliament, though elected during the greatest prevalence of the royal party, were yet very tenacious of popular privileges, and retained a considerable jealousy of the Crown, even before they had received any just ground of suspicion. The guards, therefore, together with a small army, new levied, and undisciplined, and composed too of Englishmen, were almost the only domestic resources, which the King could depend on in the prosecution of these dangerous councils.

THE assistance of France was, no doubt, esteemed by the Cabal a considerable support in the schemes which they were forming: but it is not easily conceived, that they could imagine themselves capable of directing and employing an associate of so domineering a character. They ought justly to have suspected, that it would be Lewis's sole intention, as it evidently was his interest, to raise incurable jealousies between the King and his people; and that he saw how much a steddy uniform government in this island, whether free or absolute, would form invincible barriers to his ambition. Should his assistance be demanded; if he sent a small supply, it would serve only to enrage the people, and render the breach altogether irreparable; if he furnished a great force, sufficient to subdue the nation, there was little reason to trust his generosity, with regard to the use, which he would make of this advantage.

CHAP. LXVI. 1674.

In all its other parts, the plans of the Cabal, it must be confessed, appear equally absurd and incongruous. If the war with Holland was attended with great success, and involved the subjection of the republic; such an accession of force must fall to Lewis, not to Charles: And what hopes afterwards of resisting by the greatest unanimity so mighty a monarch? How dangerous, or rather how ruinous to depend upon his assistance against domestic discontents? If the Dutch, by their own vigour, and the assistance of allies, were able to defend themselves, and could bring the war to an equality; the French arms would be so employed abroad, that no considerable reinforcement could thence be expected to second the King's enterprizes in England. And might not the project of over-awing or subduing the people be esteemed, of itself, sufficiently odious, without the aggravation of sacrificing that State, which they regarded as their best ally, and with which, on many accounts, they were desirous of maintaining the greatest concord and strictest confederacy?

Whatever views likewise might be entertained of promoting by these measures the catholic religion; they could tend only to render all the other schemes abortive, and make them fall with inevitable ruin upon the projectors. The catholic religion, indeed, where it is established, is more proper than the protestant for supporting an absolute Monarchy; but would any man have thought of it as the means of acquiring arbitrary authority in England, where it was more detested than even slavery itself?

It must be allowed, that the difficulties, and even inconsistencies, attending the schemes of the Cabal, are so numerous and obvious, that one feels at first an inclination to deny the reality of those schemes, and to suppose them entirely the chimeras of calumny and faction. But the utter impossibility of accounting by any other

CHAP. LXVI.

1674.

people, any of those powers of the crown, abolished by late law or custom, without subduing the people, and rendering the royal prerogative intirely uncontroulable. Against such a scheme, they might foresee, that every party of the nation would declare themselves, not only the old parliamentary party, which, though they kept not in a body, were still very numerous; but even the greatest Royalists, who were indeed attached to Monarchy, but desired to see it limited and restrained by law. It had appeared, that the present Parliament, though elected during the greatest prevalence of the royal party, were yet very tenacious of popular privileges, and retained a considerable jealousy of the Crown, even before they had received any just ground of suspicion. The guards, therefore, together with a small army, new levied, and undisciplined, and composed too of Englishmen, were almost the only domestic resources, which the King could depend on in the prosecution of these dangerous councils.

THE assistance of France was, no doubt, esteemed by the Cabal a considerable support in the schemes which they were forming: but it is not easily conceived, that they could imagine themselves capable of directing and employing an associate of so domineering a character. They ought justly to have suspected, that it would be Lewis's sole intention, as it evidently was his interest, to raise incurable jealousies between the King and his people; and that he saw how much a steddy uniform government in this island, whether free or absolute, would form invincible barriers to his ambition. Should his assistance be demanded; if he sent a small supply, it would serve only to enrage the people, and render the breach altogether irreparable; if he furnished a great force, sufficient to subdue the nation, there was little reason to trust his generosity, with regard to the use, which he would make of this advantage.

CHAP. LXVI. 1674.

In all its other parts, the plans of the Cabal, it muſt be confeſſed, appear equally abſurd and incongruous. If the war with Holland was attended with great ſucceſs, and involved the ſubjection of the republic; ſuch an acceſſion of force muſt fall to Lewis, not to Charles: And what hopes afterwards of reſiſting by the greateſt unanimity ſo mighty a monarch? How dangerous, or rather how ruinous to depend upon his aſſiſtance againſt domeſtic diſcontents? If the Dutch, by their own vigour, and the aſſiſtance of allies, were able to defend themſelves, and could bring the war to an equality; the French arms would be ſo employed abroad, that no conſiderable reinforcement could thence be expected to ſecond the King's enterprizes in England. And might not the project of over-awing or ſubduing the people be eſteemed, of itſelf, ſufficiently odious, without the aggravation of ſacrificing that State, which they regarded as their beſt ally, and with which, on many accounts, they were deſirous of maintaining the greateſt concord and ſtricteſt confederacy?

Whatever views likewiſe might be entertained of promoting by theſe meaſures the catholic religion; they could tend only to render all the other ſchemes abortive, and make them fall with inevitable ruin upon the projectors. The catholic religion, indeed, where it is eſtabliſhed, is more proper than the proteſtant for ſupporting an abſolute Monarchy; but would any man have thought of it as the means of acquiring arbitrary authority in England, where it was more deteſted than even ſlavery itſelf?

It muſt be allowed, that the difficulties, and even inconſiſtencies, attending the ſchemes of the Cabal, are ſo numerous and obvious, that one feels at firſt an inclination to deny the reality of thoſe ſchemes, and to ſuppoſe them entirely the chimeras of calumny and faction. But the utter impoſſibility of accounting by any other

CHAP. LXVI.

1674.

hypotheſis for thoſe ſtrange meaſures embraced by the court, as well as for the numerous circumſtances, which accompanied them, obliges us to acknowledge (though there remains no direct evidence of it[a]) that a formal plan was laid for ſubverting the conſtitution, and that the King and the Miniſtry were in reality conſpirators againſt the people. What is moſt probable in human affairs is not always true; and a very minute circumſtance, overlooked in our ſpeculations, ſerves often to explain events, which may ſeem the moſt ſurprizing and unaccountable. Though the King poſſeſſed penetration and a ſound judgment, his capacity was chiefly fitted for ſmaller matters[b], and the ordinary occurrences of life; nor had he application enough to carry his view to diſtant conſequences, or to digeſt and adjuſt any plan of political operations.

[a] No treaty to this purpoſe with France ever appeared; and indeed, it is probable for the reaſons mentioned above, that no ſuch treaty was ever formally entered into: The King thought it ſufficient, that he joined his intereſt with that of the French Monarch, and he believed that this circumſtance alone would enable him to depend on that Prince's aſſiſtance in caſe of neceſſity. The abbot Primi indeed publiſhed at Paris the terms of a treaty to this purpoſe: But there are ſo many difficulties attending his narration, that it can have little weight with us: He ſpoke only by conjecture, or if he was ſupplied by the French Miniſters with materials, it was ſo much the intereſt of that court to embroil the King with his ſubjects, that their account is very much to be ſuſpected. He ſays too, that it was expreſly agreed to divide the United Provinces, to give the inland Provinces to Lewis, Zealand to Charles, Holland to the Prince of Orange. But this is very improbable on many accounts, particularly becauſe there is no appearance of ſuch a ſcheme in the French propoſals at Utrecht. We ſee plainly by them, that there was no concerted plan betwixt the two Kings, and that they governed themſelves entirely by events. Father Orleans, who, it is ſaid, wrote from materials given him by K. James, is the moſt authentic teſtimony of the arbitrary deſigns of the court; and there is no doubt of the truth of his narration in this particular. But his hiſtory in other reſpects is ſo falſe and ſuperficial, that were it not ſupported by other arguments, it would in this narration have ſmall weight with us. But after all, the diſcourſe of Sir William Temple to the King after mentioned, which that Monarch does not oppoſe, is, next to the evidence of facts, the beſt proof of the King's intentions.

[b] Duke of Buckingham's character of K. Charles II.

As

CHAP. LXVI. 1674.

As he ſcarce ever thought twice on any one ſubject, every appearance of advantage was apt to ſeduce him; and when he found his way obſtructed by unlooked-for difficulties, he readily turned aſide into the firſt path, where he expected more to gratify the natural indolence of his diſpoſition. To this verſatility or pliancy of genius, he himſelf was inclined to truſt; and he thought, that, after trying an experiment for enlarging his authority, he could eaſily, if it failed, return into the ordinary channel of government. But the ſuſpicions of the people, though they burſt not forth at once, were by this attempt rendered altogether incurable; and the more they reflected on the circumſtances, attending it, the more reſentment and jealouſy were they apt to entertain. They obſerved, that the King never had any favourite; that he was never governed by his miniſters, ſcarce even by his miſtreſſes; and that he himſelf was the chief ſpring of all public councils. Whatever appearance, therefore, of a change might be pretended, they ſtill ſuſpected, that the ſame project was ſecretly in agitation; and they deemed no precaution too great to ſecure them againſt the pernicious conſequences of ſuch councils.

The King ſenſible of this jealouſy, was inclined thenceforth not to truſt altogether to his people; and though obliged to make a ſeparate peace, he ſtill kept up connexions with the French monarch. He apologized for deſerting his ally, by repreſenting to him all the real undiſſembled difficulties, under which he laboured; and Lewis, with the greateſt complaiſance and good humour, admitted the validity of his excuſes. The Duke likewiſe, conſcious that his principles and conduct had rendered him ſtill more obnoxious to the people, maintained on his own account a ſeparate correſpondence with the French court, and entered into particular connexions with Lewis, which theſe princes dignified with the name of friendſhip. The Duke had only in view the ſecuring

CHAP. LXVI.

1674.

his ſucceſſion, and favouring the Catholics; and it muſt be acknowledged to his praiſe, that, though his ſchemes were dangerous to the people, they gave the King no juſt ground of jealouſy. A dutiful ſubject, and an affectionate brother, he knew no other rule of conduct but obedience; and the ſame unlimited ſubmiſſion, which afterwards, when King, he exacted of his people, he was ever willing, before he aſcended the throne, to pay to his Sovereign.

As the King was at peace with all the world, and almoſt the only Prince in Europe who was placed in that agreeable ſituation, he thought proper to offer his mediation to the contending powers, in order to compoſe all their differences. France, willing to negotiate under ſo favourable a mediator, very readily accepted Charles's offer; but, it was apprehended, that, for a like reaſon, the allies would be inclined to refuſe it. In order to give a ſanction to his new councils, the King invited Temple from his retreat, and appointed him ambaſſador to the States. That wiſe miniſter, reflecting on the unhappy iſſue of his former undertakings, and the fatal turn of councils, which had occaſioned it, reſolved, before he embarked anew, to acquaint himſelf, as far as poſſible, with the real intentions of the King, in thoſe popular meaſures, which he ſeemed again to have adopted. After blaming the dangerous ſchemes of the Cabal, which the King was deſirous to excuſe, he told his Majeſty very plainly, that he would find it extremely difficult, if not abſolutely impoſſible, to erect in England the ſame ſyſtem of government and religion, which was eſtabliſhed in France: That the univerſal bent of the nation was againſt both; and it required ages to change the genius and ſentiments of a people: That many, who were at bottom indifferent in matters of religion, would yet oppoſe all alterations on that head; becauſe they conſidered, that nothing but force of arms could ſubdue the

Remonſtrances of Sir W. Temple.

reluctance

reluctance of the people againſt popery; after which, they knew, there could be no ſecurity for civil liberty: That in France every circumſtance had long been adjuſted to that ſyſtem of government, and tended to its eſtabliſhment and ſupport: That the commonalty, being poor and diſpirited, were of no account; the nobility, engaged by the proſpect or poſſeſſion of numerous offices, civil and military, were entirely attached to the court; the eccleſiaſtics, retained by like motives, added the ſanction of religion to the principles of civil policy: That in England a great part of the landed property belonged to the yeomanry or middling gentry; the King had few offices to beſtow; and could not himſelf even ſubſiſt, much leſs maintain an army, except by the voluntary ſupplies of his Parliament: That if he had an army on foot, yet, if compoſed of Engliſhmen, they would never be prevailed on to promote ends, which the people ſo much feared and hated: That the Roman Catholics in England were not the hundredth part of the nation, and in Scotland not the two hundredth; and it ſeemed againſt all common ſenſe to hope, by one part, to govern ninety-nine, who were of contrary ſentiments and diſpoſitions: And that foreign troops, if few, would tend only to inflame hatred and diſcontent; and how to raiſe and bring over at once, or to maintain many, it was very difficult to imagine. To theſe reaſonings Temple added the ſentiments of Gourville, a Frenchman, for whom, he knew, the King had entertained a great eſteem. "A King of England," ſaid Gourville, "who will be "*the man of his people*," is the greateſt King in the world: "But if he will be any thing more, he is nothing at "all." The King heard at firſt this diſcourſe with ſome impatience; but being a very dextrous diſſembler, he ſeemed moved at laſt, and laying his hand on Temple's, ſaid with an appearing cordiality, "And I will be "the man of my people."

CHAP. LXVI.

1674.

TEMPLE when he went abroad, ſoon found, that the ſcheme of mediating a peace was likely to prove abortive. The allies, beſides their jealouſy of the King's mediation, were extremely bent upon the continuance of the war. Spain had ſtipulated with Holland never to come to an accommodation, till all things in Flanders were reſtored to the condition, in which they had been left by the Pyrenean treaty. The Emperor had very high pretenſions in Alſace; and as the greateſt part of the empire joined in the alliance, it was hoped, that France, ſo much over-matched in force, would ſoon be obliged to ſubmit to the terms demanded of her. The ſtates, indeed, oppreſſed by exorbitant taxes, as well as checked in their commerce, were deſirous of peace, and had few or no claims of their own to retard it: But they could not in gratitude, nor even in good policy, abandon allies, to whoſe protection they had been ſo lately indebted for their ſafety. The Prince of Orange likewiſe, who had great influence in their councils, was all on fire for military fame, and was well pleaſed to be at the head of armies, from which ſuch mighty ſucceſſes were expected. Under various pretences, he eluded, during the whole campaign, the meeting with Temple; and after the troops were ſent into winter-quarters, he told that miniſter, in his firſt conference, that till greater impreſſion was made on France, reaſonable terms could not be hoped for; and it was therefore in vain to negotiate.

Campaign of 1674.

THE ſucceſs of the campaign had not anſwered expectation. The prince of Orange, with a ſuperior army, was oppoſed in Flanders to the prince of Condé, and had hoped to penetrate into France by that quarter, where the frontier was then very feeble. After long endeavouring, though in vain, to bring Condé to a battle, he raſhly expoſed, at Seneffe, a wing of his army; and that active prince failed not at once to ſee and to ſeize the

CHAP. LXVI.

1674.

the advantage. But this imprudence of the prince of Orange was amply compenſated by his behaviour in that obſtinate and bloody action which enſued. He rallied his diſmayed troops; he led them to the charge; he puſhed the veteran and martial troops of France; and he obliged the prince of Condé, notwithſtanding his age and character, to exert greater efforts, and to riſque his perſon more, than in any action, where, even during the heat of youth, he had ever commanded. After ſun-ſet, the action was continued by the light of the moon; and it was darkneſs at laſt, not the wearineſs of the combatants, which put an end to the conteſt, and left the victory undecided. "The prince of Orange," ſaid Condé, with great candour and generoſity, "has acted in every thing "like an old captain, except venturing his life too like "a young ſoldier." Oudenarde was afterwards inveſted by the prince of Orange; but he was obliged by the Imperial and Spaniſh generals to raiſe the ſiege on the approach of the enemy. He afterwards beſieged and took Grave; and at the beginning of winter, the armies broke up, with great diſcontents and complaints on all ſides.

THE allies were not more ſucceſsful in other places. Lewis in a few weeks reconquered Franchecomté. In Alſace, Turenne diſplayed againſt a much ſuperior enemy, all that military ſkill, which had long rendered him the moſt renowned captain of his age and nation. By a ſudden and forced march, he attacked and beat at Sintzheim the duke of Lorrain and Caprara, general of the Imperialiſts. Seventy thouſand Germans pour into Alſace, and take up their quarters in that province. Turenne, who had retired into Lorrain, returns unexpectedly upon them. He attacks and defeats a body of the enemy at Mulhauſen. He chaces from Colmar the elector of Brandenburgh, who commanded the German troops. He gains a new advantage at Turkheim. And having

CHAP. LXVI.

1647. having diſlodged all the allies, he obliges them to repaſs the Rhine; full of ſhame for their multiplied defeats, and ſtill more, of anger and complaints againſt each other.

In England, all theſe events were conſidered by the people with great anxiety and concern; though the King and his miniſters affected great indifference with regard to them. Conſiderable alterations were about this time made in the Engliſh miniſtry. Buckingham was diſgraced, who had long, by his wit and entertaining humour, poſſeſſed the King's favour. The chief miniſters were Arlington, now lord chamberlain, and Danby the treaſurer. Great hatred and jealouſy took place between theſe miniſters; and the King's affairs were ſomewhat diſturbed by their quarrels. But Danby gained ground every day with the King, and Arlington declined in the ſame proportion. Danby was a frugal miniſter; and by his application and induſtry, he brought the revenue into tolerable order. He endeavoured ſo to conduct himſelf as to give offence to no party; and the conſequence was, that he was able entirely to pleaſe none. He was always a declared enemy to the French alliance; but never poſſeſſed authority enough to overcome the prepoſſeſſions, which the King and the Duke retained towards it. It muſt be aſcribed to the prevalence of that intereſt, that the Parliament was aſſembled ſo late this year; leſt they ſhould attempt to engage the King in meaſures againſt France, during the enſuing campaign. They met not till the approach of ſummer.

1675. 13th of April. A Parliament.

Every ſtep taken by the Commons diſcovered that ill humour and jealouſy, to which the late open meaſures of the King, and his preſent ſecret attachments gave ſuch juſt foundation. They drew up a new bill againſt popery, and reſolved to inſert in it many ſevere clauſes for the detection and proſecution of prieſts: They preſented addreſſes

CHAP. LXVI.

1675.

addreſſes a ſecond time againſt Lauderdale; and when the King's anſwer was not ſatisfactory, they ſeemed ſtill determined to perſevere in their applications: An accuſation was moved againſt Danby; but upon examining the ſeveral articles, it was not found to contain any juſt reaſons of a proſecution; and was therefore dropped: They applied to the King for recalling his troops from the French ſervice; and as he only promiſed, that they ſhould not be recruited, they appeared to be much diſſatisfied with his anſwer: A bill was brought in, making it treaſon to levy money without authority of parliament: Another vacating the ſeats of ſuch members as accepted of offices: Another to ſecure the perſonal liberty of the ſubject, and to prevent ſending any one priſoner beyond ſea.

THAT the court party might not be idle, during theſe attacks, a bill for a new teſt was introduced into the Houſe of Peers by the earl of Lindeſey. All members of either houſe, and all who poſſeſſed any office, were by this bill required to ſwear, that it was not lawful, upon any pretence whatſoever, to take arms againſt the King; that they abhorred the traiterous poſition of taking arms by his authority againſt his perſon, or againſt thoſe commiſſioned by him; and that they will not at any time endeavour the alteration of the proteſtant religion, or of the eſtabliſhed government either in church or ſtate.

Paſſive obedience.

GREAT oppoſition was made to this bill; as might be expected from the preſent diſpoſition of the public. During ſeventeen days, the debates were carried on with much zeal; and all the reaſon and learning of both parties were diſplayed on this memorable occaſion. The queſtion, indeed, with regard to reſiſtance, was a point, which entered into the controverſies of the old parties, cavalier and roundhead; as it made an eſſential part of the preſent diſputes between court and country. Few

neuters

CHAP. LXVI.

1675.

neuters were found in the nation: But among ſuch as could maintain a calm indifference, there prevailed ſentiments very wide of thoſe adopted by either party. Such perſons thought, that all public declarations of the legiſlature, either for or againſt reſiſtance, were equally impolitic, and could ſerve to no other purpoſe, than to ſignalize in their turn the triumph of one faction over another: That the ſimplicity retained in the antient laws of England, as well as in the laws of every other nation, ought ſtill to be preſerved, and was beſt calculated to prevent the extremes on either ſide: That the abſolute excluſion of reſiſtance, in all poſſible caſes, was founded on *falſe* principles; its expreſs admiſſion might be attended with *dangerous* conſequences; and there was no neceſſity of expoſing the public to either inconvenience: That if a choice muſt neceſſarily be made in the caſe, the preference of utility to truth in public inſtitutions was apparent; nor could the ſuppoſition of reſiſtance, beforehand and in general terms, be ſafely admitted in any government: That even in mixt monarchies, where that ſuppoſition ſeemed moſt requiſite, it was yet entirely ſuperfluous; ſince no man, on the approach of extraordinary neceſſity, could be at a loſs, though not directed by legal declarations, to find the proper remedy: That even thoſe who might, at a diſtance and in ſcholaſtic reaſoning, exclude all reſiſtance, would yet hearken to the voice of nature; when evident ruin, both to themſelves and to the public, muſt attend a ſtrict adherence to their pretended principles: That the queſtion, as it ought thus to be entirely excluded from all determinations of the legiſlature, was, even among private reaſoners, little better than a diſpute of words: That the one party could not pretend, that reſiſtance ought ever to become a familiar practice; the other would ſurely have recourſe to it in great extremities: And thus the difference could only turn on the degrees

grees of danger or oppreſſion, which could warrant this irregular remedy; a difference, which, in a general queſtion, it was impoſſible, by any language, preciſely to fix or determine.

THERE were many other abſurdities in this teſt, particularly that of ſwearing not to alter the government either in church or ſtate; ſince all human inſtitutions are liable to abuſe, and require continual amendments, which are, in reality, ſo many alterations. It is not indeed poſſible to make a law, which does not innovate, more or leſs, in the government. Theſe difficulties produced ſuch obſtructions to the bill, that it was carried only by two voices in the Houſe of Peers. All the popiſh Lords, headed by the earl of Briſtol, voted againſt it. It was ſent down to the Houſe of Commons, where it was likely to meet with a ſcrutiny ſtill more ſevere.

BUT a quarrel, which enſued between the two Houſes, prevented the paſſing all the bills projected during the preſent ſeſſion. One Dr. Shirley, being caſt in a law-ſuit before the Chancery againſt Sir John Fag, a member of the Houſe of Commons, preferred a petition of appeal before the Houſe of Peers. The Lords received it, and ſummoned Fag to appear before them. He complained to the lower Houſe, who eſpouſed his cauſe. They not only maintained, that no member of their houſe could be ſummoned before the Peers; and for this claim they could plead precedent: They alſo aſſerted, that the upper Houſe could receive no appeals from any court of equity; a pretenſion, which extremely retrenched the juriſdiction of the Peers, and which was contrary to the practice that had prevailed during this whole century. The Commons ſend Shirley to priſon: the Lords aſſert their powers. Conferences are tried; but no accommodation enſues. Four lawyers are ſent to the Tower by the Commons, for tranſgreſſing the order of the Houſe, and pleading in this cauſe before the Peers. The Peers denominate

CHAP. LXVI.

1675.

denominate this arbitrary commitment a breach of the great charter, and order the lieutenant of the Tower to releaſe the priſoners: He refuſes obedience: They apply to the King, and deſire him to puniſh the lieutenant for his contempt. The King ſummons both Houſes; exhorts them to unanimity; and informs them, that the preſent quarrel had ariſen from the contrivance of his and their enemies, who propoſed by that means to force a diſſolution of the Parliament. His advice has no effect: The Commons continue as violent as ever; and the King, finding that no buſineſs could be finiſhed, at laſt prorogued the Parliament.

8th of June.

13th of October. A Parliament.

WHEN the Parliament were again aſſembled, there appeared not in any reſpect a change of the diſpoſitions of either houſe. The King deſired ſupplies, as well for the building of ſhips as for taking off anticipations, which lay upon his revenue. He even confeſſed, that he had not been altogether ſo frugal as he might have been, and as he reſolved to be for the future: Though he aſſerted, that to his great ſatisfaction he had found his expences by no means ſo exorbitant as ſome had repreſented them. The Commons took into conſideration the ſubject of ſupply. They voted 300,000 pounds for the building of ſhips; but they appropriated the ſum by very ſtrict clauſes. They paſſed a reſolution not to grant any ſupply for taking off the anticipations of the revenue[c]. This vote was carried in a very full houſe, by a majority of four only: So nearly were the parties ballanced. The quarrel was revived, to which Dr. Shirley's cauſe had given occaſion. The proceedings of the Commons diſcovered equal violence as during laſt ſeſſion. A motion was made in the Houſe of Peers, but rejected, for addreſſing the King to

[c] Several hiſtorians have affirmed, that the Commons found, this ſeſſion, upon enquiry, that the King's revenue was 1,600,000 pounds a year, and that the neceſſary expence was but 700,000 pounds; and have appealed to the Journals for a proof. But there is not the leaſt appearance of this in the Journals; and the fact is impoſſible.

diſſolve

CHAP. LXVI.

1675. 22d of November.

diſſolve the preſent Parliament. The King contented himſelf with proroguing them to a very long term. Whether theſe quarrels between the Houſes aroſe from contrivance or accident was never certainly known. Each party might, according to their different views, eſteem themſelves either gainers or loſers by them. The Court might deſire to obſtruct all attacks from the Commons, by giving them other employment. The country party might deſire the diſſolution of a Parliament, which, notwithſtanding all diſguſts, ſtill contained too many royaliſts, ever to ſerve all the purpoſes of the malecontents.

Soon after the prorogation, there paſſed a tranſaction, which in itſelf is trivial, but tends ſtrongly to mark the genius of the Engliſh government, and of Charles's adminiſtration during this period. The liberty of the conſtitution, and the variety as well as violence of the parties, had begot a propenſity for political converſation; and as the coffee-houſes in particular were the ſcenes, where the conduct of the King and the miniſtry was canvaſſed with great freedom, a proclamation was iſſued to ſuppreſs theſe places of rendezvous. Such an act of power, during former reigns, would have been grounded entirely on the prerogative; and before the acceſſion of the houſe of Stuart, no ſcruple would have been entertained with regard to that exerciſe of authority. But Charles, finding doubts to ariſe upon his proclamation, had recourſe to the judges, who ſupplied him with a chicane of law, and that too a very frivolous one, by which he might juſtify his proceedings. The act, which ſettled the exciſe, gave the King a power to refuſe licences for retailing liquors to ſuch as could not find ſecurity for payment of the duties. But coffee was not a liquor liable to exciſe; and even this power of refuſing licences was very limited, and could not reaſonably be extended beyond the intention of the act. The King, therefore, obſerving the people to be much diſſatisfied,

yielded

CHAP. LXVI.

1675.

yielded to a petition of the coffee-men, who promiſed for the future to reſtrain all ſeditious diſcourſe in their houſes; and the proclamation was recalled.

Campaign of 1675.

THIS campaign proved more fortunate to the confederates than any other during this whole war. The French took the field in Flanders with a very numerous army; and the King himſelf ſerved as a volunteer under the prince of Condé. But notwithſtanding his mighty preparations, he could gain no advantages but the taking of Huy and Limbourg, places of no great conſequence. The prince of Orange with a conſiderable army oppoſed him in all his motions; and neither party was willing, without a viſible advantage, to hazard a general battle, which might be attended either with the entire loſs of Flanders on the one hand, or the invaſion of France on the other. Lewis tired of ſo unactive a campaign, returned to Verſailles; and the whole ſummer paſſed in Flanders without any memorable event.

TURENNE commanded on the upper Rhine, in oppoſition to his great rival, Montecuculi, general of the Imperialiſts. The object of the latter was to paſs the Rhine, to penetrate into Alſace, Lorraine, or Burgundy, and to fix his quarters in theſe provinces: The aim of the former was to guard the French frontiers, and to diſappoint all the ſchemes of his enemy. The moſt conſummate ſkill was diſplayed on both ſides; and if any ſuperiority appeared in Turenne's conduct, it was aſcribed chiefly to his greater vigour of body, by which he was enabled to inſpect all the poſts in perſon, and could on the ſpot take the juſteſt meaſures for the execution of his deſigns. By poſting himſelf on the German ſide of the Rhine, he not only kept Montecuculi from paſſing that river: He had alſo laid his plan in ſo maſterly a manner, that in a few days he muſt have obliged the Germans to decamp, and have gained a conſiderable advantage over them; when a period was put to his illuſtrious

illuſtrious life, by a random ſhot, which ſtruck him on the breaſt, as he was taking a view of the enemy. The news excited ſorrow in King, court, and people, equalled by nothing which we meet with in hiſtory, but the lamentations of the Roman people for the death of Germanicus. The conſternation of the army was inexpreſſible. The French troops, who, a moment before, were aſſured of victory, now conſidered themſelves as totally vanquiſhed; and the Germans, who would have been glad to compound for a ſafe retreat, expected no leſs than the total deſtruction of the enemy. But de Lorges, nephew to Turenne, ſucceeded him in the command, and poſſeſſed a great ſhare of the genius and capacity of his predeceſſor. By his ſkilful operations, the French were enabled to repaſs the Rhine, without conſiderable loſs; and this retreat was eſteemed equally glorious with the greateſt victory. The deſperate valour of the Engliſh troops, who were placed in the rear, contributed greatly to ſave the French army. They had been ſeized with equal paſſion as the native troops of France, for their brave general, and fought with ardour to revenge his death on the Germans. The duke of Marlborough, then captain Churchill, here learned the rudiments of that art, which he afterwards practiſed with ſuch fatal ſucceſs againſt France.

CHAP. LXVI. 1675.

The prince of Condé left the army in Flanders under the command of Luxembourg; and carrying with him a conſiderable reinforcement, ſucceeded to Turenne's command. He defended Alſace from the Germans, who had paſſed the Rhine, and invaded that province. He obliged them firſt to raiſe the ſiege of Hagenau, then that of Saberne. He eluded all their attempts to bring him to a battle. And having dextrouſly kept them from eſtabliſhing themſelves in Alſace, he forced them, notwithſtanding their ſuperiority of number, to repaſs the

CHAP. LXVI.

1675.

yielded to a petition of the coffee-men, who promiſed for the future to reſtrain all ſeditious diſcourſe in their houſes; and the proclamation was recalled.

Campaign of 1675.

THIS campaign proved more fortunate to the confederates than any other during this whole war. The French took the field in Flanders with a very numerous army; and the King himſelf ſerved as a volunteer under the prince of Condé. But notwithſtanding his mighty preparations, he could gain no advantages but the taking of Huy and Limbourg, places of no great conſequence. The prince of Orange with a conſiderable army oppoſed him in all his motions; and neither party was willing, without a viſible advantage, to hazard a general battle, which might be attended either with the entire loſs of Flanders on the one hand, or the invaſion of France on the other. Lewis tired of ſo unactive a campaign, returned to Verſailles; and the whole ſummer paſſed in Flanders without any memorable event.

TURENNE commanded on the upper Rhine, in oppoſition to his great rival, Montecuculi, general of the Imperialiſts. The object of the latter was to paſs the Rhine, to penetrate into Alſace, Lorraine, or Burgundy, and to fix his quarters in theſe provinces: The aim of the former was to guard the French frontiers, and to diſappoint all the ſchemes of his enemy. The moſt conſummate ſkill was diſplayed on both ſides; and if any ſuperiority appeared in Turenne's conduct, it was aſcribed chiefly to his greater vigour of body, by which he was enabled to inſpect all the poſts in perſon, and could on the ſpot take the juſteſt meaſures for the execution of his deſigns. By poſting himſelf on the German ſide of the Rhine, he not only kept Montecuculi from paſſing that river: He had alſo laid his plan in ſo maſterly a manner, that in a few days he muſt have obliged the Germans to decamp, and have gained a conſiderable advantage over them; when a period was put to his illuſtrious

illuſtrious life, by a random ſhot, which ſtruck him on the breaſt, as he was taking a view of the enemy. The news excited ſorrow in King, court, and people, equalled by nothing which we meet with in hiſtory, but the lamentations of the Roman people for the death of Germanicus. The conſternation of the army was inexpreſſible. The French troops, who, a moment before, were aſſured of victory, now conſidered themſelves as totally vanquiſhed; and the Germans, who would have been glad to compound for a ſafe retreat, expected no leſs than the total deſtruction of the enemy. But de Lorges, nephew to Turenne, ſucceeded him in the command, and poſſeſſed a great ſhare of the genius and capacity of his predeceſſor. By his ſkilful operations, the French were enabled to repaſs the Rhine, without conſiderable loſs; and this retreat was eſteemed equally glorious with the greateſt victory. The deſperate valour of the Engliſh troops, who were placed in the rear, contributed greatly to ſave the French army. They had been ſeized with equal paſſion as the native troops of France, for their brave general, and fought with ardour to revenge his death on the Germans. The duke of Marlborough, then captain Churchill, here learned the rudiments of that art, which he afterwards practiſed with ſuch fatal ſucceſs againſt France.

CHAP. LXVI. 1675.

THE prince of Condé left the army in Flanders under the command of Luxembourg; and carrying with him a conſiderable reinforcement, ſucceeded to Turenne's command. He defended Alſace from the Germans, who had paſſed the Rhine, and invaded that province. He obliged them firſt to raiſe the ſiege of Hagenau, then that of Saberne. He eluded all their attempts to bring him to a battle. And having dextrouſly kept them from eſtabliſhing themſelves in Alſace, he forced them, notwithſtanding their ſuperiority of number, to repaſs the

CHAP. LXVI.

Rhine, and take up their winter quarters in their own country.

1675. AFTER the death of Turenne, a detachment of the German army was ſent to the ſiege of Treves: An enterprize, in which the Imperialiſts, the Spaniards, the Palatine, the duke of Lorraine, and many other princes paſſionately concurred. The project was well concerted, and executed with vigour. Mareſchal Crequi, on the other hand, collected an army, and advanced with a view of forcing the Germans to raiſe the ſiege. They left a detachment to guard their lines, and under the command of the dukes of Zell and Oſnabrugh, marched in queſt of the enemy. At Conſarbric, they fell unexpectedly, and with ſuperior numbers, on Crequi, and put him to rout. He eſcaped with four attendants only; and throwing himſelf into Treves, reſolved by a vigorous defence to make amends for his former error or misfortune. The garriſon was brave, but not abandoned to that total deſpair, by which their governor was actuated. They mutinied againſt his obſtinacy; capitulated for themſelves; and becauſe he refuſed to ſign the capitulation, they delivered him a priſoner into the hands of the enemy.

'TIS remarkable, that this rout of Crequi is almoſt the only battle, which the French loſt at land, from Rocroi to Blenheim, during the courſe of above ſixty years; and theſe too, full of bloody wars againſt potent and martial enemies: Their victories equal almoſt the number of years during that period. Such was the vigour and good conduct of that Monarchy! And ſuch too were the reſources and refined policy of the European nations, by which they were enabled to repair their loſſes, and ſtill to confine that mighty power nearly within its antient limits! A fifth part of theſe victories would have ſufficed in another period to have given to France the empire of Europe.

THE

CHAP. LXVI.

1675.

THE Swedes had been engaged, by the payment of large ſubſidies, to take part with Lewis, and invade the territories of the elector of Brandenburgh in Pomerania. That elector, joined by ſome Imperialiſts from Sileſia, fell upon them with great bravery and ſucceſs. He ſoon beat them out of his part of that country, and purſued them into their own. He had an interview with the King of Denmark, who was now entered into the intereſts of the confederates, and reſolved to declare war againſt Sweden. Theſe princes concerted meaſures for puſhing the victory.

TO all theſe misfortunes againſt foreign enemies were united ſome domeſtic inſurrections of the common people in Guienne and Brittany. Though ſoon ſuppreſſed, they divided the force and attention of Lewis. The only advantage, gained by the French, was at ſea. Meſſina in Sicily had revolted; and a fleet under the duke de Vivonne was diſpatched to ſupport the rebels. The Dutch had ſent a ſquadron to aſſiſt the Spaniards. A battle enſued, where de Ruyter was killed. This event alone was thought equivalent to a victory.

THE French, who, twelve years before, had ſcarce a ſhip of war in any of their harbours, had raiſed themſelves, by means of perſeverance and policy, to be, in their preſent force, though not in their reſources, the firſt maritime power in Europe. The Dutch, while in alliance with them againſt England, had ſupplied them with ſeveral veſſels, and had taught them the rudiments of the difficult art of ſhip building. The Engliſh next, when in alliance with them againſt Holland, inſtructed them in the method of fighting their ſhips, and of preſerving order in naval engagements. Lewis availed himſelf of every opportunity to aggrandize his people, while Charles, ſunk in indolence and pleaſure, neglected all the noble arts of government; or if, at any time he rouſed himſelf from his lethargy, that in-

CHAP. LXVI.

1675. duſtry, by reaſon of the unhappy projects which he embraced, was often more pernicious to the public than his inactivity itſelf. He was as anxious to promote the naval power of France, as if the ſafety of his crown had depended on it; and many of the plans executed in that kingdom, were firſt, 'tis ſaid[d], digeſted and corrected by him.

1676. THE ſucceſſes of the allies had been conſiderable the laſt campaign; but the Spaniards and Imperialiſts well knew, that France was not yet ſufficiently broke, nor willing to ſubmit to the terms which they reſolved to impoſe upon her. Though they could not refuſe the King's mediation, and Nimeguen, after many difficulties, was at laſt fixed on as the place of congreſs; yet under one pretence or other, they ſtill delayed ſending their ambaſſadors, and no progreſs was made in the negotiation. Lord Berkeley, Sir William Temple, and Sir Lionel Jenkins, were the Engliſh miniſters at Nimeguen. The Dutch, who were impatient for peace, ſoon appeared: Lewis, who hoped to divide the allies, and who knew, that he himſelf could neither be ſeduced nor forced into a diſadvantageous peace, ſent ambaſſadors: The Swedes, who hoped to recover by treaty, what they had loſt by arms, were alſo forward to negotiate. But as theſe powers could not proceed of themſelves to ſettle terms, the congreſs hitherto ſerved merely as an amuſement to the public.

Congreſs of Nimeguen.

Campaign of 1676. IT was by the events of the campaign, not the conferences of the negotiators, that the articles of peace were to be determined. The Spaniſh towns, ill fortified and worſe defended, made but a feeble reſiſtance to Lewis, who, by laying up magazines during the winter, was able to take the field early in the ſpring, before the forage could be found in the open country. In the month of April he laid ſiege to Condé, and took it by ſtorm in

[d] Welwood, Burnet, Coke.

four

four days. Having ſent the duke of Orleans to beſiege Bouchaine, a ſmall but important fortreſs, he poſted himſelf ſo advantageouſly with his main army, as to hinder the confederates from relieving it, or fighting without diſadvantage. The Prince, in ſpite of all the difficulties of the ſeaſon, and the want of proviſions, came in ſight of the French army; but his induſtry ſerved to no other purpoſe than to render him a ſpectator of the ſurrender of Bouchaine. Both armies ſtood in awe of each other, and were unwilling to hazard an action, which might be attended with the moſt important conſequences. Lewis, though he wanted not perſonal courage, was very little enterprizing in the field; and being reſolved this campaign to reſt contented with the advantages which he had ſo early acquired, he thought proper to entruſt his army to Mareſchal Schomberg, and retired himſelf to Verſailles. After his departure, the Prince of Orange laid ſiege to Maeſtricht; but meeting with an obſtinate reſiſtance, he was obliged, on the approach of Schomberg, who in the mean time had taken Aire, to raiſe the ſiege. He was incapable of yielding to adverſity, or bending under misfortunes: But he began to foreſee, that by the negligence and errors of his allies, the war in Flanders muſt neceſſarily have a very unfortunate iſſue.

CHAP. LXVI. 1676.

On the upper Rhine, Philipſbourg was taken by the Imperialiſts. In Pomerania, the Swedes were ſo unſucceſsful againſt the Danes and Brandenburgers, that they ſeemed to be loſing apace all thoſe poſſeſſions, which, with ſo much valour and good fortune, they had acquired in Germany.

About the beginning of winter, the congreſs of Nimeguen was pretty full, and the plenipotentiaries of the Emperor and Spain, two powers ſtrictly conjoined by blood and alliance, at laſt appeared. The Dutch had threatened, if they delayed any longer, to proceed to a

CHAP. LXVI.

1676. ſeparate treaty with France. In the conferences and negotiations, the diſpoſitions of the parties became every day more apparent.

1677. THE Hollanders, loaded with debts, and harraſſed with taxes, were deſirous of putting an end to a war; in which, beſides the inconveniencies attending all leagues, the weakneſs of the Spaniards, the diviſions and delays of the Germans, prognoſticated nothing but diſgrace and misfortune. Their commerce languiſhed; and what gave them ſtill greater anxiety, the commerce of England, by reaſon of her neutrality, flouriſhed extremely; and they were apprehenſive, leſt advantages, once loſt, would never thoroughly be regained. They had themſelves no farther motive for continuing the war, except to ſecure a good frontier to Flanders; but gratitude to their allies ſtill engaged them to try, whether another campaign might procure a peace, which would give general ſatisfaction. The Prince of Orange, urged by motives of honour, of ambition, and of animoſity againſt France, endeavoured to keep them ſteady to this reſolution.

THE Spaniards, not to mention the other incurable weakneſſes, into which their monarchy was fallen, were diſtracted with domeſtic diſſenſions between the parties of the Queen Regent and Don John, natural brother to their young ſovereign. Though unable of themſelves to defend Flanders, they were reſolute not to conclude a peace, which would leave it expoſed to every aſſault or inroad; and while they made the moſt magnificent promiſes to the States, their real truſt was in the protection of England. They ſaw, that, if that ſmall but important territory was once ſubdued by France, the Hollanders, expoſed to ſo terrible a power, would fall into dependance, and would endeavour, by ſubmiſſions, to ward off that deſtruction, to which a war in the heart of their State muſt neceſſarily expoſe them. They

CHAP. LXVI. 1677.

They believed that Lewis, ſenſible how much greater advantages he might reap from the alliance than from the ſubjection of the Republic, which muſt ſcatter its people, and depreſs its commerce, would be contented with very moderate conditions, and would turn his enterprizes againſt his other neighbours. They thought it impoſſible but the people and Parliament of England, foreſeeing theſe obvious conſequences, muſt at laſt force the King to take part in the affairs of the continent, in which their intereſts were ſo deeply concerned. And they truſted, that even the King himſelf, on the approach of ſo great a danger, muſt open his eyes, and ſacrifice his prejudices, in favour of France, to the ſafety of his own kingdoms.

Uncertain conduct of the King.

But Charles here found himſelf entangled in ſuch oppoſite motives and engagements, as he had not reſolution enough to break, nor patience to unravel. On the one hand, he always regarded his alliance with France as a ſure reſource in caſe of any commotions among his own ſubjects; and whatever ſchemes he might have formed for enlarging his authority, or altering the eſtabliſhed religion, it was from that quarter alone he could expect aſſiſtance. He had actually in ſecret ſold his neutrality to France, and he received remittances of a million of livres a year, which was afterwards increaſed to two millions; a conſiderable ſupply in the preſent embarraſſed ſtate of his revenue. And he dreaded, leſt the Parliament ſhould treat him as they had formerly done his father; and after they had engaged him in a war on the continent, ſhould take advantage of his neceſſities, and make him purchaſe ſupplies by ſacrificing his prerogative, and abandoning his miniſters.

On the other hand, the cries of his people and Parliament, ſeconded by Danby, Arlington, and moſt of his miniſters, incited him to take part with the allies, and to correct the unequal ballance of power in Europe.

CHAP. LXVI.

1677.

He might apprehend danger from oppoſing ſuch earneſt deſires: He might hope for large ſupplies, if he concurred with them: And however inglorious and indolent his diſpoſition, the renown of acting as arbiter of Europe, would probably at intervals rouze him from his lethargy, and move him to ſupport the high character, with which he was inveſted.

It is worthy obſervation, that during this period, the King was, by every one, abroad and at home, by France and by the allies, allowed to be the undiſputed arbiter of Europe; and no terms of peace, which he would have preſcribed, could have been refuſed by either party. Tho' France afterwards found means to reſiſt the ſame alliance, joined with England; yet was ſhe then obliged to make ſuch violent efforts as quite exhauſted her; and it was the utmoſt neceſſity, which puſhed her to find reſources, far ſurpaſſing her own expectations. Charles was ſenſible, that, ſo long as the war continued abroad, he ſhould never enjoy eaſe at home, from the impatience and importunity of his ſubjects; yet could he not reſolve to impoſe a peace by openly conjoining himſelf with either party. Terms advantageous to the allies muſt loſe him the friendſhip of France: The contrary would enrage his Parliament. Between theſe views, he perpetually floated; and from his conduct, it is obſervable, that a careleſs, remiſs diſpoſition, agitated by oppoſite motives, is capable of as great inconſiſtencies as is incident even to the greateſt imbecillity and folly.

15th of February. A Parliament.

The Parliament was aſſembled; and the King made them a very plauſible ſpeech, in which he warned them againſt all differences among themſelves; expreſſed a reſolution to do his part for bringing their conſultations to a happy iſſue; and offered his conſent to any laws for the farther ſecurity of their religion, liberty, and property. He then told them of the decayed condition of the navy; and

1677.

and aſked money for repairing it: He informed them, that part of his revenue, the additional exciſe, was ſoon to expire: And he added theſe words, "You may at "any time ſee the yearly eſtabliſhed expence of the "government, by which it will appear, that the con-"ſtant and unavoidable charge being paid, there will "remain no overplus towards anſwering thoſe contin-"gencies, which may happen in all kingdoms, and "which have been a conſiderable burthen on me this "laſt year."

BEFORE the parliament entered upon buſineſs, they were ſtopped by a doubt which was ſtarted concerning the legality of their meeting. It had been enacted by an old law of Edward the third, "That Parliaments "ſhould be held once every year, or oftner, if need "be." The laſt prorogation had been longer than a year; and being ſuppoſed on that account illegal, it was pretended to be equivalent to a diſſolution. The conſe-quence ſeems by no means juſt; and beſides, a latter act, that which repealed the triennial law, had determined, that it was neceſſary to hold Parliaments only once in three years. Such weight, however, was put on this cavil, that Buckingham, Shafteſbury, Saliſbury, and Wharton, inſiſted ſtrenuouſly in the Houſe of Peers on the invalidity of the Parliament, and the nullity of all its future acts. For ſuch dangerous poſitions, they were ſent to the Tower, there to remain during the pleaſure of his Majeſty and the Houſe. Buckingham, Saliſbury, and Wharton made ſubmiſſions, and were ſoon after re-leaſed. But Shafteſbury, more obſtinate in his temper, and deſirous of diſtinguiſhing himſelf by his adherence to liberty, ſought the remedy of law; and being rejected by the judges, he was at laſt, after a twelvemonth's im-priſonment, obliged to make the ſame ſubmiſſions; upon which he was alſo releaſed.

THE

CHAP. LXVI.

1677.

THE Commons at firſt ſeemed to proceed with temper. They granted the ſum of 586,000 pounds, for building thirty ſhips; tho' they ſtrictly appropriated the money to that ſervice. Eſtimates were given in of the expence; but it was afterwards found that they fell ſhort near 100,000 pounds. They alſo voted, agreeably to the King's requeſt, the continuance of the additional exciſe for three years. This exciſe had been granted for nine years in 1668. Every thing ſeemed to promiſe a peaceable and an eaſy ſeſſion.

Campaign of 1677.

BUT the Parliament was ſoon rouſed from this tranquillity by the news received from abroad. The French King had taken the field in the middle of February, and laid ſiege to Valenciennes, which he carried in a few days by ſtorm. He next inveſted both Cambray and St. Omer. The prince of Orange, alarmed with this progreſs, haſtily aſſembled an army, and marched to the relief of St. Omer. He was encountered by the French, under the duke of Orleans and mareſchal Luxembourg. The prince poſſeſſed great talents for war; courage, activity, vigilance, patience; but ſtill he was inferior in genius to thoſe conſummate generals, oppoſed to him by Lewis; and though he always found means to repair his loſſes, and to make head in a little time againſt the victors, he was during his whole life unſucceſsful. By a maſterly movement of Luxembourg, he was here beat, and obliged to retreat to Ypres. During the battle, he made the utmoſt efforts, by exhortation and example, to rally his diſmayed ſoldiers: He ſtruck one of the runaways acroſs the face with his ſword, "Raſcal," ſaid he, "I will ſet a mark on you at preſent, that I may hang "you afterwards." Cambray and St. Omer were ſoon ſurrendered to Lewis.

THIS ſucceſs, derived from ſuch exorbitant power and ſuch wiſe conduct, ſtruck a juſt terror into the Engliſh Parliament. They addreſſed the King, repreſenting

ſenting the danger to which the kingdom was expoſed from the greatneſs of France, and deſiring, that his Majeſty, by ſuch alliances as he ſhould think fit, would both ſecure his own dominions and the Spaniſh Netherlands, and thereby quiet the fears of his people. The King, deſirous of eluding this application, which he conſidered as a kind of attack on his meaſures, replied in general terms, that he would uſe all means for the preſervation of Flanders, conſiſtent with the peace and ſafety of his kingdoms. This anſwer was an evaſion, or rather a real denial. The Commons, therefore, thought proper to be more particular. They entreated him not to defer the entering into ſuch alliances as might attain that great end: And in caſe war with the French King ſhould be the reſult of his meaſures, they promiſed to grant him all the aids and ſupplies, which would enable him to ſupport the honour and intereſt of the nation. The king was alſo more particular in his reply. He told them, that the only way to prevent danger, was to put him in a condition to make preparations for their ſecurity. This meſſage was underſtood to be a demand of money. The Parliament accordingly empowered the king to borrow on the additional exciſe 200,000 pounds, at ſeven per cent: A very ſmall ſum indeed; but which they deemed ſufficient, with the ordinary revenue, to equip a good ſquadron, and thereby put the nation in ſecurity, till farther reſolutions were taken.

But this conceſſion fell far ſhort of the King's expectations. He therefore informed them, that unleſs they granted him the ſum of 600,000 pounds upon new funds, it would not be poſſible for him, without expoſing the nation to manifeſt danger, to ſpeak or act thoſe things, which would anſwer the end of their ſeveral addreſſes. The Houſe took this meſſage into conſideration: But before they came to any reſolution, the King ſent for them to Whitehall, where he told them,

CHAP. LXVI. 1677.

upon the word of a King, that they ſhould not repent any truſt, which they would repoſe in him for the ſafety of his kingdoms; that he would not for any conſideration break credit with them, or employ their money to other uſes, than thoſe for which they intended it; but that he would not hazard, either his own ſafety or theirs, by taking any vigorous meaſures, or forming new alliances, till he was in a better condition, both to defend his ſubjects, and offend his enemies. This ſpeech brought affairs to a ſhort iſſue. The King required them to truſt him with a large ſum: He pawned his royal word for their ſecurity: They muſt either run the riſque of loſing their money, or endanger thoſe alliances they had projected, and at the ſame time declare to all the world the higheſt diſtruſt of their ſovereign.

Parliament's diſtruſt of the King.

BUT there were many reaſons which determined the Houſe of Commons to put no truſt in his Majeſty. They conſidered, that the pretence of danger was obviouſly groundleſs; while the French were oppoſed by ſuch powerful alliances on the continent, while the King was maſter of a good fleet at ſea, and while all his ſubjects were ſo heartily united in oppoſition to foreign enemies. That the only juſtifiable reaſon, therefore, of the King's backwardneſs, was not the apprehenſion of danger from abroad, but a diffidence, which he might perhaps have entertained of his Parliament; leſt, after engaging him in foreign alliances for carrying on a war, they ſhould take advantage of his neceſſities, and extort from him conceſſions dangerous to his royal dignity. That this Parliament, by their paſt conduct, had given no foundation for ſuch ſuſpicions, and were ſo far from purſuing any ſiniſter ends, that they had granted ſupplies for the firſt Dutch war; for maintaining the triple league, though concluded without their advice; even for carrying on the ſecond Dutch war; which

was

CHAP. LXVI. 1677.

was entered into contrary to their opinion, and contrary to the manifeſt intereſts of the nation. That on the other hand, the King had, by former meaſures, excited very reaſonable jealouſies in his people, and did with a bad grace require at preſent their truſt and confidence. That he had not ſcrupled to demand ſupplies for maintaining the triple league, at the very moment he was concerting meaſures for breaking it, and had accordingly employed to that purpoſe the ſupplies, which he had obtained by thoſe deluſive pretenſions. That his union with France, during the war againſt Holland, muſt have been founded on projects the moſt dangerous to his people; and as the ſame union was ſtill ſecretly maintained, it might juſtly be feared, that the ſame projects were not yet entirely abandoned. That the King could not ſeriouſly intend to proſecute vigorous meaſures againſt France; ſince he had ſo long remained entirely unconcerned during ſuch obvious dangers, and, till prompted by his Parliament, whoſe proper buſineſs it was not to take the lead in thoſe parts of adminiſtration, had ſuſpended all his activity. That if he really meant to enter into a cordial union with his people, he would have taken the firſt ſtep, and have endeavoured, by putting truſt in them, to reſtore that confidence, which he himſelf, by his raſh councils, had firſt violated. That it was in vain to aſk ſo ſmall a ſum as 600,000 pounds, in order to ſecure him againſt the future attempts of the Parliament; ſince that ſum muſt ſoon be exhauſted by a war with France, and he muſt again fall into that dependance, which was become in ſome degree eſſential to the conſtitution. That if he would form the neceſſary alliances, that ſum or a greater would inſtantly be voted; nor could there be any reaſon to dread, that the parliament would immediately deſert meaſures, in which they were engaged by their honour, their inclination, and the public intereſt. That the real ground, therefore, of the

CHAP. LXVI. 1677.

the King's refusal was neither apprehension of danger from foreign enemies, nor jealousy of parliamentary encroachments; but a desire of obtaining the money, which he intended, notwithstanding his royal word, to employ to other purposes. And that by using such dishonourable means to so ignoble an end, he rendered himself still more unworthy the confidence of his people.

THE House of Commons were now regularly divided into two parties, the court and the country. Some were inlisted in the court-party by offices, nay a few by bribes secretly given them; a scandalous practice first begun by Clifford, a pernicious minister: But great numbers were attached merely by inclination; so far as they esteemed the measures of the Court agreeable to the interests of the nation. Private views and faction had likewise drawn many into the country party: But there were also many, who had no other object than the public good. These disinterested members on both sides fluctuated between the parties; and gave the superiority sometimes to the Court, sometimes to the opposition [e]. In the present emergence, a general distrust of the King prevailed; and the Parliament resolved not to hazard their money, in expectation of alliances, which, they believed, were never intended to be formed. Instead of granting the supply, they voted an address, wherein "they besought his majesty to enter "into a league, offensive and defensive, with the States "General of the United Provinces, against the growth "and power of the French King, and for the preserva-"tion of the Spanish Netherlands; and to make such "other alliances with the confederates as should appear "fit and useful to that end." They supported their advice with reasons; and promised speedy and plentiful supplies, for preserving his Majesty's honour and the safety

[e] Temple's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 458.

of

CHAP. LXIV.

1677.

of the public. The King pretended the higheſt anger at this addreſs, which he repreſented as a dangerous encroachment upon his prerogative. He reproved the Commons in very ſevere terms; and ordered them immediately to be adjourned.

8th of May.

IT is certain, that this was the critical moment, when the King both might with eaſe have preſerved the balance of power in Europe, which it has ſince coſt this iſland an infinite profuſion of blood and treaſure to reſtore, and might by perſeverance have at laſt regained, in ſome tolerable meaſure, after all paſt errors, the confidence of his people. This opportunity being neglected, the wound became incurable; and notwithſtanding *his* momentary appearances of vigour againſt France and popery, and *their* momentary inclinations to rely on his faith; *he* was ſtill believed to be at bottom engaged in the ſame intereſt, and *they* ſoon relapſed into diſtruſt and jealouſy. The ſecret memoirs of that reign, which have been ſince publiſhed [f], prove beyond a doubt, that the King had at this time concerted meaſures with France, and had no intention to enter into a war in favour of the allies. He had entertained no view, therefore, even when he pawned his ROYAL WORD to his people, than to procure a grant of money; and he truſted, that, while he eluded their expectations, he could not afterwards want pretences for palliating his conduct.

NEGOTIATIONS mean while were carried on between France and Holland, and an eventual treaty was concluded; that is, all their differences were adjuſted, provided they could afterwards ſatisfy their allies on both ſides. But this work, though in appearance difficult,

[f] Such as the letters, which paſſed betwixt Danby and Montague, the King's ambaſſador at Paris; Temple's Memoirs, and his Letters. In theſe laſt, we ſee that the King never made any propoſals of terms but what were advantageous to France, and the prince of Orange believed them to have been always concerted with the French embaſſador. Vol. i. p. 439.

ſeemed

CHAP. LXIV.

seemed to be extremely forwarded, by farther bad successes on the part of the confederates, and by the great impatience of the Hollanders; when a new event happened, which promised a more prosperous issue to the quarrel with France, and revived extremely the hopes of all the English, who understood the interests of their country.

THE King saw, with regret, the violent discontents, which prevailed in the nation, and which seemed every day to augment upon him. Strongly desirous by his natural temper to be easy himself, and to make every body else easy, he sought expedients to appease those murmurs, which, as they were very disagreeable for the present, might in their consequences prove extremely dangerous. He knew, that, during the late war with Holland, the malecontents at home had made applications to the prince of Orange; and if he continued still to neglect the prince's interests, and to thwart the inclinations of his people, he apprehended lest their common complaints should cement a lasting union between them. He saw that the religion of the Duke inspired the nation with very dismal apprehensions; and though he had obliged his brother to allow the young princesses to be educated in the protestant faith, something farther, he thought, was requisite, in order to satisfy the nation. He entertained therefore proposals for marrying the prince to the lady Mary, the eldest princess, and heir apparent to the crown (for the duke had no male issue.) And he hoped, by so tempting an offer, to engage him entirely in his interests. A peace he proposed to make; such as would satisfy France, and still preserve his connexions with that crown: And he intended to sanctify it by the approbation of the prince, whom he found to be extremely revered in England, and respected throughout all Europe. All the reasons for this alliance were seconded by the sollicitations of Danby, and also of Temple, who was

at that time in England: And Charles at last granted permission to the prince, when the campaign should be over, to pay him a visit. CHAP. LXVI. 1677.

THE King very graciously received his nephew at Newmarket. He would have entered immediately upon business; but the prince desired first to be acquainted with the lady Mary: And he declared, that, contrary to the usual sentiments of persons of his rank, he placed a great part of happiness in domestic satisfaction, and would not, upon any consideration of interest or politics, match himself with a person disagreeable to him. He was introduced to the princess, whom he found in the bloom of youth, and extremely amiable both in her person and her humour. The King now thought, that he had a double tye upon him, and might safely make account of his compliance with every proposal: He was surprized to find the prince decline all discourse of business, and refuse to concert any terms for the general peace, till his marriage should be finished. He well foresaw, he said, from the situation of affairs, that his allies were likely to have hard terms; and he never would expose himself to the reproach of having sacrificed their interests to promote his own purposes. Charles still believed, notwithstanding the cold, severe manner of the prince, that he would abate of this rigid punctilio of honour; and he protracted the time, hoping by his own insinuation and address, as well as by the allurements of love and ambition, to win him to compliance. One day, Temple found the prince in very bad humour, repenting that he had ever come to England, and resolute in a few days to leave it: But before he went, the King, he said, must chuse the terms, on which they should hereafter live together: He was sure it must be like the greatest friends or the greatest enemies: And he desired Temple to inform his Master next morning of these intentions. Charles was struck with his menace, and 10th of October.

CHAP. LXVI.

1677.

foreſaw how the prince's departure would be interpreted by the people. He reſolved, therefore, immediately to yield with a good grace; and having paid a compliment to his nephew's honeſty, he told Temple, that the marriage was concluded, and deſired him to inform the Duke of it, as of an affair already reſolved on. The duke ſeemed ſurprized; but yielded a prompt obedience: Which, he ſaid, was his conſtant maxim to whatever he found to be the King's pleaſure. No meaſure during this reign gave ſuch general ſatisfaction. All parties ſtrove who ſhould moſt applaud it. And even Arlington, who had been kept out of the ſecret, told the prince, "That ſome things, good in themſelves, were ſpoiled "by the manner of doing them, as ſome things bad "were mended by it; but he would confeſs, that this "was a thing ſo good in itſelf, that the manner of do-"ing it could not ſpoil it."

23d of October. Marriage of the prince of Orange with the lady Mary.

THIS marriage was a great ſurprize to Lewis, who, being accuſtomed to govern every thing in the Engliſh Court, now found ſo important a ſtep taken, not only without his conſent, but without his knowlege or participation. A conjunction of England with the allies, and a vigorous war in oppoſition to French ambition, were the conſequences immediately expected, both abroad and at home: But to check theſe ſanguine expectations, the King, a few days after the marriage, prolonged the adjournment of the Parliament from the third of December to the fourth of April. This term was too late for granting ſupplies, or making preparations for war; and could be choſen by the King for no other reaſon, but as an atonement to France for his conſent to the marriage.

Plan of peace.

THE King, however, entered into conſultations with the prince, together with Danby and Temple, concerning the terms which it would be proper to require of France. After ſome debate, it was agreed, that France ſhould reſtore Lorrain to the Duke; with Tour-

nay,

nay, Valenciennes, Condé, Aeth, Charleroi, Courtray, Oudenarde, and Binche to Spain, in order to form a good frontier for Flanders. The prince insisted much, that Franchecomté should likewise be restored; and Charles thought, that because he had patrimonial estates of great value in that province, and deemed his property more secure in the hands of Spain, he was engaged by such views to be obstinate in that point: But the prince very generously declared, that to procure but one good town to the Spaniards in Flanders, he would willingly abandon all those possessions. As the King still insisted on the impossibility of wresting Franchecomté from Lewis, the prince was obliged to submit. CHAP. LXVI. 1677.

NOTWITHSTANDING this concession to France, the projected peace was favourable to the allies; and it was a sufficient indication of vigour in the King, that he had given his assent to it. He farther agreed to send over a minister instantly to Paris, in order to propose these terms. This minister was to enter into no treaty: He was to allow but two days for the acceptance or refusal of the terms: Upon the expiration of these, he was immediately to return: And in case of refusal, the King promised immediately to enter into the confederacy. To carry so imperious a message, and so little expected from the English Court, Temple was the person pitched on, whose declared aversion to the French interest was not likely to make him fail of vigour and promptitude in the execution of his commission.

BUT Charles next day felt a relenting in this assumed vigour. Instead of Temple he dispatched the earl of Feversham, a creature of the Duke's, and a Frenchman by birth: And he said, that the message being harsh in itself, it was needless to aggravate it by a disagreeable messenger. The prince left London; and the King, at his departure, assured him, that he never would abate in the least point of the scheme concerted,

CHAP. LXVI.

1677.

and would enter into war with Lewis, if he refuſed it.

Negotiations.

LEWIS received the meſſage with ſeeming gentleneſs and complacency. He told Feverſham, that the King of England well knew, that he might always be maſter of the peace; but ſome of the towns in Flanders, it ſeemed very hard to demand, eſpecially Tournay, upon whoſe fortifications ſuch immenſe ſums had been expended: He would therefore take ſome ſhort time to conſider of an anſwer. Feverſham ſaid, that he was limited to two days ſtay: But when that time was elapſed, he was prevailed with to ſtay ſome few days longer; and he came away at laſt without any poſitive anſwer. Lewis ſaid, that he hoped his brother would not break with him for one or two towns: And with regard to them too, he would ſend orders to his ambaſſador at London to treat with the King himſelf. Charles was ſoftened by the ſoftneſs of France; and the blow was thus artfully eluded. The French ambaſſador, Barillon, owned, at laſt, that he had orders to yield all except Tournay, and even to treat about ſome equivalent for that fortreſs, if the King abſolutely inſiſted upon it. The prince was gone, who had given ſpirit to the Engliſh Court; and the negotiation began to draw out into meſſages and returns from Paris.

BY intervals, however, the King could rouze himſelf, and ſhow ſtill ſome firmneſs and reſolution. Finding that affairs were not likely to come to any concluſion with France, the Parliament, notwithſtanding the long adjournment, was aſſembled on the fifteenth of January; a very unuſual meaſure, and capable of giving alarm to the French Court. Temple was ſent for to the council, and the King told him, that he intended he ſhould go to Holland, in order to form a treaty of alliance with the States; and that the purpoſes of it ſhould be, like the triple league, to force both France and Spain to accept

cept of the terms proposed. Temple was sorry to find this act of vigour qualified by such a regard to France, and by such an appearance of indifference and neutrality between the parties. He told the King, that the resolution agreed on, was to begin the war in conjunction with all the confederates, in case of no direct and immediate answer from France: That this measure would satisfy the prince, the allies, and the people of England; advantages which could not be expected from such an alliance with Holland alone: That France would be disobliged, and Spain likewise; nor would the Dutch be satisfied with such a faint imitation of the triple league, a measure concerted when they were equally at peace with both parties. For these reasons, Temple declined the employment; and Laurence Hyde, second son to chancellor Clarendon, was sent in his place. 1677.

THE prince of Orange was surprized to observe such symptoms of weakness and vigour conjoined in the English councils. He was resolved, however, to make the best of a measure, which he did not approve; and as Spain secretly consented, that her ally should form a league, which was seemingly directed against her as well as France, but which was to fall only on the latter, the States concluded the treaty in the terms proposed by the King. 1678. 6th of January.

MEANWHILE, the English Parliament met, after some new delays; and the King was astonished, that, notwithstanding all the resolute measures, which, he thought, he had taken, great distrust and jealousy and discontent were apt, at intervals, still to prevail among the members. Though in his speech he had allowed, that a good peace could no longer be expected from negotiation, and assured them, that he was resolved to enter into war for that purpose; the Commons did not forbear to insert in their reply several very harsh and even 28th of January.

CHAP. LXVI.

1677.

and would enter into war with Lewis, if he refuſed it.

Negotiations.

Lewis received the meſſage with ſeeming gentleneſs and complacency. He told Feverſham, that the King of England well knew, that he might always be maſter of the peace; but ſome of the towns in Flanders, it ſeemed very hard to demand, eſpecially Tournay, upon whoſe fortifications ſuch immenſe ſums had been expended: He would therefore take ſome ſhort time to conſider of an anſwer. Feverſham ſaid, that he was limited to two days ſtay: But when that time was elapſed, he was prevailed with to ſtay ſome few days longer; and he came away at laſt without any poſitive anſwer. Lewis ſaid, that he hoped his brother would not break with him for one or two towns: And with regard to them too, he would ſend orders to his ambaſſador at London to treat with the King himſelf. Charles was ſoftened by the ſoftneſs of France; and the blow was thus artfully eluded. The French ambaſſador, Barillon, owned, at laſt, that he had orders to yield all except Tournay, and even to treat about ſome equivalent for that fortreſs, if the King abſolutely inſiſted upon it. The prince was gone, who had given ſpirit to the Engliſh Court; and the negotiation began to draw out into meſſages and returns from Paris.

By intervals, however, the King could rouze himſelf, and ſhow ſtill ſome firmneſs and reſolution. Finding that affairs were not likely to come to any concluſion with France, the Parliament, notwithſtanding the long adjournment, was aſſembled on the fifteenth of January; a very unuſual meaſure, and capable of giving alarm to the French Court. Temple was ſent for to the council, and the King told him, that he intended he ſhould go to Holland, in order to form a treaty of alliance with the States; and that the purpoſes of it ſhould be, like the triple league, to force both France and Spain to accept

cept of the terms proposed. Temple was sorry to find this act of vigour qualified by such a regard to France, and by such an appearance of indifference and neutrality between the parties. He told the King, that the resolution agreed on, was to begin the war in conjunction with all the confederates, in case of no direct and immediate answer from France: That this measure would satisfy the prince, the allies, and the people of England; advantages which could not be expected from such an alliance with Holland alone: That France would be disobliged, and Spain likewise; nor would the Dutch be satisfied with such a faint imitation of the triple league, a measure concerted when they were equally at peace with both parties. For these reasons, Temple declined the employment; and Laurence Hyde, second son to chancellor Clarendon, was sent in his place. CHAP. LXVI. 1677.

THE prince of Orange was surprized to observe such symptoms of weakness and vigour conjoined in the English councils. He was resolved, however, to make the best of a measure, which he did not approve; and as Spain secretly consented, that her ally should form a league, which was seemingly directed against her as well as France, but which was to fall only on the latter, the States concluded the treaty in the terms proposed by the King. 1678. 6th of January.

MEANWHILE, the English Parliament met, after some new delays; and the King was astonished, that, notwithstanding all the resolute measures, which, he thought, he had taken, great distrust and jealousy and discontent were apt, at intervals, still to prevail among the members. Though in his speech he had allowed, that a good peace could no longer be expected from negotiation, and assured them, that he was resolved to enter into war for that purpose; the Commons did not forbear to insert in their reply several very harsh and even 28th of January.

CHAP. LXVI.

1678.

unreaſonable clauſes. Upon his reproving them, they ſeemed penitent, and voted, that they would aſſiſt his Majeſty in the proſecution of the war. A fleet of ninety ſail, an army of thirty thouſand men, and a million of money were alſo voted. Great difficulties were made by the Commons with regard to the army, which the Houſe, judging by paſt meaſures, believed to be intended more againſt the liberties of England than againſt the progreſs of the French Monarch. To this perilous ſituation had the King reduced both himſelf and the nation. In all debates, ſevere ſpeeches were made, and were received with a ſeeming approbation: The Duke and the treaſurer began to be apprehenſive of impeachments: Many motions againſt the King's miniſters were loſt by a very ſmall majority: The Commons appointed a day to conſider the ſtate of the kingdom with regard to popery: And they even went ſo far as to vote, that, how urgent ſoever the occaſion, they would lay no farther charge on the people, till ſecured againſt the prevalence of the catholic party. In ſhort, the Parliament were impatient for war whenever the King ſeemed averſe to it; but grew ſuſpicious of ſome ſiniſter deſign ſo ſoon as he complied with their requeſts, and ſeemed to enter into their meaſures.

THE King was enraged at this laſt vote: He reproached Temple with his popular notions, as he termed them; and aſked him how he thought the Houſe of Commons could be truſted for carrying on the war, ſhould it be entered on, when in the very commencement they made ſuch declarations. The uncertainties indeed of Charles's conduct were ſo multiplied, and the jealouſies on both ſides ſo incurable, that even thoſe who approached neareſt the ſcene of action could not determine, whether the King ever ſeriouſly meant to enter into war, or whether, if he did, the Houſe of Commons would not have taken advantage of his neceſſities, and made

made him purchaſe ſupplies by a great ſacrifice of his authority *.

CHAP. LXVI.

1678.

THE King of France knew how to avail himſelf of all the advantages, which theſe diſtractions afforded him. By his emiſſaries, he repreſented to the Dutch, the uncertainty of their dependance on England; where an indolent King, averſe to all war, eſpecially with France, and irreſolute in his meaſures, was actuated only by the uncertain breath of a factious Parliament. To the ariſtocratic faction, he remarked the danger of the Prince's alliance with the Royal Family of England, and revived their apprehenſions, leſt, in imitation of his father, who had been honoured with the ſame alliance, he ſhould violently attempt to enlarge his authority, and enſlave his native country. In order to ſecond theſe motives with ſome farther terrors, he himſelf took the field very early in the ſpring; and after threatning Luxembourg, Mons, and Namur, he ſat down ſuddenly before Ghent and Ypres, and in a few weeks made himſelf maſter of both places. This ſucceſs gave great alarm to the Hollanders, who were no wiſe ſatisfied with the conduct of England, or with the ambiguous treaty lately concluded; and it quickened all their paces towards an accommodation.

Campaign of 1678.

IMMEDIATELY after the Parliament had voted the ſupply, the King began to inliſt forces; and ſuch was the ardour of the Engliſh for a war with France, that an army of above 20,000 men, to the aſtoniſhment of all Europe, were compleated in a few weeks. Three thouſand men, under the duke of Monmouth, were ſent over to ſecure Oſtend: Some regiments were recalled from the French ſervice: A fleet was fitted out with great diligence: And a quadruple alliance was projected between England, Holland, Spain, and the Emperor.

BUT theſe vigorous meaſures received a ſudden damp from a paſſionate addreſs of the lower Houſe; in which

* Temple, vol. I. p. 461.

CHAP. LXVI.

1678.

they justified all their past proceedings, that had given disgust to the King; desired to be acquainted with the measures taken by him; prayed him to dismiss evil counsellors; and named in particular the duke of Lauderdale, on whose removal they strenuously insisted. The King told them, that their address was so extravagant, that he was not willing speedily to give it the answer, which it deserved. And he began again to lend an ear to the proposals of France, who offered him great sums of money, if he would consent to their making an advantageous peace with the allies.

Negotiations.

TEMPLE, though pressed by the King, refused to have any concern in so dishonourable a negotiation: But he informs us, that the King said, there was one article proposed, which so incensed him, that, as long as he lived, he would never forget it. Sir William goes no farther; but the editor of his works, the famous Dr. Swift, says, that the French, before they would agree to any payment, required as a preliminary, that the King should engage never to keep above 8000 regular troops in his three kingdoms. Charles broke into a passion, "Cod's-fish," said he, his usual oath, "Does my "brother of France think to serve me thus? Are all his "promises to make me absolute master of my people "come to this? Or does he think *that* a thing to be "done with eight thousand men?"

VAN BEVERNING was the Dutch ambassador at Nimeguen, a man of great authority with the States. He was very eager for peace, and was perswaded, that the reluctance of the King and the jealousies of the Parliament would for ever disappoint the allies in their hopes of succour from England. Orders were sent him by the States to go to the French King at Ghent, and concert the terms of a general treaty, as well as procure a present truce for six weeks. The terms agreed on were much worse for the Spaniards, than those planned by the

the King and the Prince of Orange. Six towns, ſome of them of no great importance, were to be reſtored to them: But Ypres, Condé, Valenciennes, and Tournay, in which conſiſted the chief ſtrength of their frontier, were to remain with France. CHAR. LXVI. 1678.

GREAT murmurs aroſe in England when it was known, that Flanders was to be left in ſo defenceleſs a condition. The chief complaints were levelled againſt the King, who, by his concurrence at firſt, by his favour afterwards, and by his delays at laſt, had raiſed the power of France to ſuch an enormous height, that it threatened the general liberties of Europe. Charles, uneaſy under theſe imputations, dreading the conſequence of loſing the affections of his ſubjects, and perhaps diſguſted with the ſecret article propoſed by France, began to wiſh heartily for war, which, he hoped, would have reſtored him to his antient popularity.

AN opportunity very unexpectedly offered itſelf for his diſplaying theſe new diſpoſitions. While the ambaſſadors at Nimeguen were concerting the terms of a general treaty, the marquis de Balbaces, the Spaniſh ambaſſador, aſked the ambaſſadors of France, at what time France intended to reſtore the ſix towns in Flanders. They made no difficulty of declaring, that the King, their maſter, being obliged to ſee an entire reſtitution made to the Swedes of all they had loſt in the war, could not evacuate theſe towns, till that Crown had received ſatisfaction; and that this detention of places was the only means to induce the Princes of the North to accept of the peace.

THE States immediately gave the King intelligence of a pretenſion, which might be attended with ſuch dangerous conſequences. The king was both ſurprized and angry. He immediately diſpatched Temple to concert with the States vigorous meaſures for oppoſing France. Temple in ſix days concluded a treaty, by which Lewis 16th of July. was

CHAP. LXVI. 1678.

was obliged to declare within ſixteen after the date, that he would preſently evacuate the towns: And in caſe of his refuſal, Holland was engaged to continue the war, and England immediately to declare againſt France, in conjunction with the whole confederacy.

ALL theſe warlike meaſures were ſo little ſeconded by the Parliament, where even the French miniſters were ſuſpected of carrying on ſome intrigues, that the Commons renewed their former jealouſies againſt the King, and voted the army immediately to be diſbanded. The King by a meſſage repreſented the danger of diſarming before peace was concluded; and he recommended to their conſideration, whether he could honourably recall his forces from thoſe towns in Flanders, which had put themſelves under his protection, and which had at preſent no other means of defence. The Commons agreed to prolong the term with regard to theſe forces. Every thing indeed in Europe wore the appearance of war. France had poſitively declared, that ſhe would not evacuate the towns before the requiſite ceſſion was made to Sweden; and her honour ſeemed now engaged to ſupport that declaration. Spain and the Empire, extremely diſguſted with the terms of peace, impoſed by Holland, ſaw with pleaſure the proſpect of a powerful ſupport from the new reſolutions of Charles. Holland itſelf, encouraged by the Prince of Orange and his party, was not diſpleaſed to find that the war would be renewed on more equal terms. The allied army under that Prince was approaching towards Mons, then blockaded by France. A conſiderable body of Engliſh forces under the duke of Monmouth, were ready to join him.

CHARLES uſually paſſed a great part of his time in the women's apartments, particularly thoſe of the dutcheſs of Portſmouth; where, among other gay company, he often met with Barillon, the French ambaſſador, a man of polite converſation, who was admitted into all the amuſe-

ments

CHAP. LXVI.

1678.

ments of that inglorious, but agreeable monarch. It was the charms of this ſauntering eaſy life, which, during the latter part of his life, attached Charles to his miſtreſſes. By the inſinuations of Barillon and the dutcheſs of Portſmouth, an order was, in an unguarded hour, procured, which inſtantly changed the face of affairs in Europe. One du Cros, a French fugitive monk, was ſent to Temple, directing him to apply to the Swediſh ambaſſador, and perſwade him not to inſiſt on the conditions required by France, but to ſacrifice to general peace thoſe intereſts of Sweden. Du Cros, who had ſecretly received inſtructions from Barillon, publiſhed every where in Holland the commiſſion, with which he was intruſted; and all men took the alarm. It was concluded, that Charles's ſudden alacrity for war was as ſuddenly extinguiſhed, and that no ſteady meaſures could ever be taken with England. The King afterwards, when he ſaw Temple, treated this important matter in raillery; and ſaid laughing, that the rogue du Cros had outwitted them all.

THE negotiations however at Nimeguen ſtill continued; and the French ambaſſadors ſpun out the time, till the morning of the fatal day, which, by the late treaty between England and Holland, was to determine, whether a ſudden peace or a long war was to have place in Chriſtendom. The French ambaſſadors came then to Van Beverning, and told him, that they had received orders to conſent to the evacuation of the towns, and immediately to conclude and ſign the peace. Van Beverning might have refuſed compliance, becauſe it was now impoſſible to procure the conſent and concurrence of Spain; but he had entertained ſo juſt an idea of the fluctuations in the Engliſh councils, and was ſo much alarmed by the late commiſſion given to du Cros, that he deemed it fortunate for the Republic to conclude on any terms a dangerous war, where they were likely to be very

1ſt of Auguſt.

CHAP. LXVI.

1678.

very ill supported. The papers were instantly drawn up, and signed by the ministers of France and Holland between eleven and twelve a clock at night. By this treaty, France secured the possession of Franchecomté, together with Cambray, Aire, St. Omer, Valenciennes, Tournay, Ypres, Bouchaine, Cassel, &c. and restored to Spain only Charleroi, Courtrai, Oudenard, Aeth, Ghent, and Limbourg.

NEXT day Temple received an express from England, which brought the ratifications of the treaty lately concluded with the States, with orders immediately to proceed to the exchange of them. Charles was now returned to his former inclinations for war with France.

VAN BEVERNING was loudly exclaimed against by the ambassadors of the allies at Nimeguen, especially those of Brandenburg and Denmark, whose masters were obliged by the treaty to restore all their acquisitions. The ministers of Spain and the Emperor were sullen and disgusted; and all men hoped, that the States, importuned and encouraged by continual sollicitations from England, would disavow their ambassador, and renew the war. The Prince of Orange even took a very extraordinary step, in order to engage them to that measure; or perhaps to give vent to his own spleen and resentment. The day after signing the peace at Nimeguen, he attacked the French army at St. Dennis near Mons; and gained some advantage over Luxembourg, who rested secure on the faith of the treaty, and concluded the war to be finished. † The Prince knew, at least had reason to believe, that the peace was signed, though it had not been formally notified to him; and he here sacrificed wantonly, without a proper motive, the lives of many brave men on both sides, who fell in this sharp and well contested action.

HYDE was sent over with a view of perswading the States to disavow Van Beverning; and the King promised,

† Reynard in his Voyage de Flandre, writes in 1682, declares that the battle took place "le poinct d'Orange en ayant leur les articles signés."

CHAP. LXVI. 1678.

miſed, that England, if ſhe might depend on Holland, would immediately declare war, and would purſue it, till France was reduced to reaſonable conditions. Charles at preſent went farther than words. He hurried on the embarkation of his army for Flanders, and all his preparations wore a hoſtile appearance. But the States had been too often deceived to truſt him any longer. They ratified the treaty ſigned at Nimeguen; and all the other Powers of Europe were at laſt, after much clamour and many diſguſts, obliged to accept of the terms preſcribed to them.

Peace of Nimeguen.

LEWIS had now reached the height of that glory, which ambition can afford. His miniſters and negotiators appeared as much ſuperior to thoſe of all Europe in the cabinet, as his generals and armies had been experienced in the field. A ſucceſsful war had been carried on againſt an alliance, compoſed of the greateſt Potentates in Europe. Conſiderable conqueſts had been made, and his territories enlarged on every ſide. An advantageous peace was at laſt concluded, where he had given the law. The allies were ſo enraged againſt each other, that they were not likely to cement ſoon in any new confederacy. And thus he had, during ſome years, a real and near proſpect of attaining the Monarchy of Europe, and of exceeding the Empire of Charlemagne, perhaps equalling that of antient Rome. Had England continued much longer in the ſame condition, and under the ſame government, it is not eaſy to conceive, that he could have failed of his purpoſe.

IN proportion as theſe circumſtances exalted the French, they excited indignation among the Engliſh, whoſe animoſity, rouzed by terror, mounted to a great height againſt that rival nation. Inſtead of taking the lead in the affairs of Europe, Charles, they thought, had, contrary to his own honour and intereſt, acted a part entirely ſubſervient to the common enemy, and in all his

CHAP. LXIV. 1678.

sures had either no project at all, or such as was highly criminal and dangerous. While Spain, Holland, the Emperor, the Princes of Germany called aloud on England to lead them to victory and to liberty, and conspired to raise her to a station more glorious than she had ever before attained; her King, from mean pecuniary views, had secretly sold his alliance to Lewis, and was bribed into an interest contrary to that of his people. His active schemes in conjunction with France were highly pernicious; his neutrality was equally ignominious; and the jealous, refractory behaviour of the Parliament, though in itself dangerous, was the only remedy for so many greater ills, with which the public, from the misguided councils of the King, was so nearly threatened. Such were the dispositions of men's minds at the conclusion of the Peace of Nimeguen: And these dispositions very naturally prepared the way for the events which followed.

State of affairs in Scotland.

We must now return to the affairs of Scotland, which we left in some disorder, after the suppression of the insurrection in 1666. The King, who at that time endeavoured to render himself popular in England, adopted like measures in Scotland, and he entrusted the government chiefly into the hands of Tweddale, and Sir Robert Murray, men of prudence and moderation. These ministers made it their principal occupation to compose the religious differences, which ran very high, and for which scarce any modern nation but the Dutch, had as yet found out the proper remedy. As rigour and restraint had failed in Scotland, a scheme of *comprehension* was tried; by which it was proposed to diminish greatly the authority of bishops, to abolish their negative voice in the ecclesiastical courts, and to leave them little more than the right of precedency among the presbyters. But the zealots entertained great jealousy against this scheme. They remembered, that it was by such gradual steps that

CHAP. LXVI. 1678.

that King James endeavoured to introduce episcopacy. Should the ears and eyes of men be once reconciled to the name and habit of bishops, the whole power of the function, they dreaded, would soon follow: The least communication with unlawful and antichristian institutions they esteemed dangerous and criminal: *Touch not, taste not, handle not*; this cry went out amongst them: And the King's ministers at last perceived that they should prostitute the dignity of government, by making advances, to which the malecontents were determined not not to correspond.

THE next project adopted was that of *indulgence*. In prosecution of this scheme, the most popular of the expelled preachers, without requiring any terms of submission to the established religion, were settled in vacant churches; and small salaries of about twenty pounds a year were offered to the rest, till they should otherwise be provided for. These last refused the King's bounty, which they considered as the wages of a criminal silence. Even the former soon repented their compliance. The people, who had been accustomed to hear them rail against their superiors, and preach to the times, as they called it, deemed their sermons languid and spiritless, when deprived of these ornaments. Their usual gifts, they thought, had left them, on account of their submission, which was stigmatized as erastianism. They gave them the appellation, not of ministers of Christ, but of *the King's curates*; as the clergy of the established church were commonly denominated the *bishops curates*. The preachers themselves returned in a little time to their former practices, by which they hoped to regain their former dominion over the minds of men; a superiority, which no one, who has ever possessed it, will willingly, by any consideration, be prevailed on to relinquish. The conventicles multiplied daily in the West: The clergy of the established church were insulted:

The

CHAP. LXVI. 1678.

The laws were neglected: The Covenanters even met daily in arms at their places of worſhip: And though they uſually diſperſed themſelves after religious ſervice, yet the government took a juſt alarm at ſeeing men, who were ſo entirely governed by their ſeditious teachers, dare to ſet authority at defiance, and during a time of full peace, to put themſelves in a military poſture.

There was here, it is apparent, in the political body, a diſeaſe very dangerous and inveterate; and the government had tried every remedy, but the true one, to allay and correct it. An unlimited toleration, after ſects have diffuſed themſelves and are ſtrongly rooted, is the only expedient, which can allay their fervour, and make the civil union acquire a ſuperiority above religious diſtinctions. But as the operations of this regimen are commonly very gradual, and at firſt imperceptible, vulgar politicians are apt, for that reaſon, to have recourſe to more haſty and more dangerous remedies. It is obſervable too, that theſe non-conformiſts in Scotland neither offered nor demanded toleration; but laid claim to an entire ſuperiority, and to the exerciſe of extreme rigour againſt their adverſaries. The covenant, which they idolized, was a perſecuting, as well as a ſeditious band of confederacy: and the government, inſtead of treating them like madmen, who ſhould be ſoothed, and flattered, and deceived into tranquillity, thought themſelves intitled to a rigid obedience, and were too apt, from a miſtaken policy, to retaliate upon the diſſenters, who had erred from the ſpirit of enthuſiaſm.

Amidſt theſe diſturbances, a new parliament was aſſembled at Edinburgh *; and Lauderdale was ſent down commiſſioner. The zealous preſbyterians, who were the chief patrons of liberty, were too obnoxious to reſiſt the meaſures of the government; and the tyde ſtill ran ſtrong in favour of monarchy. The commiſſioner had

* 19th of October, 1669.

ſuch

CHAP. LXVI. 1678.

such influence as to get two acts passed, which were of the utmost consequence to the civil and ecclesiastical liberties of the kingdom. By the one, it was declared, that the settling all things with regard to the external government of the church was a right of the crown: That whatever related to ecclesiastical meetings, matters, and persons, were to be ordered, according to such directions as the King should send to his Privy Council: And that these, being published by them, should have the force of laws. The other act regarded the militia, which the King by his own authority had two years before established, in place of the army which was broke. By this act, the militia was settled to the number of 22000 men, who were to be constantly armed, and regularly disciplined. And it was farther enacted, that these troops should be held in readiness to march into England, Ireland, or any part of the King's dominions, for any cause in which his Majesty's authority, power, or greatness was concerned; on receiving orders not from the King, but the Privy Council of Scotland.

LAUDERDALE boasted extremely of his services in procuring these two laws: The King by the former was rendered absolute master of the church, and might legally, even by an edict, re-establish, if he thought proper, the Catholic religion in Scotland: By the latter, he saw a powerful force ready at his call: He had even the advantage of being able to disguise his orders under the name of the Privy Council; and in case of failure in his enterprizes, could, by such a pretence, apologize for his conduct to the English parliament. But in proportion as these laws were agreeable to the King, they gave alarm to the English Commons, and were the chief cause of those redoubled attacks, which they made upon Lauderdale. These attacks, however, served only to fortify him in his interest with the King; and tho' it is probable, that the Scots militia, during the divided state of

CHAP. LXVI. 1678.

The laws were neglected: The Covenanters even met daily in arms at their places of worſhip: And though they uſually diſperſed themſelves after religious ſervice, yet the government took a juſt alarm at ſeeing men, who were ſo entirely governed by their ſeditious teachers, dare to ſet authority at defiance, and during a time of full peace, to put themſelves in a military poſture.

THERE was here, it is apparent, in the political body, a diſeaſe very dangerous and inveterate; and the government had tried every remedy, but the true one, to allay and correct it. An unlimited toleration, after ſects have diffuſed themſelves and are ſtrongly rooted, is the only expedient, which can allay their fervour, and make the civil union acquire a ſuperiority above religious diſtinctions. But as the operations of this regimen are commonly very gradual, and at firſt imperceptible, vulgar politicians are apt, for that reaſon, to have recourſe to more haſty and more dangerous remedies. It is obſervable too, that theſe non-conformiſts in Scotland neither offered nor demanded toleration; but laid claim to an entire ſuperiority, and to the exerciſe of extreme rigour againſt their adverſaries. The covenant, which they idolized, was a perſecuting, as well as a ſeditious band of confederacy: and the government, inſtead of treating them like madmen, who ſhould be ſoothed, and flattered, and deceived into tranquillity, thought themſelves intitled to a rigid obedience, and were too apt, from a miſtaken policy, to retaliate upon the diſſenters, who had erred from the ſpirit of enthuſiaſm.

Amidſt theſe diſturbances, a new parliament was aſſembled at Edinburgh *; and Lauderdale was ſent down commiſſioner. The zealous preſbyterians, who were the chief patrons of liberty, were too obnoxious to reſiſt the meaſures of the government; and the tyde ſtill ran ſtrong in favour of monarchy. The commiſſioner had

* 19th of October, 1669.

ſuch

1678.

such influence as to get two acts passed, which were of the utmost consequence to the civil and ecclesiastical liberties of the kingdom. By the one, it was declared, that the settling all things with regard to the external government of the church was a right of the crown: That whatever related to ecclesiastical meetings, matters, and persons, were to be ordered, according to such directions as the King should send to his Privy Council: And that these, being published by them, should have the force of laws. The other act regarded the militia, which the King by his own authority had two years before established, in place of the army which was broke. By this act, the militia was settled to the number of 22000 men, who were to be constantly armed, and regularly disciplined. And it was farther enacted, that these troops should be held in readiness to march into England, Ireland, or any part of the King's dominions, for any cause in which his Majesty's authority, power, or greatness was concerned; on receiving orders not from the King, but the Privy Council of Scotland.

LAUDERDALE boasted extremely of his services in procuring these two laws: The King by the former was rendered absolute master of the church, and might legally, even by an edict, re-establish, if he thought proper, the Catholic religion in Scotland: By the latter, he saw a powerful force ready at his call: He had even the advantage of being able to disguise his orders under the name of the Privy Council; and in case of failure in his enterprizes, could, by such a pretence, apologize for his conduct to the English parliament. But in proportion as these laws were agreeable to the King, they gave alarm to the English Commons, and were the chief cause of those redoubled attacks, which they made upon Lauderdale. These attacks, however, served only to fortify him in his interest with the King; and tho' it is probable, that the Scots militia, during the divided state of

CHAP. LXVI.

1678.

that kingdom, would, if matters had come to extremity, have been of very little ſervice againſt England; yet did Charles regard the credit of it as a conſiderable ſupport to his authority: And Lauderdale, by degrees, became the prime or rather ſole miniſter for Scotland. The natural indolence of the King diſpoſed him to give entire confidence to a man, who had ſo far extended the royal Prerogative, and who was ſtill diſpoſed to render it abſolutely uncontroulable.

In a ſubſequent ſeſſion of the ſame Parliament*, a ſevere law was enacted againſt conventicles. Ruinous fines were impoſed both on the preachers and hearers, even if the meetings had been in houſes; but field conventicles were ſubjected to the penalty of death and confiſcation of goods: Four hundred marks Scots were offered as a reward to thoſe who ſhould ſeize the criminals; and they were indemnified for any ſlaughter, which they ſhould commit in the execution of ſuch an undertaking. And as it was found difficult to get evidence againſt theſe conventicles, however numerous, it was enacted by another law, that, whoever, being required by the Council, refuſed to give information upon oath, ſhould be puniſhed by arbitrary fines, by impriſonment, or by baniſhment to the plantations. Thus all perſecution naturally, or rather neceſſarily, adopts the iniquities, as well as rigors, of the inquiſition. What a conſiderable part of the ſociety conſider as their duty and honour, and the others are apt to regard with compaſſion and indulgence, can by no other expedient be ſubjected to ſuch ſevere penalties as the natural ſentiments of mankind appropriate only to the greateſt crimes.

Tho' Lauderdale found this ready compliance in the Parliament, a party was formed againſt him, of which duke Hamilton was the head. Next ſeſſion†, this party

* 28th of July, 1670.

† 16th of June, 1673.

had become conſiderable: And many were diſguſted, as well with Lauderdale's inſolence, as with the grievances, under which the nation laboured. The firſt Parliament of this reign had acknowleged, that the regulation of all foreign trade was an inherent branch of royal prerogative. In conſequence of this important conceſſion, the King, by an act of council, had prohibited the importation of brandy and all ſpirits; and the execution of this edict was committed to lord Elphinſtone, a relation of Lauderdale's. Elphinſtone made no other uſe of this power than to ſell licences to the merchants, by which expedient he gained great ſums to himſelf, tho' to the loſs of the revenue, as well as of the kingdom. A monopoly of ſalt had alſo been granted to lord Kincardine; and a new impoſition on tobacco had been beſtowed in gift upon Sir John Nicolſon, for the benefit of himſelf and ſome friends of Lauderdale. When theſe grievances were complained of, the commiſſioner, who was deſirous to prevent all parliamentary enquiry, choſe rather to redreſs them in council; and he accordingly cancelled the three patents complained of. But as farther grievances were mentioned, and a general repreſentation of the ſtate of the kingdom was propoſed to be made by Parliament: Lauderdale oppoſed, as a barrier, the Lords of Articles, without whoſe conſent, he ſaid, no motion could be received. Men were now convinced of their imprudence in reſtoring that inſtitution, which rendered all national aſſemblies in a manner uſeleſs for the redreſs of grievances.

CHAP. LXVI. 1678.

HAMILTON, Tweddale, and others went to London, and applied to the King, who was alone able to correct the abuſes of Lauderdale's adminiſtration. But even their complaints to him might be dangerous; and all approaches of truth to the Throne were barred by the ridiculous law againſt leaſing-making; a law, which ſeems

CHAP. LXVI.

1678.

have been extorted by the antient nobles, in order to protect their own tyranny, oppreſſion, and injuſtice. Great precautions, therefore, were uſed by the Scots malecontents in their repreſentations to the King; but no redreſs was obtained. Charles loaded them with careſſes, and continued Lauderdale in his authority.

A VERY bad, at leaſt a ſevere uſe was made of this authority. The Privy Council diſpoſſeſſed twelve gentlemen or noblemen of their houſes *; and theſe houſes were converted into ſo many garriſons, eſtabliſhed for the ſuppreſſion of conventicles. The nation, it was pretended, was really, on account of theſe religious aſſemblies, in a ſtate of war; and by the antient law, the King, in ſuch an emergence, was empowered to place a garriſon in any houſe, where he ſhould judge it expedient.

IT were endleſs to recount every act of violence and arbitrary authority exerciſed during Lauderdale's adminiſtration. All the lawyers were put from the bar, nay, baniſhed by the King's order twelve miles from Edinburgh, and by that means the whole juſtice of the kingdom was ſuſpended for a year; till theſe lawyers were brought to declare it as their opinion, that all appeals to Parliament were illegal. A letter was procured from the King, for turning out twelve of the chief magiſtrates of Edinburgh, and declaring them incapable of all public office; tho' their only crime had been their want of compliance with Lauderdale. The burroughs of Scotland have a privilege of meeting once a year by their deputies, in order to conſider the ſtate of trade, and make bye-laws for its regulation: In this convention a petition was voted, complaining of ſome late laws, which obſtructed commerce, and praying the King, that he would impower his commiſſioner, in the next ſeſſion of Parliament, to give his aſſent to the repealing them. For

* In 1675.

1678.

this preſumption, as it was called, ſeveral of the members were fined and impriſoned. One More, a member of Parliament, having moved in the houſe, that, in imitation of the Engliſh Parliament, no bill ſhould paſs except after three readings, he was for this pretended offence immediately ſent to priſon by the commiſſioner.

THE private deportment of Lauderdale was as inſolent and provoking as his public adminiſtration was violent and tyrannical. Juſtice likewiſe was univerſally perverted by faction and intereſt: And from the great rapacity of that duke, and ſtill more of his dutcheſs, all offices and favours were openly put to ſale. No-one was allowed to approach the Throne who was not dependant on him; and no remedy could be hoped for or obtained againſt his manifold oppreſſions. The caſe of Mitchel ſhows, that this miniſter was as much devoid of truth and honour as of lenity and juſtice.

MITCHEL was a deſperate fanatic, and had entertained a reſolution of aſſaſſinating Sharpe, archbiſhop of St. Andrews, who, by his former apoſtacy and ſubſequent rigour, had rendered himſelf extremely odious to all men, eſpecially to the Covenanters. In the year 1668, Mitchel fired a piſtol at the primate, as he was ſitting in his coach; but the biſhop of Orkney, ſtepping into the coach, happened to ſtretch out his arm, which intercepted the ball, and was much ſhattered by it. This happened in the principal ſtreet of the city; but ſo generally was the archbiſhop deteſted, that the aſſaſſin was allowed peaceably to walk off; and having turned a ſtreet or two, and thrown off a wig, which diſguiſed him, he immediately appeared in public, and remained altogether unſuſpected. Some years afterwards, Sharpe remarked a man, who ſeemed to eye him very eagerly; and being ſtill anxious, leſt an attempt of aſſaſſination ſhould be renewed, he ordered him to be ſeized and examined. Two loaded piſtols were found upon him; and as he

CHAP. LXVI.

1678.

was now concluded to be the author of the former attempt, Sharpe promiſed, that if he would confeſs his guilt, he ſhould be diſmiſſed without any puniſhment. Mitchel was ſo credulous as to believe him; but was immediately produced before the council by the faithleſs primate. The council, having no proof againſt him, but hoping to involve the whole body of Covenanters in this odious crime, very ſolemnly renewed the promiſe of pardon, if he would make a full diſcovery; and it was a great diſappointment to them, when they found, upon his confeſſion, that only one perſon, who was now dead, had been acquainted with his bloody reſolutions. Mitchel was next carried before a court of judicature, and required to renew his confeſſion; but being apprehenſive, that, tho' a pardon for life had been promiſed him, other corporal puniſhments might ſtill be inflicted, he refuſed compliance; and was ſent back to priſon. He was next examined before the council, under pretence of his being concerned in the inſurrection at Pentland; and tho' no proof appeared againſt him, he was put to the queſtion, and contrary to the moſt obvious principles of equity, was urged to accuſe himſelf. He endured the torture with ſingular reſolution, and continued obſtinate in the denial of a crime, of which, it is believed, he really was not guilty. Inſtead of obtaining his liberty, he was ſent to the Baſs, a very high rock, ſurrounded by the ſea; at this time converted into a ſtate priſon, and full of the unhappy Covenanters. He there remained in great miſery, loaded with irons; till the year 1677, when it was reſolved by ſome new examples to ſtrike a freſh terror into the perſecuted, but ſtill obſtinate enthuſiaſts. Mitchel was then brought before a court of judicature, and put upon his trial, for an attempt to aſſaſſinate an archbiſhop and a privy counſellor. His former confeſſion was pleaded againſt him, and was proved by the teſtimony of the duke of Lauder-

dale,

dale, lord commiſſioner, lord Hatton his brother, deputy treaſurer, the earl of Rothes, chancellor, and the primate himſelf. Mitchel, beſides maintaining that the Privy Council was no court of judicature, and that a confeſſion before them was not judicial, aſſerted, that he had been engaged to make that confeſſion by a ſolemn promiſe of pardon which had been given him. The four privy counſellors denied upon oath, that any ſuch promiſe had ever been given. The priſoner then deſired, that the council books might be produced in court; and even offered a copy of that day's proceedings to be read; but the Privy Counſellors maintained, that, after they had made oath, no farther proof could be admitted, and that the books of Privy Council contained the King's ſecrets, which were on no account to be divulged. They were not probably aware, when they ſwore, that the clerk having engroſſed the promiſe of pardon in the narrative of Mitchel's confeſſion, the whole minute had been ſigned by the chancellor, and that the proofs of their perjury were by that means committed to record. Tho' the priſoner was condemned, Lauderdale was ſtill inclined to pardon him; but the unrelenting primate rigorouſly inſiſted upon his execution, and ſaid, that, if aſſaſſins remained unpuniſhed, his life muſt be expoſed to perpetual danger. Mitchel was accordingly executed at Edinburgh in January 1678. Such a complication of cruelty and treachery ſhews the character of thoſe miniſters, to whom the King had entruſted the government of Scotland.

LAUDERDALE's adminiſtration, beſides the iniquities ariſing from the extreme violence of his temper, and the ſtill greater iniquities inſeparable from all projects of perſecution, was attended with other circumſtances, which engaged him into ſevere and arbitrary meaſures. An abſolute government was to be introduced, which on its commencement is often moſt rigorous; and tyranny

CHAP. LXVI. 1678.

was ſtill obliged, for want of military power, to cover itſelf under an appearance of law; a ſituation which rendered it extremely awkward in its motions, and by provoking oppoſition, extended the fury of its oppreſſions.

THE rigours, exerciſed againſt conventicles, inſtead of breaking the ſpirit of the fanatics, had tended only, as is uſual, to render them more obſtinate in their errors, to increaſe the fervour of their zeal, to link them more cloſely with each other, and to enflame them againſt the eſtabliſhed hierarchy. The Commonalty, almoſt every where in the South, particularly in the Weſtern counties, frequented conventicles without reſerve; and the gentry, tho' they themſelves commonly abſtained from theſe illegal places of worſhip, connived at this irregularity in their inferiors. In order to engage the former on the ſide of the perſecutors, a bond or contract was by order of the Privy Council tendered to the landlords in the Weſt, by which they were to engage for the good behaviour of their tenants; and in caſe any tenant frequented a conventicle, they were to ſubject themſelves to the ſame fine as could by law be exacted from the delinquent. It was ridiculous to give ſanction to laws by voluntary contracts: It was iniquitous to make one man anſwerable for another's conduct: It was illegal to impoſe ſuch hard conditions upon men, who had no wiſe offended. For theſe reaſons, the greateſt part of the gentry refuſed to ſign thoſe bonds; and Lauderdale, enraged at this oppoſition, endeavoured to break their ſpirit by expedients, which were ſtill more unuſual and more arbitrary.

THE law enacted againſt conventicles, had called them ſeminaries of rebellion. This expreſſion, which was nothing but a flouriſh of rhetoric, Lauderdale and the Privy Council were willing to underſtand in a literal ſenſe: and becauſe the weſtern counties abounded in conventicles,

venticles, tho' otherwiſe in the moſt profound peace, they pretended, that theſe counties were in a ſtate of actual war and rebellion. They made therefore an agreement with ſome highland chieftains to call out their clans to the number of 8000 men: to theſe they joined the guards, and the militia of Angus: And they ſent the whole to live on free quarter upon the lands of ſuch as had refuſed the bonds illegally required of them. The obnoxious counties were the moſt populous and moſt induſtrious in Scotland: The highlanders were the people the moſt diſorderly and the leaſt civilized. It is eaſy to imagine the havoc and deſtruction, which enſued. A multitude, not accuſtomed to military diſcipline, averſe to the reſtraint of laws, trained up in rapine and violence, were let looſe amidſt thoſe whom they were taught to regard as enemies to their Prince and to their religion. Nothing eſcaped their ravenous hands: By hardſhips, and ſometimes by tortures, men were obliged to diſcover their concealed wealth. Neither age, nor ſex, nor innocence afforded protection: And the gentry, finding that even thoſe who had been moſt compliant, and who had ſubſcribed the bonds, were alike expoſed to the rapacity of thoſe barbarians, confirmed themſelves ſtill more in the obſtinate reſolution of refuſing them. The voice of the nation was raiſed againſt this enormous outrage; and after two months free quarter, the highlanders were at laſt ſent back to their hills, loaded with the ſpoils and execrations of the Weſt.

CHAP. LXVI. 1678.

THOSE who had been engaged to ſubſcribe the bonds, could find no ſecurity but by turning out ſuch tenants as they ſuſpected of an inclination to conventicles, and thereby depopulating their eſtates. To encreaſe the miſery of theſe unhappy tenants the council enacted, that none ſhould be received any where, or allowed a habitation, who brought not a certificate of his conformity from the pariſh-miniſter. That the obſtinate and refractory

CHAP. LXVI.

1678.

factory might not escape farther persecution, a new device was fallen upon. By the law of Scotland, any man, who should go before a magistrate, and swear that he thought himself in danger from another, might obtain a writ of *law-burrows*, as it is called; by which the latter was bound, under the penalty of imprisonment and outlawry, to find security for his good behaviour. Lauderdale entertained the absurd notion of making the King sue for writs of law-burrows against his subjects. On this pretence, the refusers of the bonds were summoned to appear before the council, and were required to bind themselves, under the penalty of two years rent, neither to frequent conventicles themselves, nor allow their family and tenants to be present at those unlawful assemblies. Thus chicanery was joined to tyranny; and the Majesty of the King, instead of being exalted, was in reality prostituted; as if he were obliged to seek the same security, which one neighbour might require of another.

It was an old law, but seldom executed, that a man, who was accused of any crime, and did not appear, in order to take his trial, might be *intercommuned*, that is, he might be publicly outlawed; and whoever afterwards, either on account of business, relation, nay charity, had the least intercourse with him, was subjected to the same penalties as could by law be inflicted on the criminal himself. A great many writs of intercommuning were now issued against the hearers and preachers in conventicles; and by this severe and even absurd law, crimes and guilt went on multiplying in a geometrical proportion. Where laws themselves are so violent, it is no wonder that an administration should be tyrannical.

Lest the cry of an oppressed people should reach the Throne, the council forbad, under high penalties, every nobleman or gentleman of landed property to leave the king-

kingdom. A ſevere edict, eſpecially where the Sovereign himſelf reſided in a foreign country. Notwithſtanding this act of council, Caſſilis firſt, afterwards Hamilton and Tweddale, went to London, and laid their complaints before the King. Theſe violent proceedings of Lauderdale were very oppoſite to the natural temper of Charles; and he immediately iſſued orders for diſcontinuing the bonds and the writs of law-burrows. But as he was commonly little touched with what lay at a diſtance, he entertained not the proper indignation againſt thoſe who had abuſed his authority. Even while he retracted theſe oppreſſive meaſures, he was prevailed with to avow and praiſe them in a letter, which he wrote to the privy council. This proof of confidence might fortify the hands of the miniſtry, but the King ran a manifeſt hazard of loſing the affections of his ſubjects, by not permitting even thoſe who were deſirous of it, to diſtinguiſh between him and their oppreſſors.

CHAP. LXVI. 1678.

IT is reported [d], that Charles, after a full hearing of the debates concerning Scots affairs, ſaid, "I perceive "that Lauderdale has been guilty of many bad things, "againſt the people of Scotland; but I cannot find, "that he has acted any thing contrary to my intereſt." A ſentiment moſt unworthy of a Sovereign!

DURING the abſence of Hamilton and the other diſcontented Lords, the King allowed Lauderdale to ſummon a convention of eſtates at Edinburgh. This convention, beſides granting ſome money, beſtowed applauſes on all Lauderdale's adminiſtration, and in their addreſſes to the King, expreſſed the higheſt contentment and ſatisfaction. But theſe inſtances of complaiſance had the contrary effect in England from what was expected by the contrivers of them. All men there concluded that in Scotland the very voice of liberty was to-

[d] Burnet.

tally

CHAP. LXVI. 1678.

fractory might not escape farther persecution, a new device was fallen upon. By the law of Scotland, any man, who should go before a magistrate, and swear that he thought himself in danger from another, might obtain a writ of *law-burrows*, as it is called; by which the latter was bound, under the penalty of imprisonment and outlawry, to find security for his good behaviour. Lauderdale entertained the absurd notion of making the King sue for writs of law-burrows against his subjects. On this pretence, the refusers of the bonds were summoned to appear before the council, and were required to bind themselves, under the penalty of two years rent, neither to frequent conventicles themselves, nor allow their family and tenants to be present at those unlawful assemblies. Thus chicanery was joined to tyranny; and the Majesty of the King, instead of being exalted, was in reality prostituted; as if he were obliged to seek the same security, which one neighbour might require of another.

It was an old law, but seldom executed, that a man, who was accused of any crime, and did not appear, in order to take his trial, might be *intercommuned*, that is, he might be publicly outlawed; and whoever afterwards, either on account of business, relation, nay charity, had the least intercourse with him, was subjected to the same penalties as could by law be inflicted on the criminal himself. A great many writs of intercommuning were now issued against the hearers and preachers in conventicles; and by this severe and even absurd law, crimes and guilt went on multiplying in a geometrical proportion. Where laws themselves are so violent, it is no wonder that an administration should be tyrannical.

Lest the cry of an oppressed people should reach the Throne, the council forbad, under high penalties, every nobleman or gentleman of landed property to leave the king-

kingdom. A ſevere edict, eſpecially where the Sovereign himſelf reſided in a foreign country. Notwithſtanding this act of council, Caſſilis firſt, afterwards Hamilton and Tweddale, went to London, and laid their complaints before the King. Theſe violent proceedings of Lauderdale were very oppoſite to the natural temper of Charles; and he immediately iſſued orders for diſcontinuing the bonds and the writs of law-burrows. But as he was commonly little touched with what lay at a diſtance, he entertained not the proper indignation againſt thoſe who had abuſed his authority. Even while he retracted theſe oppreſſive meaſures, he was prevailed with to avow and praiſe them in a letter, which he wrote to the privy council. This proof of confidence might fortify the hands of the miniſtry, but the King ran a manifeſt hazard of loſing the affections of his ſubjects, by not permitting even thoſe who were deſirous of it, to diſtinguiſh between him and their oppreſſors.

CHAP. LXVI. 1678.

IT is reported [d], that Charles, after a full hearing of the debates concerning Scots affairs, ſaid, "I perceive "that Lauderdale has been guilty of many bad things, "againſt the people of Scotland; but I cannot find, "that he has acted any thing contrary to my intereſt." A ſentiment moſt unworthy of a Sovereign!

DURING the abſence of Hamilton and the other diſcontented Lords, the King allowed Lauderdale to ſummon a convention of eſtates at Edinburgh. This convention, beſides granting ſome money, beſtowed applauſes on all Lauderdale's adminiſtration, and in their addreſſes to the King, expreſſed the higheſt contentment and ſatisfaction. But theſe inſtances of complaiſance had the contrary effect in England from what was expected by the contrivers of them. All men there concluded that in Scotland the very voice of liberty was to-

[d] Burnet.

tally

CHAP. LXVI.

1678.

tally suppressed; and that, by the prevalence of tyranny, grievances were so rivetted, that it was become dangerous even to mention them, or complain to the Prince, who alone was capable of redressing them. From the slavery of the neighbouring kingdom, they inferred the arbitrary dispositions of the King; and from the violence, with which sovereign power was there exercised, they apprehended the miseries, which might ensue to themselves upon their loss of liberty. If persecution by a protestant church could be carried to such extremities, what might be dreaded from the prevalence of popery, which had ever, in all ages, made open profession of exterminating by fire and sword every opposite sect or communion? And if the first approaches towards unlimited authority were so tyrannical, how dismal its final establishment; when all dread of opposition shall at last be removed by mercenary armies, and all sense of shame by long and inveterate habit?

CHAP.

CHAP. LXVII.

The popiſh plot.——Oates's Narrative.——And character.——Coleman's letters.——Godfrey's murder.——General conſternation.——The Parliament.——Zeal of the Parliament.——Bedloe's narrative.——Accuſation of Danby.——His impeachment.——Diſſolution of the long Parliament.——Its character.——Trial of Coleman.——Of Ireland.——New elections.——Duke of Monmouth.——Duke of York retires to Bruſſels.——New Parliament.——Danby's impeachment.——Popiſh plot.——New council——Limitations on a popiſh ſucceſſor.——Bill of excluſion.——Habeas corpus bill.——Prorogation and diſſolution of the Parliament.——Trial and execution of the five jeſuits.——And of Langhorne.——Wakeman acquitted.——State of affairs in Scotland.——Battle of Bothwel bridge.

THE Engliſh nation, ever ſince the fatal league with France, had entertained violent jealouſies againſt the Court; and the ſubſequent meaſures adopted by the King, had tended more to encreaſe than cure the general prejudices. Some myſterious deſign was ſtill ſuſpected in every enterprize and profeſſion: Arbitrary power and popery were apprehended as the ſcope of all projects: Each breath or rumour made the people ſtart with anxiety: Their enemies, they thought, were in their very boſom, and had got poſſeſſion of their Sovereign's confidence. While in this timorous, jealous diſpoſition, the cry of a *plot* all on a ſudden ſtruck their ears:

CHAP. LXVII. 1678.

CHAP. LXVI. 1678.

tally ſuppreſſed; and that, by the prevalence of tyranny, grievances were ſo rivetted, that it was become dangerous even to mention them, or complain to the Prince, who alone was capable of redreſſing them. From the ſlavery of the neighbouring kingdom, they inferred the arbitrary diſpoſitions of the King; and from the violence, with which ſovereign power was there exerciſed, they apprehended the miſeries, which might enſue to themſelves upon their loſs of liberty. If perſecution by a proteſtant church could be carried to ſuch extremities, what might be dreaded from the prevalence of popery, which had ever, in all ages, made open profeſſion of exterminating by fire and ſword every oppoſite ſect or communion? And if the firſt approaches towards unlimited authority were ſo tyrannical, how diſmal its final eſtabliſhment; when all dread of oppoſition ſhall at laſt be removed by mercenary armies, and all ſenſe of ſhame by long and inveterate habit?

CHAP.

CHAP. LXVII.

The popish plot.——Oates's Narrative.——And character.——Coleman's letters.——Godfrey's murder.——General Consternation.——The Parliament.——Zeal of the Parliament.——Bedloe's narrative.——Accusation of Danby.——His impeachment.——Dissolution of the long Parliament.——Its character.——Trial of Coleman.——Of Ireland.——New elections.——Duke of Monmouth.——Duke of York retires to Brussels.——New Parliament.——Danby's impeachment.——Popish plot.——New council——Limitations on a popish successor.——Bill of exclusion.——Habeas corpus bill.——Prorogation and dissolution of the Parliament.——Trial and execution of the five jesuits.——And of Langhorne.——Wakeman acquitted.——State of affairs in Scotland.——Battle of Bothwel bridge.

CHAP. LXVII. 1678.

THE English nation, ever since the fatal league with France, had entertained violent jealousies against the Court; and the subsequent measures adopted by the King, had tended more to encrease than cure the general prejudices. Some mysterious design was still suspected in every enterprize and profession: Arbitrary power and popery were apprehended as the scope of all projects: Each breath or rumour made the people start with anxiety: Their enemies, they thought, were in their very bosom, and had got possession of their Sovereign's confidence. While in this timorous, jealous disposition, the cry of a *plot* all on a sudden struck their ears:

CHAP. LXVII. 1678.

cars: They were wakened from their ſlumber; and like men affrighted and in the dark, took every ſhadow for a ſpecter. The terror of each man became the ſource of terror to another. And an univerſal panic being diffuſed, reaſon and argument and common ſenſe and common humanity loſt all influence over them. From this diſpoſition of men's minds we are to account for the progreſs and credit of the POPISH PLOT; an event, which would otherwiſe appear prodigious and altogether inexplicable.

The popiſh plot.

ON the twelfth of Auguſt, one Kirby, a chemiſt, accoſted the King, as he was walking in the Park: "Sir," ſaid he, "keep within the company: Your enemies "have a deſign upon your life; and you may be ſhot "in this very walk." Being aſked the reaſon of theſe ſtrange ſpeeches, he ſaid, that two men, called Grove and Pickering, had engaged to ſhoot the King, and Sir George Wakeman, the Queen's phyſician, to poyſon him. This intelligence, he added, had been communicated to him by Doctor Tongue; whom, if permitted, he would introduce to his Majeſty. Tongue was a divine of the church of England; a man active, reſtleſs, full of projects, devoid of underſtanding. He brought papers to the King, which contained information of a plot, and were digeſted into forty-three articles. The King not having leiſure to peruſe them, ſent them to the lord-treaſurer, Danby, and ordered the two informers to lay the buſineſs before that miniſter. Tongue confeſſed to Danby, that he himſelf had not drawn the papers, that they had been ſecretly thruſt under his door, and that, tho' he ſuſpected, he did not certainly know who was the author. After a few days, he returned, and told the treaſurer, that his ſuſpicions, he found, were juſt; that the author of the intelligence, whom he had met twice or thrice in the ſtreet, had acknowleged the whole matter, and had given him a more particular

ticular account of the conſpiracy, but deſired, that his name might be concealed, being apprehenſive leſt the papiſts ſhould murder him.

THE information was renewed with regard to Grove's and Pickering's intentions of ſhooting the King; and Tongue even pretended, that, at a particular time, they were to ſet out for Windſor with that intention. Orders were given for arreſting them, ſo ſoon as they ſhould appear in that place: But tho' this alarm was more than once renewed, ſome frivolous reaſons were ſtill found by Tongue for their delaying the journey. And the King concluded, both from theſe evaſions, and from the myſterious, artificial manner of communicating the intelligence, that the whole was a fiction.

TONGUE came next to the treaſurer, and told him, that a pacquet of letters, wrote by jeſuits concerned in the plot, was that night to be put into the poſt-houſe for Windſor, directed to Bedingfield, a jeſuit, confeſſor to the Duke. When this intelligence was conveyed to the King, he replied, that the pacquet mentioned had a few hours before been brought to the Duke by Bedingfield; who ſaid, that he ſuſpected ſome bad deſign upon him, that the letters ſeemed to contain matters of a dangerous import, and that he knew them not to be the handwriting of the perſons whoſe names were ſubſcribed to them. This incident ſtill farther confirmed the King in his incredulity.

THE matter had probably ſlept in this poſture for ever, had it not been for the anxiety of the Duke, who, hearing that prieſts and jeſuits and even his own confeſſor had been accuſed, was deſirous, that a thorough enquiry ſhould by made by the council into the pretended conſpiracy. Kirby and Tongue were enquired after, and were now found to be living in cloſe conjunction with Titus Oates, the perſon who was ſaid to have conveyed the firſt intelligence to Tongue. Oates affirmed, that he

CHAP. LXVII.

1678.

ears: They were wakened from their ſlumber; and like men affrighted and in the dark, took every ſhadow for a ſpecter. The terror of each man became the ſource of terror to another. And an univerſal panic being diffuſed, reaſon and argument and common ſenſe and common humanity loſt all influence over them. From this diſpoſition of men's minds we are to account for the progreſs and credit of the POPISH PLOT; an event, which would otherwiſe appear prodigious and altogether inexplicable.

The popiſh plot.

ON the twelfth of Auguſt, one Kirby, a chemiſt, accoſted the King, as he was walking in the Park: "Sir," ſaid he, "keep within the company: Your enemies "have a deſign upon your life; and you may be ſhot "in this very walk." Being aſked the reaſon of theſe ſtrange ſpeeches, he ſaid, that two men, called Grove and Pickering, had engaged to ſhoot the King, and Sir George Wakeman, the Queen's phyſician, to poyſon him. This intelligence, he added, had been communicated to him by Doctor Tongue; whom, if permitted, he would introduce to his Majeſty. Tongue was a divine of the church of England; a man active, reſtleſs, full of projects, devoid of underſtanding. He brought papers to the King, which contained information of a plot, and were digeſted into forty-three articles. The King not having leiſure to peruſe them, ſent them to the lord-treaſurer, Danby, and ordered the two informers to lay the buſineſs before that miniſter. Tongue confeſſed to Danby, that he himſelf had not drawn the papers, that they had been ſecretly thruſt under his door, and that, tho' he ſuſpected, he did not certainly know who was the author. After a few days, he returned, and told the treaſurer, that his ſuſpicions, he found, were juſt; that the author of the intelligence, whom he had met twice or thrice in the ſtreet, had acknowleged the whole matter, and had given him a more particular

ticular account of the conſpiracy, but deſired, that his name might be concealed, being apprehenſive leſt the papiſts ſhould murder him.

THE information was renewed with regard to Grove's and Pickering's intentions of ſhooting the King; and Tongue even pretended, that, at a particular time, they were to ſet out for Windſor with that intention. Orders were given for arreſting them, ſo ſoon as they ſhould appear in that place: But tho' this alarm was more than once renewed, ſome frivolous reaſons were ſtill found by Tongue for their delaying the journey. And the King concluded, both from theſe evaſions, and from the myſterious, artificial manner of communicating the intelligence, that the whole was a fiction.

TONGUE came next to the treaſurer, and told him, that a pacquet of letters, wrote by jeſuits concerned in the plot, was that night to be put into the poſt-houſe for Windſor, directed to Bedingfield, a jeſuit, confeſſor to the Duke. When this intelligence was conveyed to the King, he replied, that the pacquet mentioned had a few hours before been brought to the Duke by Bedingfield; who ſaid, that he ſuſpected ſome bad deſign upon him, that the letters ſeemed to contain matters of a dangerous import, and that he knew them not to be the handwriting of the perſons whoſe names were ſubſcribed to them. This incident ſtill farther confirmed the King in his incredulity.

THE matter had probably ſlept in this poſture for ever, had it not been for the anxiety of the Duke, who, hearing that prieſts and jeſuits and even his own confeſſor had been accuſed, was deſirous, that a thorough enquiry ſhould by made by the council into the pretended conſpiracy. Kirby and Tongue were enquired after, and were now found to be living in cloſe conjunction with Titus Oates, the perſon who was ſaid to have conveyed the firſt intelligence to Tongue. Oates affirmed, that

he

CHAP. LXVII.

1678.

he had fallen under ſuſpicion with the jeſuits; that he had received three blows with a ſtick and a box on the ear from the provincial of that order, for revealing their conſpiracy: and that over-hearing them ſpeak of their intentions to puniſh him more ſeverely, he had withdrawn, and concealed himſelf. This man, in whoſe breaſt was lodged a ſecret, involving the fate of Kings and kingdoms, was allowed to remain in ſuch neceſſity, that Kirby was obliged to ſupply him with daily bread; and it was a joyful ſurprize to him, when he heard, that the council were at laſt diſpoſed to take ſome notice of his intelligence. But as he expected more encouragement from the public, than from the King or his miniſters, he thought proper, before he was preſented to the council, to go with his two companions to Sir Edmundſbury Godfrey, a noted and active juſtice of peace, and to give evidence before him of all the articles of the conſpiracy.

Oates's narrative.

THE wonderful intelligence, which Oates conveyed both to Godfrey and the council, and afterwards to the Parliament, was to this purpoſe[h]. The pope, he ſaid, on examining the matter in the congregation *de propaganda fide*, had found himſelf entitled to the poſſeſſion of England and Ireland on account of the hereſy of Prince and people, and had accordingly aſſumed the ſovereignty of theſe kingdoms. This ſupreme power he had thought proper to delegate to the ſociety of jeſuits; and de Oliva, general of that order, in conſequence of the papal grant, had exerted every act of regal authority, and particularly had ſupplied, by commiſſions under the ſeal of the ſociety, all the chief offices, both civil and military. Lord Arundel was created chancellor, lord Powis treaſurer, Sir William Godolphin privy ſeal, Coleman ſecretary of ſtate, Langhorne attorney general, lord Bellaſis general of the papal army, lord Peters lieutenant gene-

[h] Oates's Narrative.

CHAP. LXVII. 1678.

general, lord Stafford pay-maſter; and inferior commiſſions, ſigned by the provincial of the jeſuits, were alſo diſtributed to men of all ranks. All the dignities of the church were filled, and many of them with Spaniards and other foreigners. The provincial had held a conſult of the jeſuits under his authority; where the King, whom they opprobriouſly called the Black Baſtard, was ſolemnly tried and condemned as a heretic; and a reſolution taken to put him to death. Father le Shee (for ſo this great plotter and informer called father la Chaiſe, confeſſor to the French King, a man of probity and humanity) had conſigned in London ten thouſand pounds to be paid to any man, who ſhould merit it by this aſſaſſination. A Spaniſh provincial had expreſſed like liberality: The prior of the Benedictines was willing to go the length of ſix thouſand pounds: The Dominicans approved of the action; but pleaded poverty. Ten thouſand pounds had been offered to Sir George Wakeman, the Queen's phyſician, who demanded fifteen thouſand, as a reward for ſo great a ſervice: His demand was complied with; and five thouſand had been paid him by advance. Leſt this means ſhould fail, four Iriſh ruffians had been employed by the jeſuits, at the rate of twenty guineas a-piece, to ſtab the King at Windſor; and Coleman, late ſecretary to the Dutcheſs of York, had given the meſſenger, who carried them orders, a guinea to quicken his diligence. Grove and Pickering were alſo employed to ſhoot the King with ſilver bullets: The former was to receive the ſum of fifteen hundred pounds; the latter, being a pious man, was to be rewarded with thirty thouſand maſſes, which, eſtimating maſſes at a ſhilling a-piece, amounted to a like value. Pickering would have executed his purpoſe, had not the flint at one time dropt out of his piſtol, at another time the priming. Coniers, the jeſuit, had bought a knife at the price of ten ſhillings, which, he

CHAP. LXVII. 1678

thought, was not dear, conſidering the purpoſe for which he intended it, to wit, ſtabbing the King. Letters of ſubſcription were circulated among the catholics all over England, to raiſe a ſum for the ſame purpoſe. No leſs than fifty jeſuits had met in May laſt, at the White-horſe tavern, where it was unanimouſly agreed to put the King to death. This ſynod did afterwards, for more convenience, divide themſelves into many leſs cabals or companies; and Oates was employed to carry notes and letters from one to another, all tending to the ſame end of murthering the King. He even carried, from one company to another, a paper, in which they formally expreſſed their reſolution of executing that deed; and it was regularly ſubſcribed by all of them. A wager of an hundred pounds was laid, and ſtakes made, that the King ſhould eat no more Chriſtmas pyes. In ſhort, it was determined, to uſe the expreſſion of a jeſuit, that if he would not become R.C. (Roman Catholic) he ſhould no longer be C.R. (Charles rex). The great fire of London had been the work of the jeſuits, who had employed eighty or eighty-ſix perſons for that purpoſe, and had expended ſeven hundred fire-balls; but they had a good return for their charges; for they had been able to pilfer goods from the fire to the value of fourteen thouſand pounds: The jeſuits had alſo raiſed another fire on St. Margaret's Hill, whence they had ſtolen goods to the value of two thouſand pounds: Another at Southwark: and it was determined in like manner to burn all the chief cities in England. A paper model was already framed for the firing of London; the ſtations were regularly marked out, where the ſeveral fires were to commence; and the whole plan of operations was ſo concerted, that precautions were taken by the jeſuits to vary their meaſures, according to the variations of the winds. Fire-balls were familiarly called among them Teuxbury muſtard pills; and were ſaid to contain a notable

CHAP. LXVII. 1678.

notable biting ſauce. In the great fire, it had been determined to murther the King; but he had diſcovered ſuch diligence and humanity in extinguiſhing the flames, that even the jeſuits relented, and ſpared his life. Beſides theſe aſſaſſinations and fires; inſurrections, rebellions, and maſſacres were projected by that religious order in all the three kingdoms. There were twenty thouſand Catholics in London, who would riſe in four and twenty hours or leſs; and Jenniſon, a jeſuit, ſaid, that they might eaſily cut the throats of an hundred thouſand Proteſtants. Eight thouſand Catholics had agreed to take arms in Scotland. Ormond was to be murthered by four jeſuits; a general maſſacre of the Iriſh proteſtants was concerted; and forty thouſand black bills were already provided for that purpoſe. Coleman had remitted two hundred thouſand pounds to promote the rebellion in Ireland; and the French King was to land a great army in that iſland. Poole, who wrote the Synopſis, was particularly marked out for aſſaſſination; as was alſo, Dr. Stillingfleet, a controverſial writer againſt the Papiſts. Burnet tells us, that Oates paid him the ſame compliment. After all this havoc, the crown was to be offer'd to the Duke, but on the following conditions; that he receive it as a gift from the Pope; that he confirm all the papal commiſſions for offices and employments; that he ratify all paſt tranſactions, by pardoning the incendiaries, and the murderers of his brother and of the people; and that he conſent to the utter extirpation of the proteſtant religion. If he refuſe theſe conditions, he himſelf was immediately to be poiſoned or aſſaſſinated. *To pot James muſt go*; according to the expreſſion aſcribed by Oates to the jeſuits.

Oates, the informer of this dreadful plot, was himſelf the moſt infamous of mankind. He was the ſon of an anabaptiſt preacher, chaplain to colonel Pride; but having taken orders in the church, he had been provided

CHAP. LXVII.

1678

thought, was not dear, conſidering the purpoſe for which he intended it, to wit, ſtabbing the King. Letters of ſubſcription were circulated among the catholics all over England, to raiſe a ſum for the ſame purpoſe. No leſs than fifty jeſuits had met in May laſt, at the White-horſe tavern, where it was unanimouſly agreed to put the King to death. This ſynod did afterwards, for more convenience, divide themſelves into many leſs cabals or companies; and Oates was employed to carry notes and letters from one to another, all tending to the ſame end of murthering the King. He even carried, from one company to another, a paper, in which they formally expreſſed their reſolution of executing that deed; and it was regularly ſubſcribed by all of them. A wager of an hundred pounds was laid, and ſtakes made, that the King ſhould eat no more Chriſtmas pyes. In ſhort, it was determined, to uſe the expreſſion of a jeſuit, that if he would not become R.C. (Roman Catholic) he ſhould no longer be C.R. (Charles rex). The great fire of London had been the work of the jeſuits, who had employed eighty or eighty-ſix perſons for that purpoſe, and had expended ſeven hundred fire-balls; but they had a good return for their charges; for they had been able to pilfer goods from the fire to the value of fourteen thouſand pounds: The jeſuits had alſo raiſed another fire on St. Margaret's Hill, whence they had ſtolen goods to the value of two thouſand pounds: Another at Southwark: and it was determined in like manner to burn all the chief cities in England. A paper model was already framed for the firing of London; the ſtations were regularly marked out, where the ſeveral fires were to commence; and the whole plan of operations was ſo concerted, that precautions were taken by the jeſuits to vary their meaſures, according to the variations of the winds. Fire-balls were familiarly called among them Teuxbury muſtard pills; and were ſaid to contain a notable

CHAP. LXVII. 1678.

notable biting ſauce. In the great fire, it had been determined to murther the King; but he had diſcovered ſuch diligence and humanity in extinguiſhing the flames, that even the jeſuits relented, and ſpared his life. Beſides theſe aſſaſſinations and fires; inſurrections, rebellions, and maſſacres were projected by that religious order in all the three kingdoms. There were twenty thouſand Catholics in London, who would riſe in four and twenty hours or leſs; and Jenniſon, a jeſuit, ſaid, that they might eaſily cut the throats of an hundred thouſand Proteſtants. Eight thouſand Catholics had agreed to take arms in Scotland. Ormond was to be murthered by four jeſuits; a general maſſacre of the Iriſh proteſtants was concerted; and forty thouſand black bills were already provided for that purpoſe. Coleman had remitted two hundred thouſand pounds to promote the rebellion in Ireland; and the French King was to land a great army in that iſland. Poole, who wrote the Synopſis, was particularly marked out for aſſaſſination; as was alſo, Dr. Stillingfleet, a controverſial writer againſt the Papiſts. Burnet tells us, that Oates paid him the ſame compliment. After all this havoc, the crown was to be offer'd to the Duke, but on the following conditions; that he receive it as a gift from the Pope; that he confirm all the papal commiſſions for offices and employments; that he ratify all paſt tranſactions, by pardoning the incendiaries, and the murderers of his brother and of the people; and that he conſent to the utter extirpation of the proteſtant religion. If he refuſe theſe conditions, he himſelf was immediately to be poiſoned or aſſaſſinated. *To pot James muſt go*; according to the expreſſion aſcribed by Oates to the jeſuits.

Oates, the informer of this dreadful plot, was himſelf the moſt infamous of mankind. He was the ſon of an anabaptiſt preacher, chaplain to colonel Pride; but having taken orders in the church, he had been provided

CHAP. LXVII. 1678.

in a ſmall living by the duke of Norfolk. He had been indicted for perjury; and by ſome means had eſcaped. He was afterwards a chaplain on board the fleet; whence he had been diſmiſſed on complaint of ſome unnatural practices, not fit to be named. He then became a convert to the Catholics; but he afterwards boaſted, that his converſion was a mere pretence, in order to get into their ſecrets, and to betray them[i]: He was ſent over to the jeſuit's college at St. Omers, and tho' above thirty years of age, he there lived ſome time among the ſtudents. He was diſpatched on an errand to Spain; and thence returned to St. Omers; where the jeſuits, heartily tired of their convert, at laſt diſmiſſed him from their ſeminary. It is likely, that from reſentment of this uſage, he was induced, in combination with Tongue, to contrive that plot, of which he accuſed the Catholics.

THIS abandoned man, when examined before the council, betrayed his impoſtures in ſuch a manner, as would have utterly diſcredited the moſt conſiſtent ſtory, and the moſt reputable evidence. While in Spain, he had been carried, he ſaid, to Don John, who promiſed great aſſiſtance to the execution of the catholic deſigns. The King aſked him, what ſort of man Don John was: He anſwered, a tall, lean man; directly contrary to truth, as the King well knew[k]. He totally miſtook the ſituation of the jeſuit's college at Paris[l]. Tho' he pretended great intimacies with Coleman, he knew him not, when placed very near him; and had no other excuſe than that his ſight was bad in candle-light[m]. He fell into like miſtakes with regard to Wakeman.

NOTWITHSTANDING theſe objections, great attention was paid to Oates's evidence, and the plot became very ſoon the ſubject of converſation, and even the object of terror to the people. The violent animoſity, which had been excited againſt the Catholics in general, made the

[i] Burnet, Echard, North, L'Eſtrange, &c.
[k] Burnet, North.
[l] North.
[m] Burnet, North, Trials.

public

public ſwallow the groſſeſt abſurdities, when they accompanied an accuſation of thoſe religioniſts: And the more diabolical any contrivance appeared, the better it ſuited the tremendous idea entertained of a jeſuit. Danby likewiſe, who ſtood in oppoſition to the French and catholic intereſt at court, was willing to encourage every ſtory, which might ſerve to diſcredit that party. By his ſuggeſtion, when a warrant was ſigned for arreſting Coleman, there was inſerted a clauſe for ſeizing his papers; a circumſtance attended with the moſt important conſequences.

Coleman's letters.

COLEMAN, partly on his own account, partly by orders from the Duke, had been engaged in a correſpondence with father la Chaiſe, with the Pope's nuncio at Bruſſels, and with other Catholics abroad; and being himſelf a fiery zealot, buſy and ſanguine, the expreſſions in his letters often betrayed great violence and indiſcretion. His correſpondence during the years 1674, 1675, and part of 1676, was ſeized, and contained many extraordinary paſſages. In particular he ſaid to la Chaiſe, "We have here a mighty work upon our hands, no leſs "than the converſion of three kingdoms, and by that "perhaps the utter ſubduing of a peſtilent hereſy, which "has a long time domineered over a great part of this "northern world. There were never ſuch hopes of "ſucceſs, ſince the days of Queen Mary, as now in our "days. God has given us a prince," meaning the Duke, "who is become (may I ſay a miracle) zealous "of being the author and inſtrument of ſo glorious a "work; but the oppoſition we are ſure to meet with is "alſo like to be great: So that it imports us to get all the "aid and aſſiſtance we can." In another letter he ſaid, "I can ſcarce believe myſelf awake, or the thing real, "when I think of a Prince in ſuch an age as we live "in, converted to ſuch a degree of zeal and piety, as "not to regard any thing in the world in compariſon "of God Almighty's glory, the ſalvation of his own

CHAP. LXVII.

1678.

"ſoul, and the converſion of our poor kingdom." In other paſſages, the intereſts of the Crown of England, thoſe of the French King, and thoſe of the catholic religion are ſpoke of as inſeparable. The Duke is alſo ſaid to have connected his intereſts unalterably with thoſe of Lewis. The King himſelf, he affirms, is always inclined to favour the Catholics, when he may do it without hazard. "Money," Coleman adds, "cannot fail "of perſwading the King to any thing. There is no-"thing it cannot make him do, were it ever ſo much to "his prejudice. It has ſuch an abſolute power over "him, that he cannot reſiſt it. Logic in our court "built upon money, has more powerful charms than "any other ſort of argument." For theſe reaſons, he propoſes to father la Chaiſe, that the French King ſhould remit the ſum of 300,000 pounds, on condition that the Parliament be diſſolved; a meaſure, to which, he ſays, the King was, of himſelf, ſufficiently inclined, were it not for his hopes of obtaining money from that aſſembly. The Parliament, he ſaid, had already conſtrained the King to make peace with Holland, contrary to the intereſts of the catholic religion, and of his moſt chriſtian majeſty: And if they ſhould meet again, they would ſurely engage him farther, and even to make war againſt France. It appears alſo from the ſame letters, that the aſſembling the Parliament ſo late as April in the year 1675, had been procured by the intrigues of the catholic and French party, who thereby intended to ſhow the Dutch and other confederates abroad, that they could expect no aſſiſtance from England.

WHEN the contents of theſe letters were publicly known, they diffuſed the panic, with which the nation began already to be ſeized on account of the popiſh plot. Men reaſoned more from their fears and their paſſions than from the evidence before them. It is certain, that the active and enterprizing ſpirit of the catholic

1678.

tholic church, particularly of the jeſuits, merits attention, and is, in ſome degree, dangerous to every other communion. Such zeal of proſelytiſm actuates that ſect, that its miſſionaries have penetrated into every nation of the globe; and in one ſenſe there is a *popiſh plot* perpetually carried on againſt all ſtates, Proteſtant, Pagan, and Mahometan. It is likewiſe very probable, that the converſion of the Duke, and the favour of the King, had inſpired the catholic prieſts with new hopes of recovering in theſe iſlands their loſt dominion, and gave freſh vigour to that intemperate zeal, by which they are commonly actuated. Their firſt aim was to obtain a toleration; and ſuch was the evidence, they believed, of their theological tenets, that, could they but procure entire liberty, they muſt infallibly in time open the eyes of the people. After they had converted conſiderable numbers, they might be enabled, they hoped, to re-inſtate themſelves in full authority, and entirely to ſuppreſs that hereſy, with which the kingdom had ſo long been infected. Tho' theſe dangers to the proteſtant religion were very diſtant, it was juſtly the object of great concern to find, that the heir apparent to the crown was ſo blinded with bigotry, and ſo deeply engaged in foreign intereſts; and that the King himſelf had been prevailed with, from low intereſts, to hearken to his dangerous inſinuations. Very bad conſequences might enſue from ſuch perverſe habits and attachments; nor could the nation and Parliament guard againſt them with too anxious a precaution. But that the Roman pontiff could hope to aſſume the ſovereignty of theſe kingdoms; a project, which, even during the darkneſs of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, would have appeared chimerical: That he ſhould delegate this authority to the jeſuits; that order in the Romiſh church, which was the moſt hated: That a maſſacre could be attempted of the Proteſtants, who ſurpaſſed the Catholics a hundred fold, and were

CHAP. LXVII.

1678.

"ſoul, and the converſion of our poor kingdom." In other paſſages, the intereſts of the Crown of England, thoſe of the French King, and thoſe of the catholic religion are ſpoke of as inſeparable The Duke is alſo ſaid to have connected his intereſts unalterably with thoſe of Lewis. The King himſelf, he affirms, is always inclined to favour the Catholics, when he may do it without hazard. "Money," Coleman adds, "cannot fail "of perſwading the King to any thing. There is no-"thing it cannot make him do, were it ever ſo much to "his prejudice. It has ſuch an abſolute power over "him, that he cannot reſiſt it. Logic in our court "built upon money, has more powerful charms than "any other ſort of argument." For theſe reaſons, he propoſes to father la Chaiſe, that the French King ſhould remit the ſum of 300,000 pounds, on condition that the Parliament be diſſolved; a meaſure, to which, he ſays, the King was, of himſelf, ſufficiently inclined, were it not for his hopes of obtaining money from that aſſembly. The Parliament, he ſaid, had already conſtrained the King to make peace with Holland, contrary to the intereſts of the catholic religion, and of his moſt chriſtian majeſty: And if they ſhould meet again, they would ſurely engage him farther, and even to make war againſt France. It appears alſo from the ſame letters, that the aſſembling the Parliament ſo late as April in the year 1675, had been procured by the intrigues of the catholic and French party, who thereby intended to ſhow the Dutch and other confederates abroad, that they could expect no aſſiſtance from England.

When the contents of theſe letters were publicly known, they diffuſed the panic, with which the nation began already to be ſeized on account of the popiſh plot. Men reaſoned more from their fears and their paſſions than from the evidence before them. It is certain, that the active and enterprizing ſpirit of the catholic

1678.

tholic church, particularly of the jesuits, merits attention, and is, in some degree, dangerous to every other communion. Such zeal of proselytism actuates that sect, that its missionaries have penetrated into every nation of the globe; and in one sense there is a *popish plot* perpetually carried on against all states, Protestant, Pagan, and Mahometan. It is likewise very probable, that the conversion of the Duke, and the favour of the King, had inspired the catholic priests with new hopes of recovering in these islands their lost dominion, and gave fresh vigour to that intemperate zeal, by which they are commonly actuated. Their first aim was to obtain a toleration; and such was the evidence, they believed, of their theological tenets, that, could they but procure entire liberty, they must infallibly in time open the eyes of the people. After they had converted considerable numbers, they might be enabled, they hoped, to re-instate themselves in full authority, and entirely to suppress that heresy, with which the kingdom had so long been infected. Tho' these dangers to the protestant religion were very distant, it was justly the object of great concern to find, that the heir apparent to the crown was so blinded with bigotry, and so deeply engaged in foreign interests; and that the King himself had been prevailed with, from low interests, to hearken to his dangerous insinuations. Very bad consequences might ensue from such perverse habits and attachments; nor could the nation and Parliament guard against them with too anxious a precaution. But that the Roman pontiff could hope to assume the sovereignty of these kingdoms; a project, which, even during the darkness of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, would have appeared chimerical: That he should delegate this authority to the jesuits; that order in the Romish church, which was the most hated: That a massacre could be attempted of the Protestants, who surpassed the Catholics a hundred fold, and were

CHAP. LXVII.

1678.

invested with the whole authority of the state: That the King himself was to be assassinated, and even the Duke, the only support of their party: These were such absurdities as no human testimony was sufficient to prove; much less the evidence of one man, who was noted for infamy, and who could not keep himself, every moment, from falling into the grossest inconsistencies. Did such intelligence deserve even so much attention as to be refuted, it would appear, that Coleman's letters were sufficient alone to destroy all its credit. For how could so long a train of correspondence be carried on, by a man so much trusted by the party; and yet no traces of insurrections, if really intended, of fires, massacres, assassinations, invasions, be ever discovered in any single passage of these letters? But all such reflections, and many more equally obvious, were vainly employed against that general prepossession, with which the nation was seized. Oates's plot and Coleman's were universally confounded: And the evidence of the latter being unquestionable, the belief of the former, aided by the passions of hatred and of terror, took possession of the whole people.

17th of October. Godfrey's murder.

THERE was danger however, lest time might open the eyes of the public; when the murther of Godfrey compleated the general delusion, and rendered the prejudices of the nation absolutely incurable This magistrate had been missing some days; and after much search, and many surmizes, his body was found lying in a ditch at Primrose-hill: The marks of strangling were thought to appear about his neck, and some contusions on his breast: His own sword was sticking in the body; but as no considerable quantity of blood ensued on drawing it, it was concluded, that it had been thrust in after his death, and that he had not killed himself: He had rings on his fingers and money in his pocket: It was therefore inferred, that he had not fallen into the hands of rob-

robbers. Without farther reaſoning, the cry roſe, that he had been aſſaſſinated by the Papiſts, on account of his taking Oates's evidence. This clamour was quickly propagated, and met with univerſal belief. The panic ſpread itſelf on every ſide with infinite rapidity; and all men, aſtoniſhed with fear, and animated with rage, ſaw in Godfrey's fate all the horrible deſigns aſcribed to the Catholics; and no farther doubt remained of Oates's veracity. The voice of the whole nation united againſt that hated ſect; and notwithſtanding that the bloody conſpiracy was ſuppoſed to be now diſcovered, men could ſcarce be perſwaded, that their lives were yet in ſafety. Each hour teemed with new rumours and ſurmizes. Invaſions from abroad, inſurrections at home, even private murthers and poiſonings were apprehended. To deny the reality of the plot was to be an accomplice: To heſitate was criminal; Royaliſt, Republican; Churchman, Sectary; Courtier, Patriot; all parties concurred in the illuſion. The city prepared for its defence, as if the enemy were at its gates: The chains and poſts were put up: And it was a noted ſaying at that time of Sir Thomas Player, the chamberlain, that were it not for theſe precautions, all the citizens might riſe next morning with their throats cut [n].

CHAP. LXVII. 1678.

General conſternation.

In order to propagate the popular phrenzy, ſeveral artifices were employed. The dead body of Godfrey was carried into the city, attended by vaſt multitudes. It was publickly expoſed in the ſtreets, and viewed by all ranks of men; and every one, who ſaw it, went away inflamed, as well by the mutual contagion of ſentiments, as by the diſmal ſpectacle itſelf. The funeral pomp was celebrated with great parade. It was conducted thro' the chief ſtreets of the city: Seventy-two clergymen marched before: Above a thouſand perſons of diſtinction followed after: And at the funeral-ſermon, two able-bodied di-

[n] North, p. 206.

vines

CHAP. LXVII. 1678.

vines mounted the pulpit, and ſtood on each ſide of the preacher, leſt, in paying the laſt office to this unhappy magiſtrate, he ſhould, before the whole people, be murthered by the Papiſts [o].

In this diſpoſition of the nation, reaſon could no more be heard than a whiſper in the midſt of the moſt violent hurricane. Even at preſent, Godfrey's murther cannot upon any ſyſtem be rationally accounted for. That he was aſſaſſinated by the Catholics, ſeems utterly improbable. Theſe religioniſts could not be engaged to commit that crime from *policy*, in order to deter other magiſtrates from acting againſt them. Godfrey's fate was no wiſe capable of producing that effect, unleſs it were publickly known, that the Catholics were his murtherers; an opinion, which, it was eaſy to foreſee, muſt prove the ruin of their party. Beſides, how many magiſtrates, during more than a century, had acted in the moſt violent manner, without its being ever ſuſpected, that any one had been cut off by aſſaſſination? Such jealous times as the preſent were ſurely ill fitted for beginning theſe dangerous experiments. Shall we therefore ſay, that the Catholics were puſhed on, not by policy, but by blind *revenge* againſt Godfrey? But Godfrey had given them little or no occaſion of offence in taking Oates's evidence. His part was merely an act of form, belonging to his office; nor could he, or any man in his ſtation, poſſibly refuſe it. In the reſt of his conduct, he lived on good terms with the Catholics, and was far from diſtinguiſhing himſelf by his ſeverity againſt that ſect. It is even certain, that he had contracted an intimacy with Coleman, and took care to inform his friend of the danger to which, by reaſon of Oates's evidence, he was at preſent expoſed.

There are ſome writers, who, finding it impoſſible to account for Godfrey's murther by the machinations of

[o] North, p. 205.

the

the Catholics, have recourſe to the oppoſite ſuppoſition. They lay hold of that common preſumption, that thoſe commit the crime who reap profit by it; and they affirm that it was Shafteſbury and the heads of the popular party, who perpetrated that deed, in order to throw the odium of it on the Papiſts. But if this ſuppoſition be received, it muſt alſo be admitted, that the whole plot was the contrivance of thoſe politicians; and that Oates acted altogether under their direction. But it appears, that Oates, dreading probably the oppoſition of powerful enemies, had very anxiouſly acquitted the Duke, Danby, Ormond, and all the miniſtry; perſons who were certainly the moſt obnoxious to the popular leaders. Beſides, the whole texture of the plot contains ſuch low abſurdity, that it is impoſſible to have been the invention of any man of ſenſe or education It is true, the more monſtrous and horrible the conſpiracy, the better was it fitted to terrify, and thence to convince the populace: But this effect, we may ſafely ſay, no one could beforehand have promiſed upon; and a fool was in this caſe more likely to ſucceed than a wiſe man. Had Shafteſbury laid the plan of a popiſh conſpiracy, he had probably rendered it moderate, conſiſtent, credible; and on that very account had never met with the prodigious ſucceſs, with which Oates's tremendous fictions were attended.

We muſt, therefore, be contented to remain for ever ignorant of the actors of Godfrey's murther; and only pronounce in general, that that event, in all likelihood, had no connexion, one way or other, with the popiſh plot. Any man, eſpecially ſo active a magiſtrate as Godfrey, might, in ſuch a city as London, have many enemies, of whom his friends and family had no ſuſpicion. He was a melancholy man; and there is ſome reaſon, notwithſtanding all the pretended appearances to the contrary, to ſuſpect that he fell by his own hands. The

CHAP. LXVII.

1678.

affair was never examined with tranquillity, or even common ſenſe, during the time: and it is impoſſible for us, at this diſtance, certainly to account for it.

NO ONE doubted but the papiſts had aſſaſſinated Godfrey: but ſtill the particular actors were unknown. A proclamation was iſſued by the King, offering a pardon and five hundred pounds reward to any one who would diſcover them. As it was afterwards ſurmized, that the terror of a like aſſaſſination would prevent diſcovery, a new proclamation was iſſued, promiſing abſolute protection to any one who would reveal the ſecret. Thus were indemnity, money, and ſecurity offered to the faireſt bidder: And no one needed to fear, during the preſent fury of the people, that his evidence would undergo too ſevere a ſcrutiny.

21ſt of October. The Parliament.

WHILE the nation was in this ferment, the Parliament was aſſembled. In his ſpeech the King told them, that tho' they had given money for diſbanding the army[p], he had found Flanders ſo expoſed, that he had thought it neceſſary ſtill to keep them on foot, and doubted not but this meaſure would meet with their approbation. He informed them, that his revenue lay under great anticipations, and at beſt was never equal to the conſtant and neceſſary expence of the government; as would appear from the ſtate of it, which he intended to lay before them. He alſo mentioned the plot, carried on againſt his life by the jeſuits; but ſaid, that he would forbear delivering any opinion of the matter, leſt he ſhould ſeem to ſay too much or too little; and that he would leave the ſcrutiny of it entirely to the law.

THE King was anxious to keep the queſtion of the popiſh plot from the Parliament, where he ſuſpected many deſigning people would very much abuſe the pre-

[p] They had granted him 600,000 pounds for diſbanding the army, for re-imburſing the charges of his naval armament, and for paying the Princeſs of Orange's portion.

ſent

CHAP. LXVII. 1678.

ſent credulity of the nation: But Danby, who hated the catholics, and courted popularity, and perhaps hoped, that the King, if his life was believed to be in danger from the jeſuits, would be more cordially loved by the nation, had entertained oppoſite deſigns; and the very firſt day of the ſeſſion, he opened the matter in the Houſe of Peers. The King was extremely diſpleaſed with this temerity, and told his miniſter, "Though you do not believe it, "you will find, that you have given the Parliament a "handle to ruin yourſelf, as well as to diſturb all my "affairs; and you will ſurely live to repent it." Danby had afterwards ſufficient reaſon to applaud the ſagacity of his maſter.

Zeal of the Parliament.

The cry of the plot was immediately echoed from one Houſe to the other. The verdict of Parliament gave ſanction to that fury, with which the people were already agitated. An addreſs was voted for a ſolemn faſt: A form of prayer was contrived for that ſervice; and becauſe the popiſh plot had been omitted in the firſt draught, it was carefully ordered to be inſerted; leſt omniſcience ſhould want intelligence, to uſe the words of an hiſtorian [q].

In order to continue and propagate the alarm, addreſſes were voted for laying before the houſe ſuch papers as might diſcover the horrible conſpiracy; for the removal of popiſh recuſants from London; for adminiſtering every where the oaths of allegiance and ſupremacy; for denying acceſs at court to all unknown and ſuſpicious perſons; and for appointing the trainbands of London and Weſtminſter to be in readineſs. The lords Powis, Stafford, Arundel, Peters, and Bellaſis were committed to the Tower, and were ſoon after impeached for high treaſon. And both Houſes, after hearing Oates's evidence, voted, "That the Lords and "Commons are of opinion, that there hath been, and

[q] North, p. 207.

"ſtill

CHAP. LXVII. 1678.

"ſtill is, a damnable and helliſh plot, contrived and car-
"ried on by the popiſh recuſants, for aſſaſſinating and
"murdering the King, for ſubverting the government,
"and for rooting out and deſtroying the proteſtant re-
"ligion."

So vehement were the Houſes, that they ſat every day, forenoon and afternoon, on the ſubject of the plot: For no other buſineſs could be admitted. A committee of Lords were appointed to examine priſoners and witneſſes: Blank warrants were put into their hands, for the commitment of ſuch as ſhould be accuſed or ſuſpected. Oates, who, tho' his evidence were true, muſt, by his own confeſſion, be regarded as an infamous villain, was by every one applauded, careſſed, and called the ſaviour of the nation. He was recommended by the parliament to the King. He was lodged in Whitehall, protected by guards, and encouraged by a penſion of 1200 pounds a year.

Bedloe's narrative.

IT was not long before ſuch bountiful encouragement brought forth new witneſſes. William Bedloe, a man, if poſſible, more infamous than Oates, appeared next upon the ſtage. He was of very low birth, had been noted for ſeveral cheats and even thefts, had travelled over many parts of Europe under borrowed names, had frequently paſſed himſelf for a man of quality, and had endeavoured, by a variety of lyes and contrivances, to prey upon the ignorant and unwary. When he appeared before the council, he gave intelligence only of Godfrey's murther, which, he ſaid, had been perpetrated in Somerſet-houſe, where the Queen lived, by papiſts, ſome of them ſervants in her family. He was queſtioned about the plot; but utterly denied all knowlege of it, and alſo aſſerted, that he had no acquaintance with Oates. Next day, when examined before the committee of Lords, he bethought himſelf better, and was ready to give an ample account of the plot, which he found ſo

anxi-

CHAP. LXVII. 1678.

anxiously inquired into. This narrative he made to tally, as well as he could, with that of Oates, which had been published: But that he might make himself acceptable by new information, he added some other circumstances, and those, still more tremendous and extraordinary. He said, that ten thousand men were to be landed from Flanders in Burlington Bay, and immediately to seize Hull: That Jersey and Guernsey were to be surprized by forces from Brest; and that a French fleet were, all last summer, hovering in the Channel for that purpose: That the lords Powis and Peters were to form an army in Radnorshire, to be joined by another army, consisting of twenty or thirty thousand religious men and pilgrims, who were to land at Milford Haven from St. Iago in Spain: That there were forty thousand men ready in London; besides those, who would, on the alarm, be posted at every alehouse door, in order to kill the soldiers, as they came out of their quarters: That lord Stafford, Coleman, and father Ireland had money sufficient to defray the expences of all these armaments: That he himself was to receive four thousand pounds, as one that could murder a man; as also a commission from lord Bellasis, and a benediction from the Pope: That the King was to be assassinated; all the Protestants massacred who would not seriously be converted; the government offered to ONE, if he would consent to hold it of the church; but if he should refuse that condition, as was suspected, the authority would be left to certain lords under the nomination of the Pope. In a subsequent examination before the Commons, Bedloe added (for these men always brought their intelligence successively and by piece-meal) that lord Carrington was also in the conspiracy for raising men and money against the government; as was likewise lord Brudenel. These noblemen, with all other persons mentioned by Bedloe, were immediately committed to custody by the Parliament.

IT

CHAP. LXVII. 1678.

"ſtill is, a damnable and helliſh plot, contrived and car-
"ried on by the popiſh recuſants, for aſſaſſinating and
"murdering the King, for ſubverting the government,
"and for rooting out and deſtroying the proteſtant re-
"ligion."

So vehement were the Houſes, that they ſat every day, forenoon and afternoon, on the ſubject of the plot: For no other buſineſs could be admitted. A committee of Lords were appointed to examine priſoners and witneſſes: Blank warrants were put into their hands, for the commitment of ſuch as ſhould be accuſed or ſuſpected. Oates, who, tho' his evidence were true, muſt, by his own confeſſion, be regarded as an infamous villain, was by every one applauded, careſſed, and called the ſaviour of the nation. He was recommended by the parliament to the King. He was lodged in Whitehall, protected by guards, and encouraged by a penſion of 1200 pounds a year.

Bedloe's narrative.

IT was not long before ſuch bountiful encouragement brought forth new witneſſes. William Bedloe, a man, if poſſible, more infamous than Oates, appeared next upon the ſtage. He was of very low birth, had been noted for ſeveral cheats and even thefts, had travelled over many parts of Europe under borrowed names, had frequently paſſed himſelf for a man of quality, and had endeavoured, by a variety of lyes and contrivances, to prey upon the ignorant and unwary. When he appeared before the council, he gave intelligence only of Godfrey's murther, which, he ſaid, had been perpetrated in Somerſet-houſe, where the Queen lived, by papiſts, ſome of them ſervants in her family. He was queſtioned about the plot; but utterly denied all knowlege of it, and alſo aſſerted, that he had no acquaintance with Oates. Next day, when examined before the committee of Lords, he bethought himſelf better, and was ready to give an ample account of the plot, which he found ſo

anxi-

CHAP. LXVII. 1678.

anxiously inquired into. This narrative he made to tally, as well as he could, with that of Oates, which had been published: But that he might make himself acceptable by new information, he added some other circumstances, and those, still more tremendous and extraordinary. He said, that ten thousand men were to be landed from Flanders in Burlington Bay, and immediately to seize Hull: That Jersey and Guernsey were to be surprized by forces from Brest; and that a French fleet were, all last summer, hovering in the Channel for that purpose: That the lords Powis and Peters were to form an army in Radnorshire, to be joined by another army, consisting of twenty or thirty thousand religious men and pilgrims, who were to land at Milford Haven from St. Iago in Spain: That there were forty thousand men ready in London; besides those, who would, on the alarm, be posted at every alehouse door, in order to kill the soldiers, as they came out of their quarters: That lord Stafford, Coleman, and father Ireland had money sufficient to defray the expences of all these armaments: That he himself was to receive four thousand pounds, as one that could murder a man; as also a commission from lord Bellasis, and a benediction from the Pope: That the King was to be assassinated; all the Protestants massacred who would not seriously be converted; the government offered to ONE, if he would consent to hold it of the church; but if he should refuse that condition, as was suspected, the authority would be left to certain lords under the nomination of the Pope. In a subsequent examination before the Commons, Bedloe added (for these men always brought their intelligence successively and by piece-meal) that lord Carrington was also in the conspiracy for raising men and money against the government; as was likewise lord Brudenel. These noblemen, with all other persons mentioned by Bedloe, were immediately committed to custody by the Parliament.

It

CHAP. LXVII.

1678.

It is remarkable, that the only reſource of Spain, in her preſent decayed condition, lay in the aſſiſtance of England; and, ſo far from being in a ſituation to tranſport ten thouſand men for the invaſion of that kingdom, ſhe had ſollicited and obtained Engliſh forces to be ſent into the garriſons of Flanders, which were not otherwiſe able to defend themſelves againſt the French. The French too, we may obſerve, were, at that very time, in open war with Spain, and yet are ſuppoſed to be engaged in the ſame deſign againſt England; as if religious motives were become the ſole actuating principle among ſovereigns. But none of theſe circumſtances, however obvious, were able, when ſet in oppoſition to multiplied horrors, antipathies, and prejudices, to engage the leaſt attention of the populace: For ſuch the whole nation were at this time become. The popiſh plot paſſed for inconteſtible: And had not men ſoon expected with certainty the legal puniſhment of theſe criminals, the Catholics had been expoſed to the hazard of an univerſal maſſacre. The torrent indeed of national prejudices ran ſo high, that no-one, without the moſt imminent danger, durſt venture openly to oppoſe it; nay, ſcarce any-one, without great force of judgment, could ſecretly entertain an opinion contrary to the prevailing ſentiments. The loud and unanimous voice of a great nation has mighty authority over weak minds; and even later hiſtorians are ſo ſwayed by the concurring judgment of ſuch multitudes, that ſome of them have eſteemed themſelves ſufficiently moderate, when they affirmed, that many circumſtances of the plot were true, tho' ſome were added, and others much magnified. But it is an obvious principle, that a witneſs, who perjures himſelf, in one circumſtance, is credible in none: And the authority of the plot, even to the end of the proſecutions, ſtood entirely upon witneſſes. Tho' the Catholics had been ſuddenly and unexpectedly detected, at the

CHAP. LXVII. 1678.

the very moment, when their conſpiracy, it is ſaid, was ready to be put in execution; no arms, no ammunition, no money, no commiſſions, no papers, no letters, after the moſt rigorous ſearch, ever were diſcovered, to confirm the evidence of Oates and Bedloe. Yet ſtill the nation, tho' often fruſtrated, went on in the eager purſuit and confident belief of the conſpiracy: And even the manifold inconſiſtencies and abſurdities, contained in the Narratives, inſtead of diſcouraging them, ſerved only as farther incentives to diſcover the bottom of the plot, and were conſidered as ſlight objections, which a more complete information would fully remove. In all hiſtory, it will be difficult to find ſuch another inſtance of popular frenzy and bigotted deluſion.

In order to ſupport the panic among the people, eſpecially among the citizens of London, a pamphlet was publiſhed with this title, "A narrative and impartial "diſcovery of the horrid popiſh plot, carried on for "burning and deſtroying the cities of London and Weſt-"minſter with their ſuburbs; ſetting forth the ſeveral "conſults, orders, and reſolutions of the jeſuits, con-"cerning the ſame: By captain William Bedloe, lately "engaged in that horrid deſign, and one of the popiſh "committee for carrying on ſuch fires." Every fire, which had happened for ſeveral years paſt, is there aſcribed to the machinations of the jeſuits, who propoſed, as Bedloe ſaid, by ſuch attempts to find an opportunity for the general maſſacre of the proteſtants; and in the mean time, were pleaſed to enrich themſelves by pilfering goods from the fires.

The King, tho' he ſcrupled not, wherever he could uſe freedom, to throw the higheſt ridicule on the plot, and on all who believed it; yet found it neceſſary to adopt the popular opinion before the Parliament. The torrent, he ſaw, ran too ſtrong to be controuled; and he could only hope, by a ſeeming compliance, to be

CHAP. LXVII. 1678.

able, after ſome time, to guide and direct and elude its fury. He made therefore a ſpeech to both Houſes; in which he told them, that he would take the utmoſt care of his perſon during theſe times of danger; that he was as ready as their hearts could wiſh, to join with them in all means for eſtabliſhing the proteſtant religion, not only during his own time, but for all future ages; that, provided the right of ſucceſſion was preſerved, he would conſent to any laws for reſtraining a popiſh ſucceſſor: And in concluſion, he exhorted them to think of effectual means for the conviction of popiſh recuſants; and he highly praiſed the duty and loyalty of all his ſubjects, who had diſcovered ſuch anxious concern for his ſafety.

THESE gracious expreſſions abated nothing of the vehemence of parliamentary proceedings. A bill was introduced for a new teſt, in which popery was denominated idolatry; and all members, who refuſed this teſt, were excluded both Houſes. The bill paſſed the Commons without much oppoſition; but in the upper Houſe the Duke moved, that an exception might be admitted in his favour. With great earneſtneſs, and even wth tears in his eyes, he told them, that he was now to caſt himſelf on their kindneſs, in the greateſt concern, which he could have in the world; and he proteſted, that, whatever his religion might be, it ſhould only be a private thing between God and his own ſoul, and never ſhould appear in his public conduct. Notwithſtanding this ſtrong effort, in ſo important a point, he prevailed only by two voices; a ſufficient indication of the general diſpoſition of the people. "I would not have," ſaid a noble Peer, in the debate on this bill, "ſo much as a popiſh man "or a popiſh woman to remain here; not ſo much as a "popiſh dog or a popiſh bitch; not ſo much as a popiſh "cat to pur or mew about the King." What is more extraordinary, this ſpeech met with praiſe and approbation.

CHAP. LXVII. 1678.

ENCOURAGED by this general fury, the witneſſes went ſtill a ſtep farther in their accuſations; and tho' both Oates and Bedloe had often declared, that there was no other perſon of diſtinction, whom they knew to be concerned in the plot, they were now ſo audacious as to accuſe even the Queen herſelf of entering into the deſign againſt her huſband's life. The Commons, in an addreſs to the King, gave countenance to this ſcandalous accuſation; but the Lords would not be prevailed with to join in the addreſs. It is here, if any where, that we may ſuſpect the ſuggeſtions of the popular leaders to have had place. The King, it was well known, bore no great affection to his conſort; and now more than ever, when his heir apparent was ſo much hated, had reaſon to be deſirous of iſſue, which might quiet the jealous fears of his people. This very hatred, which prevailed againſt the Duke, would much facilitate, he knew, any expedient that could be deviſed for the excluſion of that Prince; and nothing farther ſeemed requiſite for the King, than to give way in this particular to the rage and fury of the nation. But Charles, notwithſtanding all allurements of pleaſure, or intereſt, or ſafety, had the generoſity to protect his injured conſort. "They think," ſaid he, "I have a mind to a new wife; "but for all that I will not ſee an innocent woman "abuſed[r]." He immediately ordered Oates to be ſtrictly confined, ſeized his papers, and diſmiſſed his ſervants; and this daring informer was obliged to make applications to Parliament, in order to recover his liberty.

DURING this agitation of men's minds, the Parliament gave new attention to the militia; a circumſtance, which, even during the times of greateſt tranquillity, can never prudently be neglected. They paſſed a bill, by which it was enacted, that a regular militia ſhould be kept in arms, during ſix weeks of the year, and a

[r] North's Examen, p. 186.

CHAP. LXVII. 1678.

third part of them do duty every fortnight of that time. The popular leaders probably intended to make use of the general prejudices, and even to turn the arms of the people against the Prince[s]. But Charles refused his assent to the bill, and told the Parliament, that he would not, were it for half an hour, part so far with the power of the sword: But if they would contrive any other bill for ordering the militia, and still leave it in his power to assemble or dismiss them as he thought proper, he would willingly give it the royal sanction. The Commons, dissatisfied with this negative, tho' the King had never before employed that prerogative, immediately voted that all the new-levied forces should be dismissed. They passed a bill, granting money for that service; but to shew their extreme jealousy of the Crown, besides appropriating that money by the strictest clauses, they ordered it to be paid, not into the exchequer, but into the chamber of London. The Lords demurred with regard to so extraordinary a clause, which threw a violent reflection on the King's ministers, and even on himself: and by that means the act remained in suspence.

Accusation of Danby.

It was no wonder, that the present ferment and credulity of the nation engaged men of infamous character and indigent circumstances to become informers; when persons of rank and condition could be tempted to give into that scandalous practice. Montague, the King's ambassador at Paris, had procured a seat in the lower House; and without obtaining or asking the King's leave, he suddenly came over into England. Charles, suspecting his intention, ordered his papers to be seized; but Montague, who foresaw this measure, had taken care to secrete one paper, which he immediately laid before the House of Commons. It was a letter from the treasurer Danby, wrote at the beginning of the year, during the negotiations at Nimeguen for the general peace. Mon-

[s] Burnet, vol. i. p. 437.

tague

gague was there directed to make a demand of money; or in other words, the King was willing ſecretly to ſell his good offices to France, contrary to the general intereſts of the confederates, and even to thoſe of his own kingdoms. The letter, among other particulars, contains theſe words: "In caſe the conditions of peace "ſhall be accepted, the king expects to have ſix millions of livres a year for three years, from the time "that this agreement ſhall be ſigned between his Majeſty and the King of France; becauſe it will probably be two or three years before the Parliament will "be in humour to give him any ſupplies after the making "of any peace with France; and the ambaſſador here "has always agreed to that ſum; but not for ſo long a "time." Danby was ſo unwilling to engage in this negotiation, that the King, to ſatisfy him, ſubjoined with his own hand theſe words: "This letter is writ by my "order, C. R."

THE Commons were inflamed with this intelligence; and carrying their ſuſpicions much farther than the truth, they concluded, that the King had all along acted in concert with the French court; and that every ſtep, which he had taken in conjunction with the allies, had been illuſory and deceitful. Deſirous of getting to the bottom of ſo important a ſecret, and being puſhed by Danby's numerous enemies, they immediately voted an impeachment of high treaſon againſt that miniſter, and ſent up ſix articles to the Houſe of Peers. Theſe articles were, That he had traiterouſly engroſſed to himſelf regal power, by giving inſtructions to his majeſty's ambaſſadors, without the participation of the ſecretaries of ſtate, or the privy council: That he had traiterouſly endeavoured to ſubvert the government, and introduce arbitrary power; and to that end, had levied and continued an army, contrary to act of Parliament: That he had traiterouſly endeavoured to alienate the affections

His impeachment.

CHAP. LXVII.

1678.

fections of his Majesty's subjects, by negotiating a disadvantageous peace with France, and procuring money for that purpose: That he was popishly affected, and had traiterously concealed, after he had notice, the late horrid and bloody plot, contrived by the papists against his Majesty's person and government: That he had wasted the King's treasure: And that he had by indirect means obtained several exorbitant grants from the Crown.

It is certain that the treasurer, in giving instructions to the ambassador, had exceeded the bounds of his office: and as the genius of a monarchy, strictly limited, requires, that the proper minister should be answerable for every abuse of power, the Commons, tho' they here advanced a new pretension, might justify themselves by the utility and even necessity of it. But in other respects their charge against Danby was very ill grounded. That minister made it appear to the House of Lords, not only that Montague, the informer against him, had all along promoted the money-negotiations with France, but that he himself was ever extremely averse to the interests of that crown, which he esteemed pernicious to his master, and to his country. The French nation, he said, had always entertained, as he was certainly informed, the highest contempt, both of the King's person and government. His diligence, he added, in tracing and discovering the popish plot, was generally known; and if he had common sense, not to say common honesty, he would surely be anxious to preserve the life of a master, by whom he was so much favoured. He had wasted no treasure, because there was no treasure to waste. And tho' he had reason to be grateful for the King's bounty, he had made more moderate acquisitions than were generally imagined, and than others in his office had often done, even during a shorter administration.

The House of Peers plainly saw, that, allowing all the charge of the Commons to be true, Danby's crime

fell

fell not under the ſtatute of Edward the third; and tho' the words, *treaſon* and *traiterouſly*, had been carefully ſubjoined to ſeveral articles, this appellation could not alter the nature of things, or ſubject him to the penalties annexed to that crime. They refuſed, therefore, to commit Danby upon this irregular charge; The Commons inſiſted on their demand; and a great conteſt was likely to ariſe, when the King, who had already obſerved ſufficient inſtances of the ill-humour of the Parliament, thought proper to prorogue them. This prorogation was ſoon after followed by a diſſolution; a deſperate remedy in the preſent diſpoſition of the nation. But the diſeaſe, it muſt be owned, the King had reaſon to eſteem deſperate. The utmoſt rage had been diſcovered by the Commons, on account of the popiſh plot; and their fury began already to point againſt the royal family, if not againſt the Throne itſelf. The Duke had been ſtruck at in ſeveral motions; The treaſurer had been impeached: All ſupply had been refuſed, except on the moſt diſagreeable conditions: Fears, jealouſies, and antipathies were every day multiplying in Parliament: And tho' the people were ſtrongly infected with the ſame prejudices, the King hoped, by diſſolving the preſent cabals, that a ſet of men might be choſen, more moderate in their purſuits, and leſs tainted with the virulence of faction.

30th of December. Diſſolution of the long Parliament.

THUS came to a period a parliament, which had ſate during the whole courſe of this reign, one year excepted. Its concluſion was very different from its commencement. Being elected during the joy and feſtivity of the reſtoration, it conſiſted almoſt entirely of royaliſts; who were diſpoſed to ſupport the Crown by all the liberality, which the habits of that age would permit. Alarmed by the alliance with France, they gradually withdrew their confidence from the King; and finding him ſtill

Its character.

CHAP. LXVII. 1678.

to perſevere in a foreign intereſt, they proceeded to diſcover ſymptoms of the moſt refractory and moſt jealous diſpoſition. The popiſh plot puſhed them beyond all bounds of moderation; and before their diſſolution they ſeemed to be treading faſt in the foot-ſteps of the laſt long Parliament, on whoſe conduct they threw at firſt ſuch violent blame. In all their variations, they had ſtill followed the opinions and prejudices of the nation; and ſeemed ever to be more governed by humour and party views than by public intereſt, and more by public intereſt than by any corrupt or private influence.

DURING the ſitting of the Parliament, and after its prorogation and diſſolution, the trials of the pretended criminals were carried on; and the courts of judicature, places, which, if poſſible, ought to be kept more pure from injuſtice than even national aſſemblies themſelves, were ſtrongly infected with the ſame party rage and bigotted prejudices. Coleman, the moſt obnoxious of the conſpirators, was firſt brought to his trial. His letters were produced againſt him. They contained, as he himſelf confeſſed, much indiſcretion: But unleſs ſo far as it is illegal to be a zealous catholic, they ſeem to prove nothing criminal, much leſs treaſonable, againſt him. Oates and Bedloe ſwore, that he had received a commiſſion, ſigned by the ſuperior of the jeſuits, to be papal ſecretary of ſtate, and had conſented to the poiſoning, ſhooting, and ſtabbing the King: He had even, according to Oates's depoſition, advanced a guinea to promote thoſe bloody purpoſes. Theſe wild ſtories were all confounded with the projects contained in his letters; and Coleman received ſentence of death. The ſentence was ſoon after executed upon him. He ſuffered with calmneſs and conſtancy, and to the laſt perſiſted in the ſtrongeſt proteſtations of his innocence.

Trial of Coleman.

t 3d of December.

COLE-

CHAR. LXVII.

1678. Of Ireland.

COLEMAN's execution was ſucceeded by the trial of father Ireland, who, 'tis pretended, had ſigned, together with fifty jeſuits, the great reſolve of murdering the King. Grove and Pickering, who had undertaken to ſhoot him, were tried at the ſame time. The only witneſſes againſt the priſoners were ſtill Oates and Bedloe. Ireland affirmed, that he was in Staffordſhire all the month of Auguſt laſt, a time when Oates's evidence made him in London. He proved his aſſertion by good evidence, and would have proved it by undoubted; had he not, moſt iniquitouſly, been debarred, while in priſon, of all uſe of pen and ink, and denied the liberty of ſending for witneſſes. All theſe men, before they came to the bar, were condemned in the opinions of the judges, jury, and ſpectators; and to be a jeſuit, or even a Catholic, was of itſelf a ſufficient proof of guilt. The chief juſtice[u] in particular gave ſanction to all the narrow prejudices and bigotted fury of the populace. Inſtead of being council for the priſoners, as his office required, he pleaded the cauſe againſt them, browbeat their witneſſes, and on every occaſion repreſented their guilt as certain and uncontroverted. He even went ſo far as publicly to affirm, that the Papiſts had not the ſame principles which Proteſtants have, and therefore were not entitled to that common credence, which the principles and practices of the latter call for. And when the jury brought in their verdict againſt the priſoners, he ſaid, "You have done, gentlemen, like very good "ſubjects, and very good Chriſtians, that is to ſay, "like very good Proteſtants: And now much good may "their 30,000 maſſes do them." Alluding to the maſſes, by which Pickering was to be rewarded for murdering the King. All theſe unhappy men went to execution, proteſting their innocence; a circumſtance, which made no impreſſion on the ſpectators. The opinion,

1679. 24th of January.

[u] Sir William Scrogges.

that

CHAP. LXVII.

1678.

to perſevere in a foreign intereſt, they proceeded to diſcover ſymptoms of the moſt refractory and moſt jealous diſpoſition. The popiſh plot puſhed them beyond all bounds of moderation; and before their diſſolution they ſeemed to be treading faſt in the foot-ſteps of the laſt long Parliament, on whoſe conduct they threw at firſt ſuch violent blame. In all their variations, they had ſtill followed the opinions and prejudices of the nation; and ſeemed ever to be more governed by humour and party views than by public intereſt, and more by public intereſt than by any corrupt or private influence.

DURING the ſitting of the Parliament, and after its prorogation and diſſolution, the trials of the pretended criminals were carried on; and the courts of judicature, places, which, if poſſible, ought to be kept more pure from injuſtice than even national aſſemblies themſelves, were ſtrongly infected with the ſame party rage and bigotted prejudices. Coleman, the moſt obnoxious of the conſpirators, was firſt brought to his trial. His letters were produced againſt him. They contained, as he himſelf confeſſed, much indiſcretion: But unleſs ſo far as it is illegal to be a zealous catholic, they ſeem to prove nothing criminal, much leſs treaſonable, againſt him. Oates and Bedloe ſwore, that he had received a commiſſion, ſigned by the ſuperior of the jeſuits, to be papal ſecretary of ſtate, and had conſented to the poiſoning, ſhooting, and ſtabbing the King: He had even, according to Oates's depoſition, advanced a guinea to promote thoſe bloody purpoſes. Theſe wild ſtories were all confounded with the projects contained in his letters; and Coleman received ſentence of death. The ſentence was ſoon after executed upon him[t]. He ſuffered with calmneſs and conſtancy, and to the laſt perſiſted in the ſtrongeſt proteſtations of his innocence.

Trial of Coleman.

[t] 3d of December.

COLE-

CHAP. LXVII.

1678. Of Ireland.

COLEMAN's execution was ſucceeded by the trial of father Ireland, who, 'tis pretended, had ſigned, together with fifty jeſuits, the great reſolve of murdering the King. Grove and Pickering, who had undertaken to ſhoot him, were tried at the ſame time. The only witneſſes againſt the priſoners were ſtill Oates and Bedloe. Ireland affirmed, that he was in Staffordſhire all the month of Auguſt laſt, a time when Oates's evidence made him in London. He proved his aſſertion by good evidence, and would have proved it by undoubted; had he not, moſt iniquitouſly, been debarred, while in priſon, of all uſe of pen and ink, and denied the liberty of ſending for witneſſes. All theſe men, before they came to the bar, were condemned in the opinions of the judges, jury, and ſpectators; and to be a jeſuit, or even a Catholic, was of itſelf a ſufficient proof of guilt. The chief juſtice[u] in particular gave ſanction to all the narrow prejudices and bigotted fury of the populace. Inſtead of being council for the priſoners, as his office required, he pleaded the cauſe againſt them, browbeat their witneſſes, and on every occaſion repreſented their guilt as certain and uncontroverted. He even went ſo far as publicly to affirm, that the Papiſts had not the ſame principles which Proteſtants have, and therefore were not entitled to that common credence, which the principles and practices of the latter call for. And when the jury brought in their verdict againſt the priſoners, he ſaid, "You have done, gentlemen, like very good "ſubjects, and very good Chriſtians, that is to ſay, "like very good Proteſtants: And now much good may "their 30,000 maſſes do them." Alluding to the maſſes, by which Pickering was to be rewarded for murdering the King. All theſe unhappy men went to execution, proteſting their innocence; a circumſtance, which made no impreſſion on the ſpectators. The opinion,

1679. 24th of January.

[u] Sir William Scrogges.

that

CHAP. LXVII. 1679.

that the jesuits allowed of lies and mental reservations for the promotion of a good cause, was at this time so universally received, that no credit was given to testimony, delivered either by that order, or by any of their disciples. It was forgot, that all the conspirators, engaged in the gun-powder-treason, and Garnet, the jesuit, among the rest, had freely on the scaffold made confession of their guilt.

Tho' Bedloe had given information of Godfrey's murder, he still remained a single evidence against the persons accused; and all the allurements of profit and honour had not hitherto tempted any one to confirm the testimony of that informer. At last, means were found to compleat the legal evidence. One Prance, a silversmith, and a Catholic, had been accused by Bedloe of being an accomplice in that murder; and upon his denial had been thrown into prison, loaded with heavy irons, and confined to the condemned hole, a place cold, dark, and full of nastiness. Such rigours were supposed to be exercised by orders from the secret committee of lords, particularly Shaftesbury and Buckingham; who, in examining the prisoners, usually employed (as 'tis said, and indeed sufficiently proved) threatenings and promises, rigour and indulgence, and every art, under pretence of extorting the truth from them. Prance had not courage to resist, but confessed himself an accomplice in Godfrey's murder. Being asked concerning the plot, he also thought proper to be acquainted with it, and conveyed some intelligence to the council. Among other absurd circumstances, he said, that one Le Fevre bought a second-hand sword of him; because he knew not, as he said, what times were at hand: And Prance, expressing some concern for poor tradesmen, if such times came; Le Fevre replied, that it would be better for tradesmen, if the catholic religion was restored: And particularly, that there would be more church work

work for silversmiths. But all this information, with regard to the plot as well as the murder of Godfrey, Prance solemnly retracted, both before the King and the secret committee: And being again thrown into prison, he was induced, by new terrors and new sufferings, to confirm his first information, and was now produced as a sufficient evidence.

HILL, Green and Berry were tried for Godfrey's murder; all of them men of low station. Hill was servant to a physician: The other two belonged to the popish chapel at Somerset House. It is needless to run over all the particulars of a long trial: It will be sufficient to say, that Bedloe's evidence and Prance's were in many circumstances totally irreconcileable; that both of them laboured under unsurmountable difficulties, not to say gross absurdities; and that they were invalidated by contrary evidence, which is altogether convincing. But all was in vain. The prisoners were condemned and executed. They all denied their guilt at their execution; and as Berry died a Protestant, this circumstance was regarded as very considerable: But instead of giving some check to the general credulity of the people, men were only surprized, that a Protestant could be induced at his death to persist in so manifest a falshood.

February 21st and 28th.

As the army could neither be kept up, nor disbanded without money, the King, however little hopes he could entertain of more compliance, found himself obliged to summon a new Parliament. The blood, already shed on account of the popish plot, instead of satiating the people, served only as an incentive to their fury; and each conviction of a criminal was hitherto regarded as a new proof of those horrible designs, ascribed to the Papists. This election is perhaps the first in England, which, since the commencement of the Monarchy, had been carried on by a violent contest between the parties, and where the court interested itself,

New elections.

to

CHAP. LXVII. 1679.

that the jesuits allowed of lies and mental reservations for the promotion of a good cause, was at this time so universally received, that no credit was given to testimony, delivered either by that order, or by any of their disciples. It was forgot, that all the conspirators, engaged in the gun-powder-treason, and Garnet, the jesuit, among the rest, had freely on the scaffold made confession of their guilt.

Tho' Bedloe had given information of Godfrey's murder, he still remained a single evidence against the persons accused; and all the allurements of profit and honour had not hitherto tempted any one to confirm the testimony of that informer. At last, means were found to compleat the legal evidence. One Prance, a silversmith, and a Catholic, had been accused by Bedloe of being an accomplice in that murder; and upon his denial had been thrown into prison, loaded with heavy irons, and confined to the condemned hole, a place cold, dark, and full of nastiness. Such rigours were supposed to be exercised by orders from the secret committee of lords, particularly Shaftesbury and Buckingham; who, in examining the prisoners, usually employed (as 'tis said, and indeed sufficiently proved) threatenings and promises, rigour and indulgence, and every art, under pretence of extorting the truth from them. Prance had not courage to resist, but confessed himself an accomplice in Godfrey's murder. Being asked concerning the plot, he also thought proper to be acquainted with it, and conveyed some intelligence to the council. Among other absurd circumstances, he said, that one Le Fevre bought a second-hand sword of him; because he knew not, as he said, what times were at hand: And Prance, expressing some concern for poor tradesmen, if such times came; Le Fevre replied, that it would be better for tradesmen, if the catholic religion was restored: And particularly, that there would be more church work

work for silversmiths. But all this information, with regard to the plot as well as the murder of Godfrey, Prance solemnly retracted, both before the King and the secret committee: And being again thrown into prison, he was induced, by new terrors and new sufferings, to confirm his first information, and was now produced as a sufficient evidence. CHAP. LXVII. 1679.

HILL, Green and Berry were tried for Godfrey's murder; all of them men of low station. Hill was servant to a physician: The other two belonged to the popish chapel at Somerset House. It is needless to run over all the particulars of a long trial: It will be sufficient to say, that Bedloe's evidence and Prance's were in many circumstances totally irreconcileable; that both of them laboured under unsurmountable difficulties, not to say gross absurdities; and that they were invalidated by contrary evidence, which is altogether convincing. But all was in vain. The prisoners were condemned and executed. They all denied their guilt at their execution; and as Berry died a Protestant, this circumstance was regarded as very considerable: But instead of giving some check to the general credulity of the people, men were only surprized, that a Protestant could be induced at his death to persist in so manifest a falshood. February 21st and 28th.

As the army could neither be kept up, nor disbanded without money, the King, however little hopes he could entertain of more compliance, found himself obliged to summon a new Parliament. The blood, already shed on account of the popish plot, instead of satiating the people, served only as an incentive to their fury; and each conviction of a criminal was hitherto regarded as a new proof of those horrible designs, ascribed to the Papists. This election is perhaps the first in England, which, since the commencement of the Monarchy, had been carried on by a violent contest between the parties, and where the court interested itself, New elections.

to

CHAP. LXVII. 1679.

to a high degree, in the choice of the national repreſentatives. But all its efforts were fruitleſs, in oppoſition to the torrent of prejudices, which prevailed. Religion, liberty, property, even the lives of men were now ſuppoſed to be at ſtake; and no ſecurity, it was thought, except in a vigilant Parliament, could be found againſt the impious and bloody conſpirators. Were there any part of the nation, to which the ferment, occaſioned by the popiſh plot, had not as yet propagated itſelf; the new elections, by intereſting the whole people in national concerns, tended to diffuſe it into the remoteſt corner; and the conſternation, univerſally excited, proved an excellent engine for influencing the electors. All the zealots of the former Parliament were re-choſen: New ones were added: The Preſbyterians in particular, being tranſported with the moſt inveterate antipathy againſt popery, were very active and very ſucceſsful in the elections. That party, it is ſaid, firſt began at this time the abuſe of ſplitting their freeholds, in order to multiply the votes of electors. By accounts, which came from every part of England, it was concluded, that the new repreſentatives would, if poſſible, exceed the old in their refractory oppoſition to the court, and furious perſecution of the Catholics.

THE King was alarmed, when he ſaw ſo dreadful a tempeſt ariſe from ſuch ſmall and unaccountable beginnings. His life, if Oates and Bedloe's information was true, had been aimed at by the Catholics: Even the Duke's was in danger: The higher, therefore, the rage mounted againſt popery, the more ſhould the nation have been reconciled to theſe two princes, in whom, it appeared, the church of Rome repoſed no confidence. But there is a ſophiſtry, which attends all the paſſions; eſpecially thoſe into which the populace enter. Men gave credit to the informers, ſo far as concerned the guilt of the Catholics: But they ſtill retained their old

ſuſ-

CHAP. LXVII. 1679.

ſuſpicions, that theſe religioniſts were ſecretly favoured by the King, and had obtained the moſt entire aſcendant over his brother. Charles had too much penetration not to ſee the danger, to which the ſucceſſion, and even his own crown and dignity, now ſtood expoſed. A numerous party, he found, was formed againſt him; on the one hand, compoſed of a populace, ſo credulous from prejudice, ſo blinded with religious antipathy, as implicitly to believe the moſt palpable abſurdities; and conducted, on the other hand, by leaders ſo little ſcrupulous, as to endeavour, by encouraging perjury, ſubornation, lyes, impoſtures, and even by ſhedding innocent blood, to gratify their own furious ambition, and ſubvert all legal authority. Rouzed from his lethargy by ſo imminent a peril, he began to exert that vigour of mind, of which on great occaſions he was not deſtitute; and without quitting in appearance his uſual facility of temper, he collected an induſtry, firmneſs, vigilance, of which he was believed altogether incapable. Theſe qualities, joined to dexterity and judgment, conducted him happily thro' the many ſhoals, which ſurrounded him; and he was at laſt able to make the ſtorm fall on the heads of thoſe who had blindly raiſed, or artificially conducted it.

ONE chief ſtep, which the King took, towards gratifying and appeaſing his people and Parliament, was, deſiring the Duke to withdraw beyond ſea, that no farther ſuſpicion might remain of the influence of popiſh councils. The Duke readily complied; but firſt required an order for that purpoſe, ſigned by the King; leſt his abſence ſhould be interpreted as a proof of fear or of guilt. He alſo deſired, that his brother ſhould ſatisfy him, as well as the public, by a public declaration of the illegitimacy of the Duke of Monmouth.

JAMES Duke of Monmouth was the King's natural ſon by Lucy Walters, and born about ten years before the reſtoration. He poſſeſſed all the qualities, which could

Duke of Monmouth.

CHAP. LXVII. 1679.

could engage the affections of the populace; a diſtinguiſhed valour, an affable addreſs, a thoughtleſs generoſity, a graceful perſon. He roſe ſtill higher in the public favour, by reaſon of the univerſal hatred, to which the Duke, on account of his religion, was expoſed. Monmouth's capacity was mean; his temper pliant: So that notwithſtanding his great popularity, he had never been dangerous, had he not implicitly reſigned himſelf over to the guidance of Shafteſbury, a man of ſuch a reſtleſs temper, ſuch ſubtle wit, and ſuch abandoned principles. That daring politician had flattered Monmouth with the hopes of ſucceeding to the crown. The ſtory of a contract of marriage, paſſed between the King and Monmouth's mother, and ſecretly kept in a certain *black box*; had been induſtriouſly ſpread abroad, and was greedily received by the multitude. As the horrors of popery ſtill preſſed harder on them, they might be induced, either to adopt that fiction, as they had already done many others more incredible, or to commit open violation on the right of ſucceſſion. And it would not be difficult, it was hoped to perſuade the King, who was extremely fond of his ſon, to give him the preference above a brother, who by his imprudent bigotry, had involved him in ſuch inextricable difficulties. But Charles, in order to cut off all ſuch expectations, as well as to remove the Duke's apprehenſions, took care, in full council, to declare Monmouth's illegitimacy, and to deny all promiſe of marriage to his mother. The Duke, being gratify'd in ſo reaſonable a requeſt, willingly complied with the King's deſire, and retired to Bruſſels.

Duke of York retires to Bruſſels.

6th of March. New Parliament.

BUT the king ſoon found, that, notwithſtanding this precaution, notwithſtanding his concurrence in the proſecution of the popiſh plot, notwithſtanding the zeal which he expreſſed, and even at this time exerciſed againſt the Catholics; he had no wiſe obtained the confidence of his Parliament. The refractory humour of the Commons

1679.

mons appeared in the first step, which they took upon their assembling. It had ever been usual for the Commons, in the election of their speaker, to consult the inclinations of the Sovereign; and even the long Parliament in 1641 had not thought proper to depart from so established a custom. The King now desired, that the choice should fall on Sir Thomas Meres: But Seymour, speaker to the last Parliament, was instantly called to the chair, by a vote which seemed unanimous. The King, when Seymour was presented to him for his approbation, rejected him, and ordered the Commons to proceed to a new choice. A great flame was excited. The Commons maintained, that the King's approbation was merely a form, and that he could not, without giving a reason, reject the speaker chosen: The King, that, since he had the power of rejecting, he might, if he pleased, keep the reason in his own breast. As the question had never before been started, it might seem difficult to find principles, upon which it could be decided [x]. By way of compromise, it was agreed to set aside both candidates. Gregory, a lawyer, was chosen; and the election was ratified by the King. It has ever since been understood, that the choice of the speaker lies in the House; but that the King retains the Power of rejecting any one disagreeable to him.

SEYMOUR was deemed a great enemy to Danby; and it was the influence of that nobleman, as commonly supposed, which had engaged the King to enter into this ill-timed controversy with the Commons. The impeachment, therefore, of Danby was on that account the

Danby's impeachment.

[x] In 1566, the Speaker said to Q. Elizabeth, that without her allowance the election of the house was of no significance. D'Ewes's Journal, p. 97. In the Parliament 1592, 1593, the Speaker, who was Sir Edward Coke, advances a like position. D'Ewes, p. 459. Townshend, p. 35. So that this pretension of the Commons seems to have been somewhat new; like many of their other powers and privileges.

sooner

CHAP. LXVII.

1679.

ſooner revived; and it was maintained by the Commons, that, notwithſtanding the intervening diſſolution, every part of that procedure ſtood in the ſame condition in which it had been left by the laſt Parliament: A pretenſion, which, tho' unuſual, ſeems tacitly to have been yielded them. The King had before hand had the precaution to grant a pardon to Danby; and, in order to ſcreen the chancellor from all attacks by the Commons, he had taken the ſeal into his own hand, and had himſelf affixed it to the parchment. He told the Parliament, that as Danby had acted in every thing by his orders, he was no wiſe criminal; that his pardon, however, he would inſiſt upon; and if it ſhould be found any way defective in form, he would renew it again and again, till it ſhould be rendered entirely compleat: But that he was reſolved to deprive him of all employments, and to remove him from court.

The Commons were no wiſe ſatisfied with this conceſſion. They pretended that no pardon of the Crown could be pleaded in bar of an impeachment by the Commons. The prerogative of mercy had been hitherto underſtood to be altogether unlimited in the king; and this pretenſion of the Commons, it muſt be confeſſed, was entirely new. It was however very ſuitable to the genius of a Monarchy, ſtrictly limited; where the King's miniſters are ſuppoſed to be for ever accountable to national aſſemblies, even for ſuch abuſes of power as they may commit by orders from their maſter. The preſent emergence, while the nation was ſo highly inflamed, was the proper time for puſhing ſuch popular claims; and the Commons failed not to avail themſelves of this advantage. They ſtill inſiſted on the impeachment of Danby. The Peers, in compliance with them, departed from their former ſcruples, and ordered Danby to be taken into cuſtody. Danby withdrew. The Commons paſſed a bill, appointing him to ſurrender himſelf before

a certain day, or, in default of it, attainting him. A bill had passed the upper House, mitigating the penalty to banishment; but after some conferences, the Peers thought proper to yield to the violence of the Commons: and the bill of attainder was carried. Rather than undergo such severe penalties, Danby appeared, and was immediately committed to the Tower. CHAP. LXVII. 1679.

WHILE a protestant nobleman met with such severe prosecution, it was not likely that the Catholics would be over-looked by the zealous Commons. The credit of the popish plot still stood upon the oaths of a few infamous witnesses. Tho' such immense preparations were supposed to have been made in the very bowels of the kingdom, no traces of them, after the most rigorous enquiry, had as yet appeared. Tho' so many thousands, both abroad and at home, had been engaged in the dreadful secret; neither hope, nor fear, nor remorse, nor levity, nor suspicions, nor private resentment had engaged any-one to confirm the evidence. Tho' the Catholics, particularly the jesuits, were represented as guilty of the utmost indiscretion, insomuch that they talked of the King's murder as common news, and wrote of it in plain terms by the common post; yet, among the great number of letters seized, no-one contained any part of so complicated a conspiracy. Tho' the informers pretended, that, even after they had resolved to betray the secret, many treasonable commissions and papers had passed thro' their hands; they had not had the precaution to keep any one of them, in order to fortify their evidence. But all these difficulties, and a thousand more, were not found too hard of digestion by the nation and Parliament. The prosecution and farther discovery of the plot were still the object of general concern. The Commons voted, that, if the King should come to an untimely end, they would revenge his death upon the Papists; not reflecting that that sect were not his only enemies. Popish plot.

CHAP. LXVII.

1679.

They promiſed rewards to new diſcoverers; not conſidering the danger, which they incurred, of granting bribes to perjury. They made Bedloe a preſent of 500 pounds; and particularly recommended the care of his ſafety to the duke of Monmouth. Colonel Sackville, a member, having, in a private company, ſpoke opprobriouſly of thoſe who affirmed that there was any plot, was expelled the Houſe. The Peers gave power to their committees to ſend for and examine ſuch as would maintain the innocence of thoſe condemned for the plot. A pamphlet having been publiſhed to diſcredit the informers, and to vindicate the catholic lords in the Tower, theſe lords were required to diſcover the author, and thereby to expoſe their own advocate to proſecution. And both Houſes concurred in renewing the former vote, that the Papiſts had undoubtedly entered into a *horrid* and *treaſonable* conſpiracy againſt the King, the ſtate, and the proteſtant religion.

It muſt be owned, that this extreme violence, in proſecution of ſo abſurd an impoſture, diſgraces the noble cauſe of liberty, in which the Parliament was engaged. We may even conclude from ſuch impatience of contradiction, that the proſecutors themſelves retained a ſecret ſuſpicion, that the general belief was but ill grounded. The politicians among them were afraid to let in light, leſt it might put an end to ſo uſeful a deluſion: The weaker and leſs diſhoneſt party took care, by turning their eyes aſide, not to ſee a truth, ſo oppoſite to thoſe furious paſſions, by which they were actuated, and in which they were determined obſtinately to perſevere.

Sir William Temple had been lately recalled from his foreign employments; and the King, who, after the removal of Danby, had no one with whom he could ſo much as diſcourſe with freedom of public affairs, was reſolved, upon Coventry's diſmiſſion, to make him one of his ſecretaries of ſtate. But that philoſophical patriot,

too

too little interested for the intrigues of a court, too full of spleen and delicacy, for the noisy turbulence of popular assemblies, was alarmed at the universal discontents and jealousies, which prevailed, and was determined to make his retreat, as soon as possible, from a scene which threatened so much confusion. Mean-while, he could not refuse the confidence with which his master honoured him; and he resolved to employ it to the public service. He represented to the King, that, as the jealousies of the nation were extreme, it was necessary to cure them by some new remedy, and to restore that confidence, so requisite for the safety both of King and people: That to refuse every thing to the Parliament in their present disposition, or to yield every thing, was equally dangerous to the constitution and to public tranquillity: That if the King would introduce into his councils such men as enjoyed the confidence of his people, fewer concessions would probably be required; or if exorbitant demands were made, the King, under the sanction of such counsellors, might be enabled, with the greater safety, to refuse them: And that the heads of the popular party, being gratified with the King's favour, would probably abate of that violence, by which they endeavoured at present to pay court to the multitude.

CHAP. LXVII. 1679.

THE King assented to all these reasons; and, in concert with Temple, he laid the plan of a new privy-council, without whose advice he declared himself determined for the future to take no measures of importance. This council was to consist of thirty persons, and was never to exceed that number. Fifteen of the chief officers of the crown were to be continued, who, it was supposed, would adhere to the King, and, in case of any extremity, oppose the exorbitancies of faction. The other part of the council was to be composed, either of men of character, detached from the court, or of those who possessed chief credit in both Houses. And the King, in

New council.

CHAP. LXVII.

1679.

filling up the names of his new council, was glad to find, that the members, in land and offices, poſſeſſed to the amount of 300,000 pounds a year; a ſum nearly equal to the whole property of the Houſe of Commons, againſt whoſe violence the new council was intended as a barrier to the throne [x].

THIS experiment was tried, and ſeemed at firſt to give ſome ſatisfaction to the public. The earl of Eſſex, a nobleman of the popular party, ſon to that lord Capel who had been beheaded a little after the late King, was made treaſurer in place of Danby. The earl of Sunderland, a man of intrigue and great capacity, was made ſecretary of ſtate: the viſcount Halifax, a fine genius, poſſeſſed of learning, eloquence, induſtry, but ſubject to inquietude, and fond of refinements, was admitted into the council. Theſe three, together with Temple, who often joined them, though he kept himſelf more detached from public buſineſs, formed a kind of cabinet council, from which all affairs received their firſt digeſtion. Shafteſbury was made preſident of the council; contrary to the advice of Temple, who foretold the conſequence of admitting a man of ſo dangerous a character into any part of the public adminiſtration.

As Temple foreſaw, it happened. Shafteſbury, finding, that he poſſeſſed no more than the appearance of court-favour, was reſolved ſtill to adhere to the popular

[x] Their names were: Prince Rupert, the archbiſhop of Canterbury, lord Finch chancellor, earl of Shafteſbury, preſident, earl of Angleſea, privy ſeal, duke of Albemarle, duke of Monmouth, duke of Newcaſtle, duke of Lauderdale, duke of Ormond, marqueſs of Winchester, marqueſs of Worceſter, earl of Arlington, earl of Salisbury, earl of Bridgwater, earl of Sunderland, earl of Eſſex, earl of Bath, viſcount Falconberg, viſcount Halifax, biſhop of London, lord Robarts, lord Hollis, lord Ruſſel, lord Cavendiſh, ſecretary Coventry, Sir Francis North, chief juſtice, Sir Henry Capel, Sir John Erneley, Sir Thomas Chichely, Sir William Temple, Edward Seymour, Henry Powle.

party

party, by whose confidence he enjoyed an undisputed superiority in the lower House, and possessed great influence over the other. The very appearance of court-favour, empty as it was, tended to render him more dangerous. His partizans, observing the progress which he had already made, hoped, that he would soon acquire the entire ascendant; and he constantly flattered them, that, if they persisted in their purposes, the King, from indolence, and necessity, and fondness for Monmouth, would at last be induced, even at the expence of his brother's right, to make them every concession.

CHAP. LXVII. 1679.

BESIDES, the antipathy to popery, as well as jealousy of the King and Duke, had taken too fast possession of men's minds, to be removed by so feeble a remedy, as this new council, projected by Temple. The Commons, soon after the declaration of that council, proceeded so far as to vote unanimously, "That the Duke of "York's being a papist, and the hopes of his coming to "the crown, had given the highest countenance to the "present conspiracies and designs of the papists against "the king and the protestant religion." It was expected, that a bill for excluding him the throne would soon be brought in. To prevent this bold measure, the King concerted some limitations, which he proposed to the Parliament. He introduced his plan by the following gracious expressions: "And to shew you, that, while "you are doing your parts, my thoughts have not been "misemployed, but that it is my constant care to do every "thing, that may preserve your religion, and secure it "for the future in all events, I have commanded my lord "chancellor to mention several particulars; which, I "hope, will be an evidence, that, in all things, which "concern the public security, I shall not follow your "zeal, but lead it."

Limitations on a popish successor.

THE limitations projected were of the utmost importance, and deprived the successor of the chief branches

CHAP. LXVII.

1679.

filling up the names of his new council, was glad to find, that the members, in land and offices, poſſeſſed to the amount of 300,000 pounds a year; a ſum nearly equal to the whole property of the Houſe of Commons, againſt whoſe violence the new council was intended as a barrier to the throne [x].

THIS experiment was tried, and ſeemed at firſt to give ſome ſatisfaction to the public. The earl of Eſſex, a nobleman of the popular party, ſon to that lord Capel who had been beheaded a little after the late King, was made treaſurer in place of Danby. The earl of Sunderland, a man of intrigue and great capacity, was made ſecretary of ſtate: the viſcount Halifax, a fine genius, poſſeſſed of learning, eloquence, induſtry, but ſubject to inquietude, and fond of refinements, was admitted into the council. Theſe three, together with Temple, who often joined them, though he kept himſelf more detached from public buſineſs, formed a kind of cabinet council, from which all affairs received their firſt digeſtion. Shafteſbury was made preſident of the council; contrary to the advice of Temple, who foretold the conſequence of admitting a man of ſo dangerous a character into any part of the public adminiſtration.

As Temple foreſaw, it happened. Shafteſbury, finding, that he poſſeſſed no more than the appearance of court-favour, was reſolved ſtill to adhere to the popular

x Their names were: Prince Rupert, the archbiſhop of Canterbury, lord Finch chancellor, earl of Shafteſbury, preſident, earl of Angleſea, privy ſeal, duke of Albemarle, duke of Monmouth, duke of Newcaſtle, duke of Lauderdale, duke of Ormond, marqueſs of Winchester, marqueſs of Worceſter, earl of Arlington, earl of Salisbury, earl of Bridgwater, earl of Sunderland, earl of Eſſex, earl of Bath, viſcount Falconberg, viſcount Halifax, biſhop of London, lord Robarts, lord Hollis, lord Ruſſel, lord Cavendiſh, ſecretary Coventry, Sir Francis North, chief juſtice, Sir Henry Capel, Sir John Erneley, Sir Thomas Chichely, Sir William Temple, Edward Seymour, Henry Powle.

party

party, by whoſe confidence he enjoyed an undiſputed ſuperiority in the lower Houſe, and poſſeſſed great influence over the other. The very appearance of court-favour, empty as it was, tended to render him more dangerous. His partizans, obſerving the progreſs which he had already made, hoped, that he would ſoon acquire the entire aſcendant; and he conſtantly flattered them, that, if they perſiſted in their purpoſes, the King, from indolence, and neceſſity, and fondneſs for Monmouth, would at laſt be induced, even at the expence of his brother's right, to make them every conceſſion. CHAP. LXVII. 1679.

BESIDES, the antipathy to popery, as well as jealouſy of the King and Duke, had taken too faſt poſſeſſion of men's minds, to be removed by ſo feeble a remedy, as this new council, projected by Temple. The Commons, ſoon after the declaration of that council, proceeded ſo far as to vote unanimouſly, "That the Duke of "York's being a papiſt, and the hopes of his coming to "the crown, had given the higheſt countenance to the "preſent conſpiracies and deſigns of the papiſts againſt "the king and the proteſtant religion." It was expected, that a bill for excluding him the throne would ſoon be brought in. To prevent this bold meaſure, the King concerted ſome limitations, which he propoſed to the Parliament. He introduced his plan by the following gracious expreſſions: "And to ſhew you, that, while "you are doing your parts, my thoughts have not been "miſemployed, but that it is my conſtant care to do every "thing, that may preſerve your religion, and ſecure it "for the future in all events, I have commanded my lord "chancellor to mention ſeveral particulars; which, I "hope, will be an evidence, that, in all things, which "concern the public ſecurity, I ſhall not follow your "zeal, but lead it."

THE limitations projected were of the utmoſt importance, and deprived the ſucceſſor of the chief branches Limitations on a popiſh ſucceſſor.

CHAP. LXVII.

1679.

of royalty. A method was there chalked out, by which the nation, on every new reign, could be enſured of having a Parliament, which the King ſhould not, for a certain time, have it in his power to diſſolve. In caſe of a popiſh ſucceſſor, the prince was to forfeit the right of conferring any eccleſiaſtical preferments: No member of the privy council, no judge of the common law or in chancery, was to be put in or diſplaced but by conſent of Parliament: And the ſame precaution was extended to the military part of the government; to the lord lieutenant and deputy lieutenant of the counties, and to all officers of the navy. The chancellor, of himſelf added, "It is hard to invent another reſtraint; conſidering how "much the revenue will depend upon the conſent of "Parliament, and how impoſſible it is to raiſe money "without ſuch conſent. But yet, if any thing elſe can "occur to the wiſdom of the Parliament, which may "farther ſecure religion and liberty againſt a popiſh ſuc-"ceſſor, without defeating the right of ſucceſſion it-"ſelf, his majeſty will readily conſent to it."

It is remarkable, that, when theſe limitations were firſt laid before the council, Shafteſbury and Temple were the only members, who argued againſt them. The reaſons, which they employed, were diametrically oppoſite. Shafteſbury's opinion was, that the reſtraints were inſufficient; and that nothing but the total excluſion of the duke could give a proper ſecurity to the kingdom. Temple on the other hand thought, that the reſtraints were ſo rigorous as even to ſubvert the conſtitution; and that ſhackles, put upon a popiſh ſucceſſor, would not afterwards be eaſily caſt off by a proteſtant. It is certain, that the Duke was extremely alarmed when he heard of this ſtep taken by the King, and that he was better pleaſed even with the bill of excluſion itſelf, which, he thought, by reaſon of its violence and injuſtice, could never poſſibly take place. There is alſo reaſon to believe,

lieve, that the King would not have gone ſo far, had he not expected from the extreme fury of the Commons, that his conceſſions would be rejected, and that the blame of not forming a reaſonable accommodation would by that means lie entirely at their door.

It ſoon appeared, that Charles had entertained a juſt opinion of the diſpoſition of the Houſe. So much were the Commons actuated by the cabals of Shafteſbury and other malecontents; ſuch violent antipathy prevailed againſt popery, that the King's conceſſions, tho' much more important than could reaſonably have been expected, were not embraced. A bill was brought in for the total exclusion of the Duke from the crown of England and Ireland. It was declared that the ſovereignty of theſe kingdoms, upon the King's death or reſignation, ſhould devolve to the perſon next in ſucceſſion after the Duke; that all acts of royalty, which that Prince ſhould afterwards perform, ſhould not only be void, but be deemed treaſon; and that if he ſo much as entered any of theſe dominions, he ſhould be deemed guilty of the ſame offence; and that all who ſupported his title, ſhould be puniſhed as rebels and traitors. This important bill, which implied baniſhment as well as excluſion, paſſed the lower Houſe by a majority of ſeventy-nine.

Bill of exclusion.

The Commons were not ſo wholly employed about the excluſion-bill as to overlook all other ſecurities to liberty. The country party, during all the laſt Parliament, had exclaimed much againſt the bribery and corruption of the members: and the ſame reproach had been renewed againſt the preſent Parliament. An enquiry was made into a complaint, which was ſo dangerous to the honour of that aſſembly; but very little foundation was found for it. Sir Stephen Fox, who was the pay-maſter, confeſſed to the Houſe, that nine members received penſions to the amount of three thouſand four hundred pounds: And after a very rigorous enquiry by

CHAP. LXVII.

1679.

a ſecret committee, eight more penſioners were diſcovered. A ſum alſo, about twelve thouſand pounds, had been occaſionally given or lent to others. The writers of that age pretend, that Clifford and Danby had adopted very oppoſite maxims with regard to pecuniary influence. The former endeavoured to gain the leaders and orators of the Houſe, and deemed the others of no conſequence. The latter thought it ſufficient to gain a majority, however compoſed. It is likely, that the means, rather than the intentions, were wanting to both theſe miniſters.

PENSIONS and bribes, tho' it be difficult entirely to exclude them, are dangerous expedients for government; and cannot be too carefully guarded againſt, nor too vehemently decried by every one who has a regard to the virtue and liberty of a nation. The influence, however, which the Crown acquires from the diſpoſal of places, honours, and preferments, is to be eſteemed of a different nature. This engine of power may become too forcible, but it cannot altogether be aboliſhed, without the total deſtruction of monarchy, and even of all regular authority. But the Commons at this time were ſo jealous of the Crown, that they brought in a bill, which was twice read, excluding from the lower Houſe all who poſſeſſed any lucrative offices.

THE ſtanding army and the King's guards were by the Commons voted to be illegal: A new pretenſion, it muſt be confeſſed; but very neceſſary for the full ſecurity of liberty and a limited conſtitution.

Habeas corpus bill.

ARBITRARY impriſonment is a grievance, which, in ſome degree, has place almoſt in every government, except in that of Britain; and our abſolute ſecurity from it we owe chiefly to the preſent Parliament; a merit, which makes great atonement for the faction and violence, into which their prejudices had, in other particulars, betrayed them. The great charter had laid the foundation

of

CHAP. LXVII. 1679.

of this valuable part of liberty; the petition of right had renewed and extended it; but many proviſions were ſtill wanting, to render it complete, and prevent all evaſion or delay from miniſters and judges. The act of *habeas corpus*, paſſed this ſeſſion, ſerved theſe uſeful purpoſes. By this act, it was prohibited to ſend any one to priſons beyond ſea. No judge, under ſevere penalties, muſt refuſe to any priſoner a writ of *habeas corpus*, by which the gaoler was directed to produce in court the body of the priſoner (whence the writ has its name) and to certify the cauſe of his detainer and impriſonment. If the gaol lay within twenty miles of the judge, the writ muſt be obeyed in three days; and ſo proportionably for greater diſtances: Every priſoner muſt be indicted the firſt term after his commitment, and brought to trial in the ſubſequent term. And no man, after being enlarged by order of court, can be recommitted for the ſame offence. This law is eſſentially neceſſary for the protection of liberty in a mixed monarchy; and as it has not place in any other form of government, this conſideration alone may induce us to prefer our preſent conſtitution to all others. It muſt, however, be confeſſed, that there is ſome difficulty to reconcile with ſuch extreme liberty the regular police of a ſtate, eſpecially that of great cities.

DURING theſe zealous efforts for the protection of liberty, no complaiſance for the Crown was diſcovered by this Parliament. The King's revenue lay under great debts and anticipations: Thoſe branches, granted in the years 1669 and 1670, were ready to expire: And the fleet was repreſented by the King to be in great decay and diſorder. But the Commons, inſtead of being affected by theſe diſtreſſes of the Crown, truſted chiefly to them for paſſing the excluſion-bill, and for puniſhing and diſplacing all the miniſters, who were diſagreeable to them. They were therefore in no haſte to relieve the King;

CHAP. LXVII. 1679.

King; and grew only the more aſſuming on account of his complaints and uneaſineſs. Jealous however of the army, they granted the ſame ſum of 206,000 pounds, which had been voted for diſbanding it by the laſt Parliament; tho' the vote, by reaſon of the ſubſequent prorogation and diſſolution, joined to ſome ſcruples of the Lords, had not been carried into an act. This money was appropriated by very ſtrict clauſes; but the Commons inſiſted not as formerly upon its being paid into the chamber of London.

THE impeachment of the five popiſh lords in the Tower, with that of the earl of Danby, was carried on with great vigour. The power of that miniſter and his credit with the King, made him extremely obnoxious to the popular leaders; and the Commons hoped, that if he was puſh'd to extremity, he would be obliged, in order to juſtify his own conduct, to lay open the whole intrigue of the French alliance, which they ſuſpected to contain a ſecret of the moſt dangerous nature. The King on his ſide, apprehenſive of the ſame conſequences, and deſirous to protect his miniſter, who was become criminal merely by obeying orders, employed his whole intereſt to ſupport the validity of that pardon, which had been granted him. The Lords appointed a day for the examination of this queſtion, and agreed to hear council on both ſides: But the Commons would not ſubmit their pretenſions to the diſcuſſion of argument and enquiry. They voted, that whoever ſhould preſume, without their leave, to maintain before the Houſe of Peers the validity of Danby's pardon, ſhould be accounted a betrayer of the liberties of the Engliſh Commons. And they made a demand, that the biſhops, whom they knew to be devoted to the court, ſhould be removed, not only when the trial of the earl ſhould come on, but alſo when the validity of his pardon ſhould be diſcuſſed.

THE

THE biſhops before the reformation had always enjoyed a ſeat in Parliament: But ſo far were they anxiously from regarding that dignity as a privilege, that they affected rather to form a ſeparate order in the ſtate, quite independant of the civil magiſtrate, and accountable only to the pope and to their own order. By the conſtitutions, however, of Clarendon, enacted during the reign of Henry II. they were obliged to give their preſence in Parliament; but as the canon law prohibited them from aſſiſting in the trials of life and death, they were allowed in ſuch caſes the privilege of abſenting themſelves. A practice, which was at firſt merely voluntary, became afterwards a rule; and on the earl of Strafford's trial, the biſhops, who would gladly have attended, and who were no longer bound by the canon-law, were yet obliged to withdraw. It had always been uſual for them to enter a proteſtation of their right to ſit; and this proteſtation, being conſidered as a mere form, was always admitted and diſregarded. But here was ſtarted a new queſtion of no ſmall importance. The Commons, who were now enabled, by the violence of the people, and the neceſſities of the crown, to make new acquiſitions of powers and privileges, inſiſted, that the biſhops had no more title to vote in the queſtion of the earl's pardon than in the impeachment itſelf. The biſhops aſſerted, that the pardon was merely a preliminary; and that, neither by the canon-law nor the practice of Parliament, were they ever obliged, in capital caſes, to remove, till the very commencement of the trial itſelf. If their abſence was conſidered as a privilege, which was its real origin, it depended on their own choice, how far they would inſiſt upon it. If regarded as a diminution of their right of peerage, ſuch unfavourable cuſtoms ought never to be extended beyond the very circumſtance eſtabliſhed by them; and all arguments, from a pretended parity of reaſon, were in that caſe of little or no authority.

CHAP. LXVII.

1679.

THE House of Lords were so much influenced by these reasons, that they admitted the bishops' right to vote, when the validity of the pardon should be examined. The Commons insisted still on their withdrawing; and thus a quarrel being commenced between the two Houses, the King, who expected nothing but fresh instances of violence from this Parliament, began to entertain thoughts of laying hold of so favourable a pretence, and of finishing the session by a prorogation. While in this disposition, he was alarmed with sudden intelligence, that the House of Commons were preparing a remonstrance, in order to inflame the nation still farther upon the favourite topics of the plot and of popery. He hastened, therefore, to execute his intention, even without consulting his new council, by whose advice he had promised to regulate his whole conduct. And thus were disappointed all the projects of the malecontents, who were extremely enraged at this vigorous measure of the King. Shaftesbury publicly threatened, that he would have the head of whoever had advised it. The Parliament was soon after dissolved without advice of council; and a new Parliament ordered to be chosen. The King was willing to try every means, which gave a prospect of more compliance in his subjects; and, in case of failure, the blame, he hoped, would lie on those whose obstinacy forced him to extremities.

27th of May.

Prorogation and dissolution of the Parliament. 10th of July.

BUT even during the recess of Parliament, there was no interruption to the prosecution of the Catholics accused of the plot. The King, contrary to his own judgment, found himself obliged to give way to this popular fury. Whitebread, provincial of the jesuits, Fenwic, Gavan, Turner, and Harcourt, all of them of the same order, were first brought to their trial. Besides Oates and Bedloe, Dugdale, a new witness, appeared against the prisoners. This man had been steward to lord Aston, and, tho' poor, possessed somewhat a more reputable

Trial and execution of the five jesuits.

table character than the other two: But his account of the intended maſſacres and aſſaſſinations was equally monſtrous and incredible. He even aſſerted, that 200,000 Papiſts in England were ready to take arms. The priſoners proved by ſixteen witneſſes from St. Omer's, ſtudents and moſt of them young men of family, that Oates was in that ſeminary, at the time when he ſwore that he was in London: But as they were Catholics and diſciples of the jeſuits, their teſtimony, both with the judges and the jury, was totally diſregarded. Even the reception, which they met with in court, was full of outrage and mockery. One of them ſaying, that Oates always continued at St. Omer's, if he could believe his ſenſes: "You Papiſts," ſaid the chief juſtice, "are "taught not to believe your ſenſes." It muſt be confeſſed, that Oates, in oppoſition to the ſtudents of St. Omer's, found means to bring evidence of his having been at that time in London: But this evidence, tho' it had, at the time, the appearance of ſome ſolidity, was afterwards diſcovered, when Oates himſelf was tried for perjury, to be altogether deceitful. In order farther to diſcredit that witneſs, the jeſuits proved by undoubted teſtimony, that he had perjured himſelf in father Ireland's trial, whom they ſhewed to have been in Staffordſhire at the very time when Oates ſwore, that he was committing treaſon in London. But all theſe pleas availed them nothing againſt the general prejudices. They received ſentence of death; and were executed, perſiſting to their laſt breath in the moſt ſolemn, earneſt, and deliberate, tho' diſregarded proteſtations of their innocence.

CHAP. LXVII. 1679.

THE next trial was that of Langhorne, an eminent lawyer, by whom all the concerns of the jeſuits were managed. Thro' his hands, Oates and Bedloe ſwore, all the papal commiſſions paſſed; by which the chief offices in England were ſupplied with Catholics. When verdict

And of Langhorne.

CHAP. LXVII.

1679.

verdict was given againſt the priſoner, the audience expreſſed their ſavage joy by loud acclamations. So high indeed had the popular rage mounted, that the witneſſes for this unhappy man, on approaching the court, were almoſt torne in pieces by the rabble: One in particular was bruiſed to ſuch a degree, as to put his life in danger. And another, a woman, declared, that, unleſs the court could afford her protection, ſhe durſt not give evidence: But as the judges could go no farther than promiſe to puniſh ſuch as ſhould injure her, the priſoner himſelf had the humanity to wave her teſtimony.

So far the informers had proceeded with ſucceſs: Their accuſation was hitherto equivalent to a ſentence of death. The firſt check, which they received, was on the trial of Sir George Wakeman the Queen's phyſician, whom they accuſed of an intention to poiſon the King. It was a ſtrong circumſtance in favour of Wakeman, that Oates, in his firſt information before the council, had accuſed him only upon hearſay; and when aſked by the chancellor, whether he had any thing farther to charge him with, he added, "God forbid I ſhould ſay "any thing againſt Sir George: For I know nothing "more againſt him." On the trial he gave poſitive evidence of the priſoner's guilt. There were many other circumſtances which favoured Wakeman: But what chiefly contributed to his acquittal, was the connexion of his cauſe with that of the Queen, whom no-one, even during the higheſt prejudices of the times, could ſincerely believe guilty. The great importance of the trial made men recollect themſelves, and recall that good ſenſe and humanity, which ſeemed during ſome time to have abandoned the nation. The chief juſtice himſelf, who had hitherto favoured the witneſſes, exaggerated the plot, and railed againſt the priſoners, was obſerved to be conſiderably mollified, and to give a favourable charge to the jury. Oates and Bedloe had the aſ-

Wakeman acquitted. 18th of July.

CHAP. LXVII.

1679.

ſurance to attack him to his face, and even to accuſe him of partiality before the council. The whole party who had formerly much extolled his conduct, made him the great object of their reſentment. Wakeman's acquittal was indeed a ſenſible mortification to the furious proſecutors of the plot, and fixed an indelible ſtain upon the witneſſes. But Wakeman, after he recovered his liberty, finding himſelf expoſed to ſuch inveterate enmity, and being threatened with farther proſecutions, thought it prudent to retire beyond ſea: And his flight was interpreted as a proof of guilt, by thoſe who were ſtill reſolved to perſiſt in the belief of the conſpiracy.

State of affairs in Scotland.

THE great diſcontents in England, and the refractory diſpoſition of the Parliament, excited the hopes of the Scots covenanters, and gave them ſome proſpect of an end to thoſe grievous oppreſſions, under which they had ſo long laboured. It was ſuſpected to have been the policy of Lauderdale and his aſſociates to puſh theſe unhappy men to extremity, and force them into rebellion, with a view of reaping profit from the forfeitures and attainders, which would enſue upon it. But the covenanters, aware of this policy, had hitherto forborne all acts of hoſtility; and that tyrannical miniſter had failed of his purpoſe. An incident at laſt happened, which brought on an inſurrection in that country.

THE covenanters were much enraged againſt Sharpe, the primate, whom they conſidered as an apoſtate from their principles, and whom they experienced to be an unrelenting perſecutor of all thoſe who diſſented from the eſtabliſhed worſhip. He had an officer under him, one Carmichael, no leſs zealous than himſelf againſt all conventicles, and who by his violent proſecutions had rendered himſelf extremely obnoxious to the fanatics. A company of theſe had way-laid him on the road near St. Andrews, with an intention, if not of killing him, at leaſt of beating him ſo ſeverely as would afterwards render

3d of May.

CHAP. LXVII.

1679.

render him more cautious in perſecuting the Non-conformiſts[y]. While looking out for their prey, they were ſurprized at ſeeing the archbiſhop's coach paſs by; and they immediately interpreted this incident as a declaration of the ſecret purpoſe of Providence againſt him. But when they obſerved, that almoſt all his ſervants, by ſome accident, were abſent, they no longer doubted, that heaven had here delivered their capital enemy into their hands. Without farther deliberation, they fell upon him; dragged him from his coach; tore him from the arms of his daughter, who interpoſed with cries and tears; and piercing him with redoubled wounds, left him dead on the ſpot, and immediately diſperſed themſelves.

THIS atrocious action ſerved the miniſtry as a pretence for a more violent perſecution againſt the fanatics, on whom, without diſtinction, they laid the guilt of thoſe furious aſſaſſins. It is indeed certain, that the murder of Sharpe had excited an univerſal joy among the covenanters, and that their blind zeal had often led them, in their books and ſermons, to praiſe and recommend the aſſaſſination of their enemies, whom they conſidered as the enemies of all true piety and godlineſs. The ſtories of Jael and Siſera, of Ehud and Eglon, reſounded from every pulpit. The officers, quartered in the weſt, received more ſtrict orders to find out and diſperſe all conventicles; and for that reaſon the covenanters, inſtead of meeting in ſmall bodies, were obliged to celebrate their worſhip in numerous aſſemblies, and to bring arms for their ſecurity. At Rutherglen, a ſmall borough near Glaſgow, they openly ſet forth a declaration againſt prelacy, and in the market-place burned ſeveral acts of Parliament and acts of council, which had eſtabliſhed prelacy, and prohibited all conventicles. For

[y] Wodrow's hiſtory of the ſufferings of the church of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 28.

this

CHAP. LXVII.

1679.

this insult on government, they purposely chose the 29th of May, the anniversary of the restoration; and previously extinguished the bonfires, which had been kindled for that solemnity.

CAPTAIN Graham, afterwards viscount Dundee, an active and enterprizing officer, attacked a great conventicle upon Loudon-hill, and was repulsed with the loss of thirty men. The covenanters finding that they were unwarily involved in such deep guilt, were engaged to persevere, and to seek from their valour and fortune alone for that indemnity, which the severity of the government left them no hopes of ever being able otherwise to obtain. They pushed on to Glasgow, and tho' at first repulsed, they afterwards made themselves masters of that town; dispossessed all the established clergy; and issued proclamations, in which they declared, that they fought against the King's supremacy, against popery and prelacy, and against a popish successor.

HOWEVER accidental this insurrection might appear, there is reason to think, that some great men, in combination with the popular leaders in England, had secretly instigated the covenanters to proceed to such extremities [d], and hoped for the same effects as had forty years before ensued from the disorders in Scotland. The King also, apprehensive of like consequences, immediately dispatched Monmouth with a small body of English cavalry. He joined the Scots guards, and some regiments of militia, levied from the well affected counties; and with great celerity marched towards the west in quest of the rebels. They had taken post at Bothwel-bridge between Hamilton and Glasgow; where there was no access to them but over the bridge, which a small body was able to defend against the King's forces. They shewed great judgment in the choice of their post; but discovered neither judgment nor valour

Battle of Bothwel-bridge.

[d] Algernon Sidney's letters, p. 90.

CHAP. LXVII.

1679. 22d of June.

in any other ſtep of their conduct. No nobility and few gentry had joined them: The miniſters were in reality the commanders; and the whole army never exceeded 8000 men. Monmouth attacked the bridge; and the body of inſurgents who defended it, maintained their poſt, as long as their ammunition laſted. When they ſent for more, they received orders to abandon their ground, and to retire backwards. This imprudent meaſure ruined the army of the covenanters. Monmouth paſſed the bridge without oppoſition, and drew up in order, oppoſite to the enemy. His cannon alone put them to rout. About 700 fell in the purſuit: For properly ſpeaking there was no action. Twelve hundred were taken priſoners; and were treated by Monmouth with an humanity, which they had never experienced in their own countrymen. Such of them as would promiſe to live peaceably under the government were diſmiſſed. About three hundred, who were ſo obſtinate as to refuſe this eaſy condition, were ſhipped for Barbadoes; but unfortunately periſhed in the voyage. Two of their clergy were hanged. Monmouth was of a generous diſpoſition; and beſides, aimed at popularity in Scotland. The King intended to intruſt the affairs of that kingdom into his hands. He had married a Scots lady, heireſs of one of the moſt conſiderable families, and allied to all the chief nobility. And Lauderdale, as he was now declining in his parts, and was much decayed in his memory, began to loſe with the King, that influence which he had maintained during ſo many years; notwithſtanding all the efforts of his numerous enemies both in Scotland and England, and notwithſtanding the many violent and tyrannical actions, of which he had been guilty. Even at preſent he retained ſo much influence as to poiſon all the good intentions, which the King, either of himſelf or by Monmouth's ſuggeſtion, had formed with regard to Scotland. An act of indemnity

was

was granted; but the minister took care, that it should rather afford protection to himself and his associates, than to the unhappy covenanters. And tho' orders were given to connive thenceforwards at all conventicles, he found means, under a variety of pretences, to elude the execution. It must be owned however to his praise, that he was the chief person, who by his council hastened the expeditious march of the forces and the prompt orders to Monmouth: and thereby disappointed all the expectations of the English malecontents, who, reflecting on the dispositions of men's minds in both kingdoms, had entertained great hopes from the progress of the Scots insurrection. CHAP. LXVII. 1679.

CHAP. LXVIII.

State of parties.——State of the ministry.——Meal-tub plot.——Whig and Tory.——A new parliament.——Violence of the Commons.——Exclusion-bill.——Arguments for and against the Exclusion.——Exclusion bill rejected.——Trial of Stafford.——His execution.——Violence of the Commons.——Dissolution of the parliament.——New parliament at Oxford.——Fitzharris's case.——Parliament dissolved.——Victory of the Royalists.

THE King, observing that the whole nation concurred at first in the belief and prosecution of the popish plot, had found it absolutely requisite for his own safety to pretend, in all public speeches and transactions, an entire belief and acquiescence in that famous absurdity, and by this artifice he had eluded the violent and irresistible torrent of the people. When a little time and 1679.

CHAP. LXVII.

1679. 22d of June.

in any other ſtep of their conduct. No nobility and few gentry had joined them: The miniſters were in reality the commanders; and the whole army never exceeded 8000 men. Monmouth attacked the bridge; and the body of inſurgents who defended it, maintained their poſt, as long as their ammunition laſted. When they ſent for more, they received orders to abandon their ground, and to retire backwards. This imprudent meaſure ruined the army of the covenanters. Monmouth paſſed the bridge without oppoſition, and drew up in order, oppoſite to the enemy. His cannon alone put them to rout. About 700 fell in the purſuit: For properly ſpeaking there was no action. Twelve hundred were taken priſoners; and were treated by Monmouth with an humanity, which they had never experienced in their own countrymen. Such of them as would promiſe to live peaceably under the government were diſmiſſed. About three hundred, who were ſo obſtinate as to refuſe this eaſy condition, were ſhipped for Barbadoes; but unfortunately periſhed in the voyage. Two of their clergy were hanged. Monmouth was of a generous diſpoſition; and beſides, aimed at popularity in Scotland. The King intended to intruſt the affairs of that kingdom into his hands. He had married a Scots lady, heireſs of one of the moſt conſiderable families, and allied to all the chief nobility. And Lauderdale, as he was now declining in his parts, and was much decayed in his memory, began to loſe with the King, that influence which he had maintained during ſo many years; notwithſtanding all the efforts of his numerous enemies both in Scotland and England, and notwithſtanding the many violent and tyrannical actions, of which he had been guilty. Even at preſent he retained ſo much influence as to poiſon all the good intentions, which the King, either of himſelf or by Monmouth's ſuggeſtion, had formed with regard to Scotland. An act of indemnity

was

was granted; but the miniſter took care, that it ſhould rather afford protection to himſelf and his aſſociates, than to the unhappy covenanters. And tho' orders were given to connive thenceforwards at all conventicles, he found means, under a variety of pretences, to elude the execution. It muſt be owned however to his praiſe, that he was the chief perſon, who by his council haſtened the expeditious march of the forces and the prompt orders to Monmouth: and thereby diſappointed all the expectations of the Engliſh malecontents, who, reflecting on the diſpoſitions of men's minds in both kingdoms, had entertained great hopes from the progreſs of the Scots inſurrection. CHAP. LXVII. 1679.

CHAP. LXVIII.

State of parties.——State of the miniſtry.——Meal-tub plot.——Whig and Tory.——A new parliament.——Violence of the Commons.——Excluſion-bill.——Arguments for and againſt the Excluſion.——Excluſion bill rejected.——Trial of Stafford.——His execution.——Violence of the Commons.——Diſſolution of the parliament.——New parliament at Oxford.——Fitzharris's caſe.——Parliament diſſolved.——Victory of the Royaliſts.

THE King, obſerving that the whole nation concurred at firſt in the belief and proſecution of the popiſh plot, had found it abſolutely requiſite for his own ſafety to pretend, in all public ſpeeches and tranſactions, an entire belief and acquieſcence in that famous abſurdity, and by this artifice he had eluded the violent and irreſiſtible torrent of the people. When a little time and 1679.

CHAP. LXVIII.

1679. State of parties.

recollection, as well as the execution of the pretended conſpirators, had ſomewhat moderated the general fury, he was now enabled to form a conſiderable party, devoted to the intereſts of the crown, and determined to oppoſe the pretenſions of the malecontents.

In all mixt governments, ſuch as that of England, the bulk of the nation will always incline to preſerve the entire frame of the conſtitution; but according to the various prejudices, intereſts, and diſpoſitions of men, ſome will ever attach themſelves with more paſſion to the regal, others to the popular part of the government. Tho' the King after his reſtoration, had endeavoured to aboliſh the diſtinction of parties, and had choſen his miniſters from among all denominations; no ſooner had he loſt his popularity, and expoſed himſelf to general jealouſy, than he found it requiſite to court the old cavalier party, and to promiſe them full compenſation for that neglect, of which they had hitherto complained. The preſent emergence made it ſtill more neceſſary for him to apply for their ſupport; and there were many circumſtances, which determined them, at this time, to fly to the aſſiſtance of the crown, and to the protection of the royal family.

A PARTY ſtrongly attached to monarchy will naturally be jealous of the right of ſucceſſion, by which alone, they believe, ſtability to be preſerved in the government, and a barrier fixed to the encroachments of popular aſſemblies. The project, openly embraced of excluding the Duke, appeared to that party a dangerous innovation: And the deſign, ſecretly projected, of advancing Monmouth, made them apprehenſive, leſt the inconveniencies of a diſputed ſucceſſion ſhould be propagated to all poſterity. While the jealous lovers of liberty maintained, that a King, whoſe title depended on the Parliament, would naturally be more regardful of the intereſts and humours of the people; the paſſionate admirers of monarchy

narchy conſidered this dependance as a degradation of kingly government, and a great ſtep towards the eſtabliſhment of a commonwealth in England. CHAP. LXVIII. 1679.

But tho' the union of the political Royaliſts brought great acceſſion of force to the crown, Charles derived no leſs ſupport from the confederacy, which he had, at this time, the addreſs to form with the church of England. He repreſented to the church the great number of Preſbyterians and other ſectaries, who had entered into the popular party; the encouragement and favour which they met with; the loudneſs of their cries with regard to popery and arbitrary power. And he made the eſtabliſhed clergy and their adherents apprehend, that the old ſcheme for the abolition of prelacy as well as monarchy was revived, and that the ſame miſeries and oppreſſions threatened them, to which, during the civil wars and uſurpations, they had ſo long been expoſed.

The memory alſo of theſe diſmal times united many indifferent and impartial perſons to the Crown, and begot a dread, leſt the zeal for liberty ſhould engraft itſelf on fanaticiſm, and ſhould once more kindle a civil war in the kingdom. Had not the King ſtill retained the prerogative of diſſolving the Parliament, there was indeed reaſon to apprehend the renewal of all the pretenſions and violences, which had uſhered in the laſt commotions. The one period appeared an exact counterpart to the other: But ſtill diſcerning judges could perceive, both in the ſpirit of the parties and in the genius of the Prince, a very material difference; by means of which Charles was enabled at laſt, tho' with the imminent peril of liberty, to preſerve the peace of the nation.

The cry againſt popery was very loud; but it proceeded leſs from religious than from party zeal, in thoſe who propagated, and even in thoſe who adopted it. The ſpirit of enthuſiaſm had occaſioned ſo much miſchief, and had been ſo ſucceſsfully exploded, that it was

CHAP. LXVIII.

1679.

not poſſible, by any artifice, again to revive and ſupport it. Cant had been ridiculed; hypocriſy detected; the pretenſions to a more thorough reformation, and to greater purity, had become ſuſpicious; and inſtead of denominating themſelves the *godly* party, the appellation affected at the beginning of the civil wars, the preſent patriots were contented to call themſelves the *good* and the *honeſt* party[e]: A ſure prognoſtic, that their meaſures were not to be ſo furious, nor their pretenſions ſo exorbitant.

THE King too, tho' not endowed with the integrity and ſtrict principles of his father, was happy in a more amiable manner, and more popular addreſs. Far from being diſtant, ſtately, or reſerved, he had not a grain of pride or vanity in his whole compoſition[f]; but was the moſt affable, beſt bred man alive. He treated his ſubjects like noblemen, like gentlemen, like freemen; not like vaſſals or boors. His profeſſions were plauſible, his whole behaviour engaging; ſo that he won upon the hearts, even while he loſt the good opinion of his ſubjects, and often ballanced their judgment of things by their perſonal inclination[g]. In his public conduct likewiſe, tho' he had ſometimes embraced meaſures dangerous to the liberty and religion of his people, he had never been found to perſevere obſtinately in them, but had always returned into that path, which their united opinion ſeemed to point out to him. And upon the whole, it ſeemed to many, cruel and even iniquitous, to remark too rigorouſly the failings of a prince, who diſcovered ſo much facility in correcting his errors, and ſo much lenity in pardoning the offences committed againſt himſelf.

THE general affection, which was borne the King, appeared ſignally about this time. He fell ſick at Wind-

[e] Temple, vol. i. p. 335. [f] Temple, vol. i. p. 449. [g] Diſſertation on Parties, letter vii.

for;

ſor; and had two or three fits of a fever, ſo violent as made his life be thought in danger. A general amazement ſeized all ranks of men, encreaſed by the apprehenſions entertained of his ſucceſſor. In the preſent diſpoſition of men's minds, the King's death, to uſe an expreſſion of Sir William Temple[h], was regarded as the end of the world. The malecontents, it was feared, would proceed to extremities, and immediately kindle a civil war in the kingdom. Either their entire ſucceſs, or entire failure, or even the ballance and conteſt of parties, ſeemed all of them events equally fatal. The King's chief counſellors, therefore, Eſſex, Halifax, and Sunderland, who ſtood on very bad terms with Shafteſbury and the popular party, adviſed him to ſend ſecretly for the Duke, that, in caſe of any ſiniſter accident, that Prince might be ready to aſſert his right againſt the oppoſition, which he was likely to meet with. When the Duke arrived, he found his brother out of danger; and it was agreed to conceal the invitation, which he had received. His journey, however, was attended with very important conſequences. He prevailed on the King to diſgrace Monmouth, whoſe projects were now known and avowed; to deprive him of his command in the army; and to ſend him beyond ſea. He himſelf returned to Bruſſels; but made a very ſhort ſtay in that place. He obtained leave to retire to Scotland, under pretence ſtill of quieting the apprehenſions of the Engliſh nation; but really with a purpoſe of ſecuring that kingdom in his intereſts.

State of the miniſtry.

2d of September.

Tho' Eſſex and Halifax had concurred in the reſolution of inviting over the Duke, they ſoon found, that they had not obtained his confidence, and that even the King, while he made uſe of their ſervice, had no ſincere regard for their perſons. Eſſex in diſguſt reſigned the Treaſury: Halifax retired to his country-ſeat: Temple, deſpairing of any accommodation among ſuch enraged par-

[h] Vol. i. p. 342.

CHAP. LXVIII.

1679.

ties, withdrew almoſt entirely to his books and his gardens. The King, who changed miniſters as well as meaſures with great indifference, beſtowed at this time his chief confidence on Hyde, Sunderland, and Godolphin. Hyde ſucceeded Eſſex in the treaſury.

ALL the King's miniſters, as well as himſelf, were extremely averſe to the meeting of the new Parliament, which they expected to find as refractory as any of the preceding. The elections had gone moſtly in favour of the country party. The terrors of the plot had ſtill a mighty influence over the populace; and the apprehenſions of the Duke's bigotted principles and arbitrary character, weighed with all men of ſenſe and reflection. The King therefore reſolved to prorogue the Parliament, that he might try, whether time would allay thoſe humours, which, by every other expedient, he had in vain attempted to mollify. In this meaſure he did not expect the concurrence of his council. He knew, that thoſe popular leaders, whom he had admitted, would zealouſly oppoſe a reſolution, which diſconcerted all their ſchemes; and that the royaliſts would not dare, by ſupporting it, to expoſe themſelves to the vengeance of the Parliament, when it ſhould be aſſembled. Theſe reaſons obliged him to take this ſtep entirely of himſelf; and he only declared his reſolution in council. It is remarkable, that, tho' the King had made profeſſion never to embrace any meaſure without advice of his council, he had often broke that reſolution, and had been neceſſitated in affairs of the greateſt conſequence, to controul their opinion. Many of them in diſguſt threw up about this time; particularly lord Ruſſel, the moſt popular man in the nation, as well from the mildneſs and integrity of his manners, as from his zealous attachment to the religion and liberties of his country. Tho' carried into ſome extremes, his intentions were ever eſteemed upright; and being heir to the moſt opulent fortune in the kingdom, as well

as void of ambition, men believed, that nothing but the laſt neceſſity would ever engage him to embrace any deſperate meaſures. Shafteſbury, who was, in moſt particulars, of an oppoſite character, was removed by the King from the office of preſident of the council; and the earl of Radnor, a man who poſſeſſed whimſical talents and ſplenetic virtues, was ſubſtituted in his place. CHAP. LXVIII. 1679.

It was the favour and countenance of the Parliament, which had chiefly encouraged the rumour of plots; but the nation had got ſo much into that vein of credulity, and every neceſſitous villain was ſo much incited by the ſucceſs of Oates and Bedloe, that even during the prorogation the people were not allowed to remain in tranquillity. There was one Dangerfield, a fellow who had been burned in the hand for crimes, tranſported, whipped, pilloried four times, fined for cheats, outlawed for felony, convicted of coining, and expoſed to all the public infamy, which the laws could inflict on the baſeſt and moſt ſhameful enormities. The credulity of the people, and the humour of the times, enabled even this man to become a perſon of conſequence. He was the author of a new incident, called the *Meal-tub plot*, from the place where ſome papers, regarding it, were found. The bottom of this affair it is difficult, and not very material, to diſcover. It only appears, that Dangerfield, under pretence of betraying the conſpiracies of the Preſbyterians, had been countenanced by ſome Catholics of condition, and had even been admitted to the Duke's preſence and the King's. And that under pretence of revealing new popiſh plots, he had obtained acceſs to Shafteſbury and ſome of the popular leaders. Which ſide he intended to cheat, is uncertain; or whether he did not rather mean to cheat both: But he ſoon found, that the belief of the nation was much more open to a popiſh than a preſbyterian plot; and he reſolved to ſtrike in with the prevailing humour. Tho' no weight could Meal-tub plot.

be

CHAP. LXVIII.

1679. be laid on his teſtimony, great clamour was raiſed; as if the Court, by way of retaliation, had intended to load the Preſbyterians with the guilt of a falſe conſpiracy. It muſt be confeſſed, that the preſent period, by the prevalence and ſuſpicion of ſuch mean and ignoble arts on all ſides, throws a great ſtain on the Britiſh annals.

17th of November. ONE of the moſt innocent artifices, practiſed by party-men at this time, was the additional ceremony, pomp, and expence, with which a pope-burning was celebrated in London: This ſpectacle ſerved to entertain, and amuſe, and enflame the populace. The duke of Monmouth likewiſe came over without leave, and made a triumphant proceſſion thro' many parts of the kingdom, extremely careſſed and admired by the people. All theſe arts ſeemed requiſite to ſupport the general prejudices, during the long interval of Parliament. Great endeavours were alſo uſed to obtain the King's conſent for

1680. the meeting of that aſſembly. Seventeen peers preſented a petition to that purpoſe. Many of the corporations imitated this example. Notwithſtanding ſeveral marks of diſpleaſure, and even a menacing proclamation from the King, petitions came from all parts, earneſtly inſiſting on a ſeſſion of Parliament. The danger of popery, the terrors of the plot, were never forgot in any of theſe addreſſes.

TUMULTUOUS petitioning was one of the chief artifices, by which the malecontents in the laſt reign had attacked the Crown: And tho' the manner of ſubſcribing and delivering petitions was now ſomewhat limited by act of Parliament, the thing itſelf ſtill remained; and was an admirable expedient for infeſting the Court, for ſpreading diſcontent, and for uniting the nation in any popular clamour. As the King found no law, by which he could puniſh thoſe importunate, and, as he eſteemed them, undutiful ſollicitations, he was obliged to encounter them by popular applications of a contrary tendency. Wherever the church and court party

party prevailed, addreſſes were framed, containing expreſſions of the higheſt regard to his Majeſty, the moſt entire acquieſcence in his wiſdom, the moſt dutiful ſubmiſſion to his prerogative, and the deepeſt *abhorrence* of thoſe, who endeavoured to encroach on it, by preſcribing to him any time for aſſembling the Parliament. Thus the nation came to be diſtinguiſhed into *Petitioners* and *Abhorrers*. Factions indeed were at this time extremely animated againſt each other. The very names, by which each party denominated its antagoniſt, diſcover the virulence and rancour, which prevailed. For beſides Petitioner and Abhorrer, appellations which were ſoon forgot, this year is remarkable for being the epoch of the well-known epithets of WHIG and TORY, by which, and ſometimes without any very material difference, this iſland has ſo been ſo long divided. The court party reproached their antagoniſts with their affinity to the fanatical conventiclers in Scotland, who were known by the name of Whigs: The country party found a reſemblance between the courtiers and the popiſh banditti in Ireland, to whom the appellation of Tory was affixed. And after this manner, theſe fooliſh terms of reproach came into public and general uſe; and even at preſent ſeem not nearer their end than when they were firſt invented.

CHAP. LXVIII. 1680.

Whig and Tory.

THE King uſed every art to encourage his partizans, and to reconcile the people to his government. He perſevered in the great zeal which he affected againſt popery. He even allowed ſeveral prieſts to be put to death, for no other crime but their having received orders in the Romiſh church. It is ſingular, that one of them, called Evans, was playing at tennis, when the warrant for his immediate execution was notified to him: He ſwore, that he would play out his ſet firſt. Charles, with the ſame view of acquiring popularity, formed an alliance with Spain, and alſo offered an alliance

to

CHAP. LXVIII.

1680.

to Holland: But the Dutch, terrified with the great power of France, and seeing little resource in a country so distracted as England, declined acceptance. He had sent for the Duke from Scotland, but desired him to return, when the time of assembling the Parliament began to approach.

It was of great consequence to the popular party, while the meeting of the Parliament depended on the King's will, to keep the law, whose operations are perpetual, entirely on their side. The sheriffs of London by their office return the juries: It had been usual for the mayor to nominate one sheriff by drinking to him; and the common hall had ever without dispute confirmed the mayor's choice. Sir Robert Clayton, the mayor, named one who was not acceptable to the popular party: The common-hall rejected him; and Bethel and Cornish, two independants, and republicans, and of consequence deeply engaged with the malecontents, were chosen by a majority of voices. In spite of all remonstrances and opposition, the citizens persisted in their choice; and the court party were obliged for the present to acquiesce.

Juries however were not so partial in the city; but that reason and justice, even when the popish plot was in question, could sometimes prevail. The earl of Castlemaine, husband to the famous dutchess of Cleveland, was acquitted about this time; tho' accused by Oates and Dangerfield of an intention to assassinate the King. Sir Thomas Gascoigne, a very aged gentleman in the north, being accused by two servants, whom he had dismissed for dishonesty, received a like verdict. These trials were great blows to the plot, which now began to stagger in the judgment of most men, except those who were devoted to the country party. But in order still to preserve alive the zeal against popery, the earl of Shaftesbury appeared in Westminster hall, attended by the earl of Huntington, the lords Russel, Cavendish,

23d of June.

Gray,

Gray, Brandon, Sir Henry Caverly, Sir Gilbert Gerrard, Sir William Cooper, and other perſons of diſtinction, and preſented to the grand jury of Middleſex reaſons for indicting the Duke of York as a popiſh recuſant. While the jury were deliberating on this extraordinary preſentment, the chief juſtice ſent for them up, and ſuddenly, even ſomewhat irregularly, diſmiſſed them. Shafteſbury however obtained the end, for which he had undertaken this bold meaſure: He ſhowed to all his followers the deſperate reſolution, which he had embraced, never to admit of any accommodation or compoſition with the Duke. By ſuch daring conduct he aſſured them, that he was fully determined not to deſert their cauſe, and he engaged them to a like devoted perſeverance in all the meaſures, which he ſhould ſuggeſt to them. CHAP. LXVIII. 1680.

As the kingdom was regularly and openly divided into two zealous parties, it was not difficult for the King to know, that the majority of the new Houſe of Commons was engaged in intereſts oppoſite to the Court: But that he might leave no expedient untried, which could compoſe the unhappy differences among his ſubjects, he reſolved, at laſt, after a very long interval, to aſſemble the Parliament. In his ſpeech, he told them, that the ſeveral prorogations, which he had made, had been very advantageous to his neighbours, and very uſeful to himſelf: That he had employed that time in perfecting with the Crown of Spain an alliance, which had been often deſired by former Parliaments, and which, he doubted not, would be extremely agreeable to them: That, in order to give weight to this meaſure, and render it beneficial to Chriſtendom, it was neceſſary to avoid all domeſtic diſſenſions, and to unite themſelves firmly in the ſame views and purpoſes: That he was determined, that nothing on his part ſhould be wanting to ſuch a ſalutary end; and provided the ſucceſſion be preſerved in 21ſt of October. A new Parliament.

CHAP. LXVIII.

1680.

in its due and legal courſe, he would concur in any new expedients for the ſecurity of the proteſtant religion: That the farther examination of the popiſh plot and the puniſhment of the criminals, were requiſite for the ſafety both of King and kingdom: And after recommending to them the neceſſity of providing, by ſome ſupplies, for the ſafety of Tangiers, he proceeded in theſe words: "But that which I value above all the treaſure in the "world, and which I am ſure will give us greater "ſtrength and reputation both at home and abroad than "any treaſure can do, is a perfect union among our-"ſelves. Nothing but this can reſtore the kingdom to "that ſtrength and vigour which it ſeems to have loſt, "and raiſe us again to that conſideration, which Eng-"land hath uſually poſſeſſed. All Europe have their "eyes upon this aſſembly, and think their own happi-"neſs and miſery, as well as ours, will depend upon "it. If we ſhould be ſo unhappy as to fall into miſ-"underſtandings among ourſelves to that degree as "would render our friendſhip unſafe to truſt to, it will "not be wondered at, if our neighbours ſhould begin to "take new reſolutions, and perhaps ſuch as may be fa-"tal to us. Let us therefore take care, that we do not "gratify our enemies, and diſcourage our friends, by any "unſeaſonable diſputes. If any ſuch do happen, the "world will ſee, that it was no fault of mine: For I "have done all that it was poſſible for me to do, to keep "you in peace, while I live, and to leave you ſo, when "I die. But from ſo great prudence and ſo good affec-"tion as yours, I can fear nothing of this kind; but "do rely upon you all, that you will do your beſt en-"deavours to bring this Parliament to a good and happy "concluſion."

Violence of the Commons.

ALL theſe mollifying expreſſions had no influence with the Commons. Every ſtep, which they took, betrayed that zeal, with which they were animated. They voted, that

CHAP. LXVIII. 1680.

that it was the undoubted right of the ſubject to petition the King for the calling and ſitting of Parliament. Not contented with this deciſion, which ſeems very juſtifiable in a mixt Monarchy, they fell with the utmoſt violence on all thoſe *abhorrers*, who in their addreſſes to the Crown, had expreſſed their diſapprobation of thoſe petitions. They did not reflect that it was as lawful for one party of men, as for another, to expreſs their ſentiments of public affairs; and that the beſt eſtabliſhed right, in particular circumſtances, may be abuſed, and even the exerciſe of it become an object of abhorrence. For this offence, they expelled Sir Thomas Withens. They appointed a committee for farther enquiry into ſuch members as had been guilty of a like crime; and complaints were lodged againſt Lord Paſton, Sir Robert Malverer, Sir Bryan Stapelton, Taylor and Turner. They addreſſed the King againſt Sir George Jefferies, recorder of London, for his activity in the ſame cauſe; and they frightened him into a reſignation of his office, in which he was ſucceeded by Sir George Treby, a great leader of the popular party. They voted an impeachment againſt North, chief juſtice of the common pleas, for drawing the proclamation againſt tumultuous petitions: But upon examination found the proclamation ſo cautiouſly worded, that it afforded them no handle againſt him. A petition had been preſented to the King from Taunton. "How dare you deliver me ſuch a paper?" ſaid the King to the perſon who preſented it. "Sir," replied he, "my name is DARE." For this ſaucy reply, but under other pretences, he had been tried, fined, and committed to priſon. The Commons now addreſſed the King for his liberty and for the remittance of his fine. Some printers alſo and authors of ſeditious libels, they took under their protection.

GREAT numbers of the Abhorrers, from all parts of England, were ſeized by order of the Commons, and com-

CHAP. LXVIII.

1680.

in its due and legal courſe, he would concur in any new expedients for the ſecurity of the proteſtant religion: That the farther examination of the popiſh plot and the puniſhment of the criminals, were requiſite for the ſafety both of King and kingdom: And after recommending to them the neceſſity of providing, by ſome ſupplies, for the ſafety of Tangiers, he proceeded in theſe words: "But that which I value above all the treaſure in the "world, and which I am ſure will give us greater "ſtrength and reputation both at home and abroad than "any treaſure can do, is a perfect union among our-"ſelves. Nothing but this can reſtore the kingdom to "that ſtrength and vigour which it ſeems to have loſt, "and raiſe us again to that conſideration, which Eng-"land hath uſually poſſeſſed. All Europe have their "eyes upon this aſſembly, and think their own happi-"neſs and miſery, as well as ours, will depend upon "it. If we ſhould be ſo unhappy as to fall into miſ-"underſtandings among ourſelves to that degree as "would render our friendſhip unſafe to truſt to, it will "not be wondered at, if our neighbours ſhould begin to "take new reſolutions, and perhaps ſuch as may be fa-"tal to us. Let us therefore take care, that we do not "gratify our enemies, and diſcourage our friends, by any "unſeaſonable diſputes. If any ſuch do happen, the "world will ſee, that it was no fault of mine: For I "have done all that it was poſſible for me to do, to keep "you in peace, while I live, and to leave you ſo, when "I die. But from ſo great prudence and ſo good affec-"tion as yours, I can fear nothing of this kind; but "do rely upon you all, that you will do your beſt en-"deavours to bring this Parliament to a good and happy "concluſion."

Violence of the Commons.

ALL theſe mollifying expreſſions had no influence with the Commons. Every ſtep, which they took, betrayed that zeal, with which they were animated. They voted, that

CHAP. LXVIII. 1680.

that it was the undoubted right of the ſubject to petition the King for the calling and ſitting of Parliament. Not contented with this deciſion, which ſeems very juſtifiable in a mixt Monarchy, they fell with the utmoſt violence on all thoſe *abhorrers*, who in their addreſſes to the Crown, had expreſſed their diſapprobation of thoſe petitions. They did not reflect that it was as lawful for one party of men, as for another, to expreſs their ſentiments of public affairs; and that the beſt eſtabliſhed right, in particular circumſtances, may be abuſed, and even the exerciſe of it become an object of abhorrence. For this offence, they expelled Sir Thomas Withens. They appointed a committee for farther enquiry into ſuch members as had been guilty of a like crime; and complaints were lodged againſt Lord Paſton, Sir Robert Malverer, Sir Bryan Stapelton, Taylor and Turner. They addreſſed the King againſt Sir George Jefferies, recorder of London, for his activity in the ſame cauſe; and they frightened him into a reſignation of his office, in which he was ſucceeded by Sir George Treby, a great leader of the popular party. They voted an impeachment againſt North, chief juſtice of the common pleas, for drawing the proclamation againſt tumultuous petitions: But upon examination found the proclamation ſo cautiouſly worded, that it afforded them no handle againſt him. A petition had been preſented to the King from Taunton. "How dare you deliver me ſuch a paper?" ſaid the King to the perſon who preſented it. "Sir," replied he, "my name is DARE." For this ſaucy reply, but under other pretences, he had been tried, fined, and committed to priſon. The Commons now addreſſed the King for his liberty and for the remittance of his fine. Some printers alſo and authors of ſeditious libels, they took under their protection.

GREAT numbers of the Abhorrers, from all parts of England, were ſeized by order of the Commons, and com-

CHAP. LXVIII.

1680.

committed to cuſtody. The liberty of the ſubject, which had been ſo carefully guarded by the great charter, and by the late law of Habeas Corpus, was every day violated by their arbitrary and capricious commitments. The chief jealouſy, 'tis true, of the Engliſh conſtitution is naturally and juſtly directed againſt the Crown; nor indeed have the Commons any other way of ſecuring their privileges but by commitments, which, as they cannot beforehand be exactly determined by law, muſt always appear in ſome degree arbitrary. Senſible of theſe reaſons, the people had hitherto, without murmuring, ſeen this diſcretionary power exerciſed by the Houſe: But as it was now carried to extremes, and was abuſed to ſerve the purpoſes of a faction, great complaints againſt it were heard from all quarters. At laſt, the vigour and courage of one Stowel of Exeter, an Abhorrer, put an end to the practice. He refuſed to obey the ſerjeant at arms, ſtood upon his defence, and ſaid that he knew of no law, by which they pretended to commit him. The houſe, finding it equally dangerous to proceed or to recede, got off by an evaſion: They inſerted in their votes, that Stowel was indiſpoſed, and that a month's time was allowed him for his recovery.

BUT the chief violence of the Houſe of Commons appeared in all their tranſactions with regard to the plot, which they proſecuted with the ſame zeal and the ſame credulity as their predeceſſors. They renewed the former vote, which affirmed the reality of the horrid popiſh plot; and, in order to the more to terrify the people, they even aſſerted, that, notwithſtanding the diſcovery, the plot ſtill ſubſiſted. They expelled Sir Robert Can and Sir Robert Yeomans, who had been complained of, for ſaying, that there was no popiſh, but there was a preſbyterian plot. And they greatly lamented the death of Bedloe, whom they called a material witneſs,

neſs, and on whoſe teſtimony they much depended. He had been ſeized with a fever at Briſtol, had ſent for chief juſtice North, confirmed all his former evidence, except that with regard to the Duke and the Queen, and deſired North to apply to the King for ſome money to relieve him in his neceſſities. A few days after he died; and the whole party triumphed extremely in this incident: As if ſuch a teſtimony could be eſteemed the affirmation of a dying man, as if his confeſſion of perjury in ſome inſtances could aſſure his veracity in the reſt, and as if the perſeverance of one profligate could outweigh the laſt words of ſo many men, guilty of no other crime but that of popery.

THE Commons even endeavoured, by their countenance and protection, to purge off the extreme infamy, with which Dangerfield was loaded, and to reſtore him to a capacity of being a witneſs. The whole tribe of informers, they applauded and rewarded: Jenniſon, Turberville, Dugdale, Smith, la Faria, appeared before them; and their teſtimony, however frivolous or abſurd, met with a favourable reception: The King was applied to in their behalf for penſions and pardons: Their narratives were printed with that ſanction, which aroſe from the approbation of the Houſe. Dr. Tongue was recommended for the firſt conſiderable church preferment, which ſhould become vacant. Conſidering men's determined reſolution to believe, inſtead of admiring that a palpable falſhood ſhould be maintained by witneſſes, it may juſtly appear wonderful, that no better evidence was ever produced againſt the Catholics.

THE principal reaſons, which ſtill ſupported the clamour of the popiſh plot, were the apprehenſions, ſo juſtly entertained by the people, of the Duke of York, and the reſolution, embraced by their leaders, of excluding him from the throne. Shafteſbury and many conſiderable men of the party, had rendered themſelves totally irreconcileable with him, and could find their ſafety no

Excluſion-bill.

CHAP. LXVIII.

1680.

way but in his ruin. Monmouth's friends hoped, that the exclusion of that Prince would make way for their patron. The resentment against the Duke's apostacy, the love of liberty, the zeal for religion, the attachment to faction; all these motives incited the country party. And above all, what supported the resolution of adhering to the exclusion, and rejecting all expedients offered, was the hope artificially encouraged, that the King would at last be obliged to yield to their demand. His revenues were extremely burdened; and even if free, could scarce suffice for the necessary charges of government, much less for that pleasure and expence, to which he was strongly inclined. Tho' he had withdrawn his countenance from Monmouth, he was known secretly to retain a great affection for him. On no occasion had he ever been found to persist obstinately against difficulties and importunity. And as his beloved mistress, the dutchess of Portsmouth, had been engaged, either from lucrative views, or the hopes of making the succession fall on her own children, to unite herself with the popular party; this incident was regarded as a favourable prognostic of their success. Sunderland, secretary of state, who had linked his interest with that of the dutchess, had concurred in the same measure.

But besides friendship to his brother and a regard to the right of succession, there were many strong reasons which had determined Charles to persevere in opposing the exclusion. All the royalists and the devotees to the church; that party by which alone Monarchy was supported; regarded the right of succession as inviolable; and if abandoned by the King in so capital an article, it was to be feared, that they would, in their turn, desert his cause, and deliver him over to the pretensions and usurpations of the country party. The country party, or the Whigs, as they were called, if they did not still retain some propensity towards a republic, were at least af-

affected with a violent jealouſy of regal power; and it was equally to be dreaded, that being enraged with oppoſition, and animated with ſucceſs, they would, if they prevailed in this pretenſion, be willing as well as able, to reduce the prerogative within very narrow limits. All menaces therefore, all promiſes were in vain employed againſt the King's reſolution: He never would be prevailed with to deſert his friends, and put himſelf into the hands of his enemies. And having voluntarily made ſuch important conceſſions, and offered, over and over again, ſuch ſtrong limitations, he was well pleaſed to find them rejected by the obſtinacy of the Commons; and hoped, that, after the ſpirit of oppoſition had ſpent itſelf in fruitleſs violence, the time would come, when he might ſafely appeal againſt his Parliament to his people.

CHAP. LXVIII. 1680.

So much were the popular leaders determined to carry matters to extremity, that in leſs than a week after the commencement of the ſeſſion, a motion was made for bringing in an excluſion-bill, and a committee was appointed for that purpoſe. This bill differed in nothing from the former, but in two articles, which ſhowed ſtill an increaſe of zeal in the Commons: The bill was to be read to the people twice a year in all the churches of the kingdom, and every one, who ſhould ſupport the Duke's title, was rendered incapable of pardon but by act of Parliament.

THE debates were carried on with great violence on both ſides. The bill was defended by Sir William Jones, who had now reſigned his office of attorney-general, by lord Ruſſel, by Sir Francis Winnington, Sir Harry Capel, Sir William Pulteney, by colonel Titus, Treby, Hambden, Montague. It was oppoſed by Sir Leoline Jenkins, ſecretary of ſtate, Sir John Ernley, chancellor of the exchequer, by Hyde, Seymour, Temple. The arguments, tranſmitted to us, may be reduced to the following topics.

10th of November.

CHAP. LXVIII.

1680.

way but in his ruin. Monmouth's friends hoped, that the excluſion of that Prince would make way for their patron. The reſentment againſt the Duke's apoſtacy, the love of liberty, the zeal for religion, the attachment to faction; all theſe motives incited the country party. And above all, what ſupported the reſolution of adhering to the excluſion, and rejecting all expedients offered, was the hope artificially encouraged, that the King would at laſt be obliged to yield to their demand. His revenues were extremely burdened; and even if free, could ſcarce ſuffice for the neceſſary charges of government, much leſs for that pleaſure and expence, to which he was ſtrongly inclined. Tho' he had withdrawn his countenance from Monmouth, he was known ſecretly to retain a great affection for him. On no occaſion had he ever been found to perſiſt obſtinately againſt difficulties and importunity. And as his beloved miſtreſs, the dutcheſs of Portſmouth, had been engaged, either from lucrative views, or the hopes of making the ſucceſſion fall on her own children, to unite herſelf with the popular party; this incident was regarded as a favourable prognoſtic of their ſucceſs. Sunderland, ſecretary of ſtate, who had linked his intereſt with that of the dutcheſs, had concurred in the ſame meaſure.

BUT beſides friendſhip to his brother and a regard to the right of ſucceſſion, there were many ſtrong reaſons which had determined Charles to perſevere in oppoſing the excluſion. All the royaliſts and the devotees to the church; that party by which alone Monarchy was ſupported; regarded the right of ſucceſſion as inviolable; and if abandoned by the King in ſo capital an article, it was to be feared, that they would, in their turn, deſert his cauſe, and deliver him over to the pretenſions and uſurpations of the country party. The country party, or the Whigs, as they were called, if they did not ſtill retain ſome propenſity towards a republic, were at leaſt af-

affected with a violent jealouſy of regal power; and it was equally to be dreaded, that being enraged with oppoſition, and animated with ſucceſs, they would, if they prevailed in this pretenſion, be willing as well as able, to reduce the prerogative within very narrow limits. All menaces therefore, all promiſes were in vain employed againſt the King's reſolution: He never would be prevailed with to deſert his friends, and put himſelf into the hands of his enemies. And having voluntarily made ſuch important conceſſions, and offered, over and over again, ſuch ſtrong limitations, he was well pleaſed to find them rejected by the obſtinacy of the Commons; and hoped, that, after the ſpirit of oppoſition had ſpent itſelf in fruitleſs violence, the time would come, when he might ſafely appeal againſt his Parliament to his people.

So much were the popular leaders determined to carry matters to extremity, that in leſs than a week after the commencement of the ſeſſion, a motion was made for bringing in an excluſion-bill, and a committee was appointed for that purpoſe. This bill differed in nothing from the former, but in two articles, which ſhowed ſtill an increaſe of zeal in the Commons: The bill was to be read to the people twice a year in all the churches of the kingdom, and every one, who ſhould ſupport the Duke's title, was rendered incapable of pardon but by act of Parliament.

THE debates were carried on with great violence on both ſides. The bill was defended by Sir William Jones, who had now reſigned his office of attorney-general, by lord Ruſſel, by Sir Francis Winnington, Sir Harry Capel, Sir William Pulteney, by colonel Titus, Treby, Hambden, Montague. It was oppoſed by Sir Leoline Jenkins, ſecretary of ſtate, Sir John Ernley, chancellor of the exchequer, by Hyde, Seymour, Temple. The arguments, tranſmitted to us, may be reduced to the following topics. 10th of November.

CHAP. LXVIII.

1680. Arguments for and againſt the excluſion.

In every government, ſaid the excluſioniſts, there is ſomewhere an authority abſolute and ſupreme; nor can any determination, however unuſual, which receives the ſanction of the legiſlature, ever afterwards admit of diſpute or controul. The liberty of any conſtitution, ſo far from diminiſhing this abſolute power, ſeems rather to add force to it, and to give it greater influence over the people. The more parts of the ſtate concur in any legiſlative deciſion, and the more free their voice; the leſs likelihood is there that any oppoſition will be made to thoſe meaſures, which receive the final ſanction of their authority. In England, the legiſlative power is lodged in King, Lords, and Commons, which comprehend every order of the community: And there is no pretext for exempting any circumſtance of government, not even the ſucceſſion of the Crown, from ſo full and deciſive a juriſdiction. Even expreſs declarations have, in this particular, been made of parliamentary authority: Inſtances have occurred, where it has been exerted: And tho' prudential reaſons may juſtly be alleged, why ſuch innovations ſhould never be attempted but on extraordinary occaſions, the power and right are for ever veſted in the community. But if any occaſion can be deemed extraordinary, if any emergence can require unuſual expedients, it is the preſent; when the heir to the Crown has renounced the religion of the ſtate, and has zealouſly embraced a faith, totally hoſtile and incompatible. A prince of that communion can never put truſt in a people, ſo prejudiced againſt him: The people muſt be equally diffident of ſuch a prince. Foreign and deſtructive alliances will ſeem to the one the only protection of his throne: Perpetual jealouſy, oppoſition, faction, even inſurrections will be employed by the other as the ſole ſecurities for their liberty and religion. Tho' theological principles, when ſet in oppoſition to paſſions, have often ſmall influence on mankind in general, ſtill

leſs

leſs on princes; yet when they become ſymbols of faction, and marks of party diſtinctions, they concur with one of the ſtrongeſt paſſions in the human frame, and are then capable of carrying men to the greateſt extremities. Notwithſtanding the better judgment and milder diſpoſition of the King; how much has the influence of the Duke already diſturbed the tenor of government? How often engaged the nation into meaſures totally deſtructive of their foreign intereſts and honour, of their domeſtic repoſe and tranquillity? The more the abſurdity and incredibility of the popiſh plot are inſiſted on, the ſtronger reaſon it affords for the excluſion of the Duke; ſince the univerſal belief of it diſcovers the extreme antipathy of the nation to his religion, and the utter impoſſibility of ever bringing them to acquieſce peaceably under the dominion of ſuch a Sovereign. The prince, finding himſelf in ſo perilous a ſituation, muſt ſeek for ſecurity by deſperate remedies, and by totally ſubduing the privileges of a nation, who had betrayed ſuch hoſtile diſpoſitions towards himſelf, and towards every thing which he deems the moſt ſacred. It is in vain to propoſe limitations and expedients. Whatever ſhare of authority is left in the Duke's hands, will be employed to the deſtruction of the nation; and even the additional reſtraints, by diſcovering the public diffidence and averſion, will ſerve him as incitements to put himſelf in a condition entirely abſolute and independant. And as the laws of England ſtill make reſiſtance treaſon, and neither do nor can admit of any poſitive exceptions; what folly to leave the kingdom in ſo perilous and abſurd a ſituation; where the greateſt virtue will be expoſed to the moſt ſevere proſcription, and where the laws can only be ſaved by expedients, which theſe ſame laws have declared the higheſt crime and enormity?

THE court party reaſoned in an oppoſite manner. An authority, they thought, entirely abſolute and uncontroul-

CHAP. LXVIII.

1680.

troulable is a mere chimera, and is no where to be found in any human inſtitutions. All government is founded on opinion and a ſenſe of duty; and wherever the ſupreme magiſtrate, by any law or poſitive preſcription, ſhocks an opinion regarded as fundamental, and eſtabliſhed with equal firmneſs as his own authority, he ſubverts the principle, by which he himſelf is eſtabliſhed, and can no longer hope for obedience. In European monarchies, the right of ſucceſſion is juſtly eſteemed a fundamental; and even tho' the whole legiſlature be veſted in a ſingle perſon, it would never be permitted him, by an edict, to diſinherit his lawful heir, and call a ſtranger or more diſtant relation to the Throne. Abuſes in other parts of government are capable of redreſs, from more diſpaſſionate enquiry or better information of the Sovereign, and till then ought patiently to be endured: But violations of the right of ſucceſſion draw ſuch terrible conſequences after them as are not to be paralleled by any other grievance or inconvenience. Vainly is it pleaded, that England is a mixt Monarchy; and that a law, framed by King, Lords, and Commons, is enacted by the concurrence of every part of the ſtate: It is plain, that there remains a very powerful party, who may indeed be out-voted, but who never will deem a law, ſubverſive of hereditary right, to be any wiſe valid or obligatory. Limitations, ſuch as are propoſed by the King, give no ſhock to the conſtitution, which, in many particulars, is already limited; and they may be ſo calculated as to ſerve every purpoſe, which is ſought for by an excluſion. If the antient barriers againſt regal authority have been able, during ſo many ages, to remain impregnable; how much more, thoſe additional ones, which, by depriving the Monarch of power, tend ſo far to their own ſecurity? The very ſame jealouſy too of religion, which has engaged the people to lay theſe reſtraints upon the ſucceſſor,

ceſſor, will leſſen extremely the number of his partizans, and make it utterly impracticable for him, either by force or artifice, to break the fetters, impoſed upon him. The King's age and vigorous ſtate of health promiſe him a long life: And can it be prudent to tear the whole ſtate in pieces, in order to provide againſt a contingency, which, it is very likely, may never happen? No human ſchemes can ſecure the public in all poſſible events; and the bill of excluſion itſelf, however accurately framed, leaves room for very obvious and very natural ſuppoſitions, to which it pretends not to provide any remedy. Should the Duke have a ſon, after the King's death; muſt that ſon, without any default of his own, forfeit his title? Or muſt the princeſs of Orange deſcend from the Throne, in order to give place to the lawful ſucceſſor? But were all theſe reaſonings falſe, it ſtill remains to be conſidered, that in public deliberations we ſeek not the expedient, which is beſt in itſelf, but the beſt of ſuch as are practicable. The King willingly conſents to limitations, and has already offered ſome which are of the utmoſt importance: But he is determined to endure any extremity rather than allow the right of ſucceſſion to be invaded. Let us beware of that factious violence, which leads us to demand more than will be granted; leſt we loſe the advantage of thoſe beneficial conceſſions, and leave the nation, on the King's deceaſe, at the mercy of a zealous prince, irritated with the ill uſage, which, he imagines, he has already met with.

CHAP. LXVIII. 1680.

In the Houſe of Commons, the reaſoning of the excluſioniſts appeared the moſt convincing; and the bill paſſed by a great majority. It was in the Houſe of Peers that the King expected to oppoſe it with ſucceſs. The court party was there ſo prevalent, that it was carried only by a majority of two to pay ſo much reſpect to the bill as even to commit it. When it came to be debated, the conteſt was very violent. Shaftesbury, Sunderland,

15th of November.

CHAP. LXVIII.

1680.

derland, and Eſſex argued for it: Halifax chiefly conducted the debate againſt it, and diſplayed an extent of capacity and a force of eloquence, which had never been ſurpaſſed in that aſſembly. He was animated, as well by the greatneſs of the occaſion, as by a rivalſhip to his uncle Shafteſbury; whom, during that day's debate, he ſeemed, in the judgement of all, to have totally eclipſed. The King was preſent during the whole debate, which was prolonged till eleven at night. The bill was thrown out by a conſiderable majority. All the biſhops, except three, voted againſt it. Beſides the influence of the Court over them; the church of England, they imagined or pretended, was in much greater danger from the prevalence of Preſbyterianiſm than of Popery, which, tho' favoured by the Duke, and even by the King, was extremely repugnant to the genuis of the nation.

Excluſion-bill rejected.

THE Commons diſcovered much ill humour upon this diſappointment. They immediately voted an addreſs for the removal of Halifax from the King's councils and preſence for ever. Tho' the pretended cauſe was his adviſing the late frequent prorogations of Parliament, the real reaſon was apparently his vigorous oppoſition to the excluſion-bill. When the King applied for money to enable him to defend Tangiers, which he declared his preſent revenues totally unable to ſupport; inſtead of complying, they voted ſuch an addreſs as was in reality a remonſtrance, and one little leſs than violent that famous remonſtrance, which uſhered in the civil wars. All the abuſes of government, from the beginning almoſt of the reign, are there inſiſted on; the Dutch war, the alliance with France, the prorogations and diſſolutions of Parliament; and as all theſe meaſures, as well as the *damnable* and *helliſh* plot, are aſcribed to the machinations of the Papiſts, it was plainly inſinuated, that the King had, all along, lain under the influence of that party, and was in reality the chief conſpirator againſt the religion and liberties of his people.

CHAP. LXVIII.

1680.

THE commons, tho' they conducted the great buſineſs of the excluſion with extreme violence and even imprudence, had yet much reaſon for that jealouſy, which gave riſe to it: But their vehement proſecution of the popiſh plot, even after ſo long an interval, diſcovers ſuch a ſpirit, either of credulity or injuſtice, as admits of no apology. The impeachment of the Catholic lords in the Tower was revived; and as the viſcount Stafford, from his age, infirmities, and narrow capacity, was eſteemed the leaſt capable of defending himſelf, it was determined to make him the firſt victim, that his condemnation might pave the way for a ſentence againſt the reſt. The chancellor, now created earl of Nottingham, was appointed lord high ſteward for conducting this trial. 30th of November.

THERE were three witneſſes produced againſt the priſoner; Oates, Dugdale, and Turberville. Oates ſwore, that he ſaw Fenwic, the jeſuit, deliver to Stafford a commiſſion ſigned by de Oliva, general of the jeſuits, conſtituting him paymaſter to the papal army, which was to be levied for the ſubduing of England: For this ridiculous impoſture ſtill maintened its credit with the Commons. Dugdale gave teſtimony, that the priſoner, at Tixal, a ſeat of lord Aſton's, had endeavoured to engage him in the deſign of murdering the King; and had promiſed him, beſides the honour of being ſainted by the church, a reward of 500 pounds for that ſervice. Turberville affirmed, that the priſoner, in his own houſe at Paris, had made him a like propoſal. To offer money for murdering a King, without laying down any ſcheme, by which the aſſaſſin may enſure ſome probability or poſſibility of eſcape, is ſo incredible in itſelf, and may ſo eaſily be maintained by any proſtitute evidence, that an accuſation of that nature, not accompanied with circumſtances, ought very little to be attended to by any court of judicature. But notwithſtanding the ſmall hold, which the witneſſes afforded, the priſoner was able, in many very material Trial of Stafford.

CHAP. LXVIII. 1680.

material particulars, to diſcredit their teſtimony. It was ſworn by Dugdale, that Stafford had aſſiſted in a great conſult of the Catholics held at Tixal; but Stafford proved by undoubted teſtimony, that at the time aſſigned he was in Bath, and in that neighbourhood. Turberville had ſerved a noviciate among the Dominicans; but having deſerted the convent, he had inliſted as a trooper in the French army; and being diſmiſſed that ſervice, he now lived in London, abandoned by all his relations, and expoſed to great poverty. Stafford proved, by the evidence of his gentleman and his page, that Turberville had never, either at Paris or at London, been ſeen in his company; and it might juſtly appear ſtrange, that a perſon, who had ſo important a ſecret in his keeping, was ſo long entirely neglected by him.

THE clamour and outrage of the populace, during the trial, were extreme: Great ability and eloquence were diſplayed by the managers, Sir William Jones, Sir Francis Winnington, ſerjeant Maynard: Yet did the priſoner, under all theſe diſadvantageous circumſtances, make a better defence than was expected, either by his friends or his enemies: The unequal conteſt, in which he was engaged, was a plentiful ſource of compaſſion to every mind, ſeaſoned with humanity. He repreſented, that, during a courſe of forty years, from the very commencement of the civil wars, he had, through many dangers, difficulties, and loſſes, ſtill maintained his loyalty: And was it credible, that now in his old age, eaſy in his circumſtances, but diſpirited by infirmities, he would belye the whole courſe of his life, and engage, againſt his royal maſter, from whom he had ever received kind treatment, in the moſt deſperate and moſt bloody of all conſpiracies? He remarked the infamy of the witneſſes; the contradictions and abſurdities of their teſtimony; the extreme indigence in which they had lived, tho' engaged, as they pretended, in a conſpiracy with Kings, Princes,

and

and nobles; the credit and opulence to which they were at preſent raiſed. With a ſimplicity and tenderneſs more perſuaſive than the greateſt oratory, he ſtill made proteſtations of his innocence, and could not forbear, every moment, expreſſing the moſt lively ſurprize and indignation at the audacious impudence of the witneſſes. CHAP. LXVIII. 1680.

It will juſtly appear aſtoniſhing to us, as it did to Stafford himſelf, that the Peers, after a ſolemn trial of ſix days, ſhould, by a majority of twenty-four voices, pronounce ſentence againſt him. He received however with reſignation the fatal verdict. *God's holy name be praiſed*, was the only exclamation which he uttered. When the high-ſteward told him, that the Peers would intercede with the King for remitting the more cruel and ignominious parts of the ſentence, hanging and quartering; he burſt into tears: But he told the Lords, that he was moved to this weakneſs, by his ſenſe of their goodneſs, not by any terror of that fate, which he was doomed to ſuffer.

It is remarkable, that after Charles, as is uſual in ſuch caſes, had remitted to Stafford the hanging and quartering, the two ſheriffs, Bethel and Corniſh, indulging their own republican humour, and complying with the prevalent ſpirit of their party, ever jealous of Monarchy, ſtarted a doubt with regard to the King's power of exerciſing even this ſmall degree of lenity. "Since he cannot "pardon the whole," ſaid they, "how can he have "power to remit part of the ſentence?" They propoſed the doubt to both houſes: The peers pronounced it ſuperfluous; and even the Commons, apprehenſive leſt a queſtion of this nature might make way for Stafford's eſcape, gave this ſingular anſwer. "This Houſe is *content*, "that the ſheriffs do execute William late viſcount Staf- "ford by ſevering his head from his body *only*." Nothing can be a ſtronger proof of the fury of the times, than that lord Ruſſel, notwithſtanding the virtue and humanity

CHAP. LXVIII.

manity of his character, ſeconded in the Houſe this barbarous ſcruple of the ſheriffs.

1680.

In the interval between the ſentence and execution, many efforts were made to ſhake the reſolution of the infirm and aged priſoner, and to bring him to ſome confeſſion of that treaſon for which he was now condemned. It was even rumoured, that he had confeſſed; and the zealous partymen, who, no doubt, had ſecretly, notwithſtanding their credulity, entertained ſome ſcruple with regard to the popiſh conſpiracy, expreſſed great triumph on this occaſion. But Stafford, when again called before the Houſe of Peers, diſcovered many ſchemes, which had been laid by himſelf and others for procuring a toleration to the Catholics, at leaſt a mitigation of the penal laws, enacted againſt them: And he proteſted, that this was the ſole treaſon of which he had ever been guilty.

Stafford now prepared himſelf for death with that intrepidity which became his birth and ſtation, and which was the natural reſult of the innocence and integrity, which, during the courſe of a long life, he had ever maintained: His mind ſeemed even to collect new force from the violence and oppreſſion, under which he laboured. When going to execution, he called for a cloak to defend him againſt the rigour of the ſeaſon. "Perhaps, "ſaid he, I may ſhake with cold; but, I truſt in God, "not for fear." On the ſcaffold, he continued, with reiterated and earneſt aſſeverations, to make proteſtations of his innocence: All his fervour was exerciſed on that point: When he mentioned the witneſſes, whoſe perjuries had bereaved him of life, his expreſſions were full of mildneſs and of charity. He ſolemnly diſavowed all thoſe immoral principles, which over-zealous Proteſtants had aſcribed without diſtinction to the church of Rome: And he hoped, he ſaid, that the time was now approaching, when the preſent deluſion would be diſſipated;

29th of December.

and execution.

CHAP. LXVIII. 1680.

ſipated; and when the force of truth, tho' late, would engage the whole world to make reparation to his injured honour.

THE populace, who had exulted at Stafford's trial and condemnation, were now melted into tears, at the ſight of that tender fortitude, which ſhone forth in each feature, and motion, and accent of this aged noble. Their profound ſilence was only interrupted by ſighs and groans: With difficulty they found ſpeech to aſſent to thoſe proteſtations of innocence, which he frequently repeated: "We believe you, my lord! God bleſs you, my lord!" Theſe expreſſions with a faultering accent flowed from them. The executioner himſelf was touched with ſympathy. Twice he lifted up the ax, with an intent to ſtrike the fatal blow; and as often felt his reſolution to fail him. A deep ſigh was heard to accompany his laſt effort, which laid Stafford for ever at reſt. All the ſpectators ſeemed to feel the blow. And when the head was held up to them with the uſual cry, *This is the head of a traitor*, no clamour of aſſent was uttered. Pity, remorſe, and aſtoniſhment had taken poſſeſſion of every heart, and diſplayed itſelf in every countenance.

THIS is the laſt blood which was ſhed on account of the popiſh plot: An incident, which, for the credit of the nation, it were better to bury in eternal oblivion; but which it is neceſſary to perpetuate, as well to maintain the truth of hiſtory, as to warn, if poſſible, their poſterity and all mankind never again to fall into ſo ſhameful and ſo barbarous a deluſion.

THE execution of Stafford gratified the prejudices of the country party; but it contributed nothing to their power and ſecurity: On the contrary, by exciting commiſeration, it tended ſtill farther to encreaſe that diſbelief of the whole plot, which began now to prevail. The Commons, therefore, not to loſe the preſent occaſion, reſolved to make both friends and enemies ſenſible of their

CHAP. LXVIII.

1680.

their authority. They paſſed a bill for eaſing the Proteſtant Diſſenters, and for repealing the perſecuting ſtatute of the thirty-fifth of Elizabeth: This laudable bill was likewiſe carried thro' the Houſe of Peers. The chief juſtice was very obnoxious for diſmiſſing the grand jury in an irregular manner, and thereby preventing that bold meaſure of Shafteſbury and his friends, who had preſented the Duke as a Recuſant. For this crime the Commons ſent up an impeachment againſt him; as alſo againſt Jones and Weſton, two of the judges, who, in ſome ſpeeches from the bench, had gone ſo far as to give to many of the firſt Reformers the denomination of Fanatics.

THE King, in rejecting the excluſion bill, had ſheltered himſelf ſecurely behind the authority of the Houſe of Peers; and the Commons had been deprived of the uſual pretence to attack the Sovereign himſelf, under colour of attacking his miniſters and counſellors. In proſecution however of the ſcheme, which he had formed, of throwing the blame on the Commons in caſe of any rupture, he made them a new ſpeech. After warning them, that a neglect of this opportunity would never be retrieved, he added theſe words: "I did promiſe you the "fulleſt ſatisfaction, which your hearts could wiſh, for "the ſecurity of the proteſtant religion, and to concur with "you in any remedies, which might conſiſt with preſerving the ſucceſſion of the Crown in its due and legal "courſe of deſcent. I do again, with the ſame reſervations, renew the ſame promiſes to you: And being "thus ready on my part to do all that can reaſonably be "expected from me, I ſhould be glad to know from you, "as ſoon as may be, how far I ſhall be aſſiſted by you, "and what it is you deſire from me."

THE moſt reaſonable objection againſt the limitations, propoſed by the King, is, that they introduced too conſiderable an innovation in the government, and almoſt totally

totally annihilated the power of the Monarch. But conſidering the preſent diſpoſition of the Commons and their leaders, we may fairly preſume, that this objection would have ſmall weight with them, and that their diſguſt againſt the Court would rather incline them to diminiſh than ſupport regal authority. They ſtill hoped, from the King's urgent neceſſities, and his uſual facility, that he would throw himſelf wholly into their hands; and that thus, without waiting for the acceſſion of the Duke, they might immediately render themſelves abſolute maſters of the government. The Commons, therefore, beſides inſiſting ſtill on the excluſion, proceeded to bring in bills of a very important, and ſome of them of a very alarming nature: One to renew the triennial act, which had been ſo inadvertently repealed in the beginning of the reign: A ſecond to make the office of judge during good behaviour: A third to declare the levying of money without conſent of Parliament to be high treaſon: A fourth to order an aſſociation for the ſafety of his Majeſty's perſon, for defence of the proteſtant religion, for the preſervation of the proteſtant ſubjects againſt all invaſions and oppoſition whatſoever, and for preventing the Duke of York or any Papiſt from ſucceeding to the Crown. The memory of the covenant was too recent for men to overlook the conſequences of ſuch an aſſociation: And the King, who was particularly converſant in Davila, could not fail of recollecting a memorable foreign inſtance to fortify this domeſtic experience.

CHAP. LXVIII. 1680.

Violence of the Commons.

The Commons alſo paſſed many votes, which, tho' they had not the authority of laws, ſerved however to diſcover the temper and diſpoſition of the Houſe. They voted, that whoever had adviſed his Majeſty to refuſe the excluſion bill, were promoters of popery and enemies to the King and kingdom. In another vote, they named the marqueſs of Worceſter, the earls of Clarendon, Feverſham, and Halifax, Laurence Hyde, and Edward

CHAP. LXVIII.

1680.

ward Seymour, as thoſe dangerous enemies, and they requeſted his Majeſty to remove them from his perſon and councils for ever: They voted, that, till the excluſion bill was paſſed, they could not, conſiſtent with the truſt repoſed in them, grant the King any manner of ſupply. And leſt he ſhould be enabled, by any other expedient, to ſupport the government, and preſerve himſelf independant, they paſſed another vote, in which they declared, that whoever ſhould hereafter lend, by way of advance, any money upon thoſe branches of the King's revenue, ariſing from cuſtoms, exciſe, or hearth money, ſhould be judged a hinderer of the ſitting of Parliament, and be reſponſible for the ſame in Parliament.

THE King might preſume, that the Peers, who had rejected the excluſion bill, would ſtill continue to defend the Throne, and that none of the dangerous bills, introduced into the other Houſe, would ever be preſented for the royal aſſent and approbation. But as there remained no hopes of bringing the Commons to any compoſure, and as their farther ſitting ſerved only to keep faction alive, and to perpetuate the general ferment of the nation, he came ſecretly to a reſolution of proroguing them. They got intelligence about a quarter of an hour before the black rod came to their door. Not to loſe ſuch precious time, they paſſed in a very tumultuous manner ſome very extraordinary reſolutions. They voted, *that* whoſoever adviſed his Majeſty to prorogue this Parliament to any other purpoſe than in order to paſs the bill of excluſion, was a betrayer of the King, of the proteſtant religion, and of the kingdom of England; a promoter of the French intereſt, and a penſioner of France: *That* thanks be given to the city of London for their manifeſt loyalty, and for their care and vigilance in the preſervation of the King and of the proteſtant religion: *That* it is the opinion of this Houſe, that that city was burned in the year 1666 by the Papiſts, deſigning thereby to intro-

1681. 10th of January. Diſſolution of the Parliament.

introduce arbitrary power and popery into the kingdom: *That* humble application be made to his majesty to restore the duke of Monmouth to all his offices and commands, from which, it appears to the House, he had been removed by the influence of the duke of York. And *that* it is the opinion of the House, that the prosecution of the Protestant dissenters upon the penal laws is at this time grievous to the subject, a weakening of the protestant interest, an encouragement of popery, and dangerous to the peace of the kingdom.

The King passed some laws of no great importance: But the bill for repealing the thirty fifth of Elizabeth, he privately ordered the clerk of the Crown not to present to him. By this artifice, which was equally disobliging to the country party as if the bill had been rejected, and at the same time implied some meanness and timidity in the King, that salutary act was for the present eluded. The King had often of himself attempted, and sometimes by irregular means, to give indulgence to Nonconformists: But besides, that he had usually expected to comprehend the Catholics in this liberty, the present refractory disposition of the Sectaries had much incensed him against them, and he was still resolved, if possible, to keep them at mercy.

The last votes of the Commons seemed to be an attempt of forming indirectly an association against the Crown, after they found, that their association bill could not pass: The dissenting interest, the city, and the duke of Monmouth, they endeavoured to connect with the country party. A civil war indeed never appeared so likely as at present; and it was high time for the King to dissolve a Parliament, which seemed to have entertained such dangerous projects. Soon after, he summoned another. Tho' he observed, that the country party had established their interest so strongly in all the electing burroughs, that he could not hope for any disposition more favou-

CHAP. LXVIII.

1681.

rable in the new Parliament, this expedient was ſtill a proſecution of his former project, of trying every method, by which he might form an accommodation with the Commons: And if all failed, he hoped, that he could the better juſtify to his people, at leaſt to his party, a final breach with them.

It had always been much regretted by the Royaliſts during the civil wars, that the Long Parliament had been aſſembled at Weſtminſter, and had thereby received force and encouragement from the neighbourhood of a potent and factious city, which had zealouſly embraced their party. Tho' the King was now poſſeſſed of guards, which, in ſome meaſure overawed the populace, he was determined ſtill farther to obviate all inconveniences; and he ſummoned the new Parliament to meet at Oxford. The city of London ſhowed how juſt a judgment he had formed of their diſpoſition. Beſides re-electing the ſame members, they voted thanks to them for their former behaviour, in endeavouring to diſcover the depth of the *horrid* and *belliſh* popiſh plot, and to exclude the Duke of York, the principal cauſe of the ruin and miſery, impending over the nation. Monmouth with fifteen Peers preſented a petition againſt aſſembling the Parliament at Oxford, "where the two Houſes," they ſaid, "could not be in ſafety; but would be eaſily expoſed "to the ſwords of the Papiſts and their adherents, of "whom too many had crept into his Majeſty's guards." Theſe inſinuations, which ſtruck ſo evidently at the King himſelf, were not calculated to perſwade him, but to inflame the people.

The Excluſioniſts might have concluded, both from the King's diſſolution of the laſt Parliament, and from his ſummoning of the preſent to meet at Oxford, that he was determined to maintain his declared reſolution of rejecting their favourite bill: But they ſtill flattered themſelves, that his urgent neceſſities would influence his eaſy temper,

CHAP. LXVIII.

1681.

temper, and finally gain them the aſcendant. The leaders came to Parliament, attended not only with their ſervants, but with numerous bands of their followers and partizans. The four city members in particular were followed by great multitudes, wearing ribbons, in which were woven theſe words, *No Popery! No Slavery!* The King had his guards regularly muſtered; His party likewiſe endeavoured to make a ſhow of their ſtrength: And on the whole, the aſſembly at Oxford bore more the appearance of a tumultuous Poliſh diet, than of a regular Engliſh Parliament.

21ſt of March.

THE King, who had hitherto employed the moſt gracious expreſſions to all his Parliaments, particularly the two laſt, thought proper to addreſs himſelf to the preſent in a more authoritative manner. He complained of the unwarrantable proceedings of the former Houſe of Commons; and ſaid, that, as he would never uſe arbitrary government himſelf, neither would he ever ſuffer it in others. By calling however this Parliament ſo ſoon, he had ſufficiently ſhown, that no paſt irregularities could inſpire him with a prejudice againſt thoſe aſſemblies. He now afforded them, he added, another opportunity of providing for the public ſafety; and to all the world had given one evidence more, that on his part he had not neglected the duty incumbent on him.

New parliament at Oxford.

THE Commons were not over-awed with the magiſterial air of the King's ſpeech. They conſiſted almoſt entirely of the ſame members; they choſe the ſame ſpeaker; and they inſtantly fell into the ſame meaſures, the impeachment of Danby, the repeal of the perſecuting ſtatute of Elizabeth, the enquiry into the popiſh plot, and the bill of excluſion. So violent were they on this laſt article, that no expedient, however plauſible, could ſo much as be hearkened to. Ernely, one of the King's miniſters, propoſed, that the Duke ſhould be baniſhed, during life, five hundred miles from England, and that

CHAP. LXVIII.

1681.

rable in the new Parliament, this expedient was ſtill a proſecution of his former project, of trying every method, by which he might form an accommodation with the Commons: And if all failed, he hoped, that he could the better juſtify to his people, at leaſt to his party, a final breach with them.

IT had always been much regretted by the Royaliſts during the civil wars, that the Long Parliament had been aſſembled at Weſtminſter, and had thereby received force and encouragement from the neighbourhood of a potent and factious city, which had zealouſly embraced their party. Tho' the King was now poſſeſſed of guards, which, in ſome meaſure overawed the populace, he was determined ſtill farther to obviate all inconveniences; and he ſummoned the new Parliament to meet at Oxford. The city of London ſhowed how juſt a judgment he had formed of their diſpoſition. Beſides re-electing the ſame members, they voted thanks to them for their former behaviour, in endeavouring to diſcover the depth of the *horrid* and *helliſh* popiſh plot, and to exclude the Duke of York, the principal cauſe of the ruin and miſery, impending over the nation. Monmouth with fifteen Peers preſented a petition againſt aſſembling the Parliament at Oxford, "where the two Houſes," they ſaid, "could not be in ſafety; but would be eaſily expoſed "to the ſwords of the Papiſts and their adherents, of "whom too many had crept into his Majeſty's guards." Theſe inſinuations, which ſtruck ſo evidently at the King himſelf, were not calculated to perſwade him, but to inflame the people.

THE Excluſioniſts might have concluded, both from the King's diſſolution of the laſt Parliament, and from his ſummoning of the preſent to meet at Oxford, that he was determined to maintain his declared reſolution of rejecting their favourite bill: But they ſtill flattered themſelves, that his urgent neceſſities would influence his eaſy temper,

CHAP. LXVIII. 1681.

temper, and finally gain them the aſcendant. The leaders came to Parliament, attended not only with their ſervants, but with numerous bands of their followers and partizans. The four city members in particular were followed by great multitudes, wearing ribbons, in which were woven theſe words, *No Popery! No Slavery!* The King had his guards regularly muſtered; His party likewiſe endeavoured to make a ſhow of their ſtrength: And on the whole, the aſſembly at Oxford bore more the appearance of a tumultuous Poliſh diet, than of a regular Engliſh Parliament.

21ſt of March.

THE King, who had hitherto employed the moſt gracious expreſſions to all his Parliaments, particularly the two laſt, thought proper to addreſs himſelf to the preſent in a more authoritative manner. He complained of the unwarrantable proceedings of the former Houſe of Commons; and ſaid, that, as he would never uſe arbitrary government himſelf, neither would he ever ſuffer it in others. By calling however this Parliament ſo ſoon, he had ſufficiently ſhown, that no paſt irregularities could inſpire him with a prejudice againſt thoſe aſſemblies. He now afforded them, he added, another opportunity of providing for the public ſafety; and to all the world had given one evidence more, that on his part he had not neglected the duty incumbent on him.

New parliament at Oxford.

THE Commons were not over-awed with the magiſterial air of the King's ſpeech. They conſiſted almoſt entirely of the ſame members; they choſe the ſame ſpeaker; and they inſtantly fell into the ſame meaſures, the impeachment of Danby, the repeal of the perſecuting ſtatute of Elizabeth, the enquiry into the popiſh plot, and the bill of excluſion. So violent were they on this laſt article, that no expedient, however plauſible, could ſo much as be hearkened to. Ernely, one of the King's miniſters, propoſed, that the Duke ſhould be baniſhed, during life, five hundred miles from England, and that

CHAP. LXVIII.

1681.

on the King's demiſe the next heir ſhould be conſtituted regent with regal power: Yet even this expedient, which left the Duke only the bare title of King, could not, tho' ſeconded by Sir Thomas Lyttleton and Sir Thomas Mompeſſon, obtain the attention of the Houſe. The paſt diſappointments of the country party, and the oppoſition made by the court, had only rendered them more united, more haughty, and more determined. No other method but their own, of excluding the Duke, could give them any ſatisfaction.

Fitz-harris's caſe.

THERE was one Fitz-harris, an Iriſh Catholic, who had inſinuated himſelf into the dutcheſs of Portſmouth's acquaintance, and had been very buſy in conveying to her intelligence of any libel wrote by the country party, or of any deſigns entertained againſt her or againſt the court. For ſervices of this kind, and perhaps too, from a regard to his father, Sir Edward Fitz-harris, who had been an eminent royaliſt, he had received from the King a preſent of 250 pounds. This man met with one Everard, a Scotchman, a ſpy of the excluſioniſts, and an informer of the popiſh plot; and he propoſed to him to write a libel againſt the King, the Duke, and the whole adminiſtration. What Fitz-harris's intentions were, cannot well be aſcertained; it is probable, as he afterwards aſſerted, that he meant to carry this libel to his patron, the dutcheſs, and to make a merit of the diſcovery. Everard, who ſuſpected ſome other deſign, and who was pleaſed on his ſide to have the merit of a diſcovery with his patrons, reſolved to betray his friend: He poſted Sir William Waller, a noted juſtice of peace, and two perſons more behind the hangings, and gave them an opportunity of ſeeing and hearing the whole tranſaction. The libel, ſketched out by Fitz-harris, and executed partly by him, partly by Everard, was the moſt furious, indecent, and outrageous performance imaginable; and ſuch as was fitter to hurt than ſerve any party, which ſhould be ſo im-

imprudent as to adopt it. Waller carried the intelligence to the King, and obtained a warrant for committing Fitzharris, who happened, at that very time, to have a copy of the libel in his pocket. Finding himself now delivered over to the law, he resolved to pay court to the popular party, who were alone able to protect him, and by whom he observed almost all trials to be governed and directed. He said, that he had been employed by the court to write the libel, in order to throw the odium of it on the exclusionists: But this account, which was within the bounds of credibility, he disgraced by circumstances, which are altogether absurd and improbable. The intention of the ministers, he said, was to send about copies to all the heads of the country party; and the moment they received them, they were to be arrested, and a conspiracy to be imputed to them. That he might merit favour by still more important intelligence, he commenced a discoverer of the great popish plot; and he failed not to confirm all the tremendous circumstances, insisted on by his predecessors. He said, that the second Dutch war was entered into with a view of extirpating the protestant religion, both abroad and at home; that father Parry, a jesuit, on the disappointment by the peace, told him, that the Catholics resolved to destroy the King, and had even engaged the Queen in that design; that the envoy of Modena offered him 10,000 pounds to kill the King, and upon his refusal the envoy said, that the dutchess of Mazarine, who was as expert at poisoning as her sister, the countess of Soissons, would, with a little phial, execute that design; that upon the King's death the army in Flanders were to come over, and massacre the Protestants; that money was raised in Italy for recruits and supplies, and there should be no more Parliaments; and that the Duke was privy to this whole plan, and had even entered into the design of Godfrey's

CHAP. LXVIII.

1681.

murder, which was afterwards executed in the manner related by Prance.

THE popular leaders had, all along, been very desirous of having an accusation against the Duke; and tho' Oates and Bedloe, in their first intelligence, had not dared to go so far, both Dugdale and Dangerfield had afterwards been encouraged to supply so material a defect, by comprehending him in the conspiracy. The Commons, therefore, finding that Fitz-harris was also willing to serve this purpose, were not ashamed to adopt his evidence, and resolved for that end to save him from the destruction with which he was at present threatened. The King had removed him from the city-prison, where he was exposed to be tampered with by the exclusionists; had sent him to the Tower; and had ordered him to be prosecuted by an indictment at common law. In order to prevent his trial, and execution, an impeachment was voted by the Commons against him, and sent up to the Lords. That they might show the greater contempt of the Court, they ordered, by way of derision, that the impeachment should be carried up by secretary Jenkins; who was so provoked by the intended affront, that he at first refused obedience; tho' afterwards, being threatened with commitment, he was induced to comply. The Lords voted to remit the affair to the ordinary courts of judicature, before whom, as the attorney-general informed them, it was already determined to try Fitz-harris. The Commons maintained, that the Peers were obliged to receive every impeachment from the Commons; and this indeed seems to have been the first instance of their refusal: They therefore voted, that the Lords, in rejecting their impeachment, had denied justice, and had violated the constitution of Parliament. They also declared, that whatever inferior court should proceed against Fitz-harris, or any one that lay under im-

impeachment, would be guilty of a high breach of privilege. Great heats were likely to enſue; and as the King found no likelihood of any better temper in the Commons, he gladly laid hold of the opportunity, afforded by a quarrel between the two Houſes, and he proceeded to a diſſolution of the Parliament. The ſecret was ſo well kept, that the Commons had no intimation of it, till the black rod came to their door, and ſummoned them to attend the King at the Houſe of Peers.

Parliament diſſolved.

THIS vigorous meaſure, tho' it might have been foreſeen, excited ſuch aſtoniſhment in the country party, as deprived them of all ſpirit, and reduced them to abſolute deſpair. They were ſenſible, tho' too late, that the King had finally taken his reſolution, and was determined to endure any extremity rather than ſubmit to thoſe terms, which they had reſolved to impoſe upon him. They found, that he had patiently waited till affairs ſhould come to full maturity; and having now engaged a national party on his ſide, had boldly ſet his enemies at defiance. No Parliaments, they knew, would be ſummoned for ſome years; and during that long interval, the Court, tho' perhaps at the head of an inferior party, yet being poſſeſſed of all authority, would have every advantage over a body, diſperſed and diſunited. Theſe reflections crowded upon every one; and all the excluſioniſts were terrified, leſt Charles ſhould ſecond the blow by ſome action more violent, and immediately take vengeance on them for their long and obſtinate oppoſition to his meaſures. The King on his part was no leſs apprehenſive, leſt deſpair might engage them to have recourſe to force, and make ſome ſudden attempt upon his perſon. Both parties therefore hurried away from Oxford; and in an inſtant, that city, ſo crowded and buſy, was left in its uſual emptineſs and tranquillity.

THE court party gathered force from the diſperſion and aſtoniſhment of their antagoniſts, and adhered more firmly

CHAP. LXVIII.

murder, which was afterwards executed in the manner related by Prance.

1681. THE popular leaders had, all along, been very desirous of having an accuſation againſt the Duke; and tho' Oates and Bedloe, in their firſt intelligence, had not dared to go ſo far, both Dugdale and Dangerfield had afterwards been encouraged to ſupply ſo material a defect, by comprehending him in the conſpiracy. The Commons, therefore, finding that Fitz-harris was alſo willing to ſerve this purpoſe, were not aſhamed to adopt his evidence, and reſolved for that end to ſave him from the deſtruction with which he was at preſent threatened. The King had removed him from the city-priſon, where he was expoſed to be tampered with by the excluſioniſts; had ſent him to the Tower; and had ordered him to be proſecuted by an indictment at common law. In order to prevent his trial, and execution, an impeachment was voted by the Commons againſt him, and ſent up to the Lords. That they might ſhow the greater contempt of the Court, they ordered, by way of deriſion, that the impeachment ſhould be carried up by ſecretary Jenkins; who was ſo provoked by the intended affront, that he at firſt refuſed obedience; tho' afterwards, being threatened with commitment, he was induced to comply. The Lords voted to remit the affair to the ordinary courts of judicature, before whom, as the attorney-general informed them, it was already determined to try Fitz-harris. The Commons maintained, that the Peers were obliged to receive every impeachment from the Commons; and this indeed ſeems to have been the firſt inſtance of their refuſal: They therefore voted, that the Lords, in rejecting their impeachment, had denied juſtice, and had violated the conſtitution of Parliament. They alſo declared, that whatever inferior court ſhould proceed againſt Fitz-harris, or any one that lay under im-

impeachment, would be guilty of a high breach of privilege. Great heats were likely to enſue; and as the King found no likelihood of any better temper in the Commons, he gladly laid hold of the opportunity, afforded by a quarrel between the two Houſes, and he proceeded to a diſſolution of the Parliament. The ſecret was ſo well kept, that the Commons had no intimation of it, till the black rod came to their door, and ſummoned them to attend the King at the Houſe of Peers.

Parliament diſſolved.

THIS vigorous meaſure, tho' it might have been foreſeen, excited ſuch aſtoniſhment in the country party, as deprived them of all ſpirit, and reduced them to abſolute deſpair. They were ſenſible, tho' too late, that the King had finally taken his reſolution, and was determined to endure any extremity rather than ſubmit to thoſe terms, which they had reſolved to impoſe upon him. They found, that he had patiently waited till affairs ſhould come to full maturity; and having now engaged a national party on his ſide, had boldly ſet his enemies at defiance. No Parliaments, they knew, would be ſummoned for ſome years; and during that long interval, the Court, tho' perhaps at the head of an inferior party, yet being poſſeſſed of all authority, would have every advantage over a body, diſperſed and diſunited. Theſe reflections crowded upon every one; and all the excluſioniſts were terrified, leſt Charles ſhould ſecond the blow by ſome action more violent, and immediately take vengeance on them for their long and obſtinate oppoſition to his meaſures. The King on his part was no leſs apprehenſive, leſt deſpair might engage them to have recourſe to force, and make ſome ſudden attempt upon his perſon. Both parties therefore hurried away from Oxford; and in an inſtant, that city, ſo crowded and buſy, was left in its uſual emptineſs and tranquillity.

THE court party gathered force from the diſperſion and aſtoniſhment of their antagoniſts, and adhered more firmly

CHAP. LXVIII.

1681. Victory of the Royaliſts.

to the King, whoſe reſolutions, they now ſaw, could be entirely depended on. The violence of the excluſioniſts was every where exclaimed againſt and aggravated; and even the reality of the plot, that great engine of their authority, was openly called in queſtion. The clergy eſpecially were buſy in this great revolution; and being moved, partly by their own fears, partly by the inſinuations of the Court, they repreſented all their antagoniſts as Sectaries and Republicans, and rejoiced in eſcaping all thoſe perils, which they believed to have been hanging over them. Principles, the moſt oppoſite to civil liberty, were every where inforced from the pulpit; and adopted in numerous addreſſes; where the King was flattered in his preſent meaſures, and congratulated on his eſcape from Parliaments. Could words have been depended on, the nation appeared to be running faſt into voluntary ſervitude, and ſeemed even ambitious of reſigning into the King's hands all the privileges, tranſmitted to them, thro' ſo many ages, by their gallant anceſtors.

But Charles had ſagacity enough to diſtinguiſh between men's real internal ſentiments, and the language, which zeal and oppoſition to a contrary faction may ſometimes extort from them. Notwithſtanding all theſe profeſſions of duty and obedience, he was reſolved not to truſt, for a long time, the people with a new election, but to depend entirely on his own œconomy for alleviating thoſe neceſſities, under which he laboured. Great retrenchments were made in the houſhold: Even his favourite navy was neglected: Tangiers, tho' it had coſt great ſums of money, was a few years after abandoned and demoliſhed. The mole was entirely deſtroyed; and the garriſon, being brought over to England, ſerved to augment that ſmall army, which the King relied on, as one ſolid baſis of his authority. It had been happy for the nation, had Charles uſed his victory with juſtice and

1681.

and moderation equal to the prudence and dexterity, with which he obtained it.

THE first ſtep, taken by the court, was the trial of Fitz-harris. Doubts were raiſed by the jury with regard to their power of trying him, after the concluding vote of the Commons: But the judges took upon them to decide the queſtion in the affirmative; and the jury were obliged to proceed. The writing the libel was clearly proved upon Fitz-harris: The only queſtion was with regard to his intentions. He aſſerted, that he was a ſpy of the Court, and had accordingly carried the libel to the dutcheſs of Portſmouth; and he was deſirous, that the jury ſhould, in this tranſaction, conſider him as a cheat, not as a traitor. He failed however ſomewhat in the proof; and was brought in guilty of treaſon by the jury.

FINDING himſelf entirely in the hands of the King, he now retracted all his former impoſtures with regard to the popiſh plot, and even endeavoured to attone for them by new impoſtures againſt the country party. He affirmed, that theſe fictions had been extorted from him by the ſuggeſtions and artifices of Treby the recorder, and of Bethel and Corniſh, the two ſheriffs. This account he perſiſted in even at his execution; and tho' men knew, that nothing could be depended on, which came from one ſo corrupt, and ſo loſt to all ſenſe of honour; yet were they inclined, from his perſeverance, to rely ſomewhat more on his veracity in theſe laſt aſſeverations. But it appears that his wife had ſome connexions with Mrs. Wall, the favourite maid of the dutcheſs of Portſmouth; and Fitz-harris hoped, if he perſiſted in a ſtory agreeable to the Court, that ſome favour might on that account be ſhown to his family.

IT is amuſing to reflect on the ſeveral lights, in which this ſtory has been repreſented by the oppoſite factions. The country party affirmed, that Fitz-harris had been employed by the Court, in order to throw the odium of the

CHAP. LXVIII.

1681.

the libel on the excluſioniſts, and thereby give riſe to a proteſtant plot: The court party maintained, that the excluſioniſts had found out Fitz-harris, a ſpy of the miniſters, and had ſet him upon this undertaking, from an intention of loading the Court with the imputation of ſuch a deſign upon the excluſioniſts. Rather than acquit their antagoniſts, both ſides were willing to adopt an account the moſt intricate and incredible. It was a ſtrange ſituation, in which the people, at that time, were placed; to be every day tortured with theſe perplexed ſtories, and inflamed with ſuch dark ſuipicions againſt their fellow-citizens. This was no leſs than the fifteenth falſe plot, or ſham plot, as they were then called, with which the court, it was imagined, had endeavoured to load their adverſaries[i].

THE country party had intended to make uſe of Fitz-harris's evidence againſt the Duke and the Catholics; and his execution was therefore a great mortification to them. But the King and his miniſters were reſolved not to be contented with ſo ſlender an advantage. They were determined to proſecute the victory, and to employ againſt the excluſioniſts thoſe very offenſive arms, however unfair, which that party had laid up in ſtore againſt their antagoniſts. The whole gang of ſpies, witneſſes, informers, ſuborners, who had ſo long been ſupported and encouraged by the leading patriots, finding now that the King was entirely maſter, turned ſhort upon their old patrons, and offered their ſervice to the miniſters. To the diſgrace of the Court and of the age, they were received with hearty welcome; and their teſtimony or rather perjury made uſe of, in order to commit legal murder upon the oppoſite party. With an air of triumph and deriſion it was aſked, "Are not theſe men good witneſſes, "who have eſtabliſhed the popiſh plot, upon whoſe te- "ſtimony Stafford and ſo many Catholics have been ex-

[i] College's trial.

"ecuted,

1681.

"ecuted, and whom you yourſelves have ſo long cele-
"brated as men of credit and veracity? You have ad-
"mitted them into your boſom: They are beſt acquainted
"with your treaſons: They are determined in another
"ſhape to ſerve their King and country: And you can-
"not complain, that the ſame meaſure, which you meted
"to others, ſhould now, by a righteous doom or ven-
"geance, be meaſured out to you."

It is certain, that the principle of retaliation may ſerve in ſome caſes as a full apology, in others as an alleviation, for a conduct which would otherwiſe be expoſed to great blame. But theſe infamous arts, which poiſon juſtice in its very ſource, and break all the bands of human ſociety, are ſo deteſtable and dangerous, that no pretence of retalation can be pleaded as an apology or even an alleviation for the crime incurred by them. On the contrary, the greater indignation the King and his miniſters felt, when formely expoſed to the perjuries of abandoned men, the more reluctance ſhould they now have diſcovered againſt employing the ſame inſtruments of vengeance upon their antagoniſts.

The firſt perſon, on whom the miniſters fell, was one College, a London joiner, who had become extremely noted for his zeal againſt popery, and was very much connected with Shafteſbury and all the leaders of the country party: For as they relied much upon the populace, men of College's rank and ſtation were very uſeful to them. College had been in Oxford armed with ſword and piſtol during the ſitting of the Parliament; and this was made the foundation of his crime. It was pretended that a conſpiracy had been entered into to ſeize the King's perſon, and retain him in confinement, till he ſhould make the conceſſions demanded of him. The ſheriffs of London were in ſtrong oppoſition to the Court; and it was not ſtrange, that the grand jury named by them rejected the bill againſt College. The priſoner was therefore ſent to

Ox-

CHAP. LXVIII.

1681.

Oxford, where the treaſon was ſaid to have been committed. Lord Norris, a courtier, was ſheriff of the county; and the inhabitants were in general extremely devoted to the court party. A jury was named, conſiſting entirely of Royaliſts; and tho' they were men of credit and character, yet ſuch was the factious rage, which prevailed, that little juſtice could be expected by the priſoner. Some papers, containing hints and directions for his defence, were taken from him, as he was conducted to his trial: An iniquity, which ſome pretended to juſtify by alleging, that a like violence had been committed againſt a priſoner during the fury of the popiſh plot. Such wild notions of retaliation were at that time propagated by the court party.

THE witneſſes produced againſt College were Dugdale, Turberville, Haynes, Smith; men who had before given evidence againſt the Catholics, and whom the jury, for that very reaſon, regarded as the moſt perjured lyars. College, tho' beſet with ſo many toils, oppreſſed with ſo many iniquities, defended himſelf with ſpirit, courage, capacity, preſence of mind; and he invalidated the evidence of the Crown, by the moſt convincing arguments and the moſt undoubted teſtimony: Yet did the jury, after half an hour's deliberation, bring in a verdict againſt him. The inhuman ſpectators received the news with a ſhout of applauſe: But the priſoner was no wiſe diſmayed. At his execution, he maintained the ſame manly fortitude, and ſtill denied the crime imputed to him. His whole conduct and demeanour prove him to have been a man led aſtray only by the fury of the times, and to have been governed by a very honeſt, but indiſcreet zeal for his country and his religion.

THUS the two parties, actuated by mutual rage, but cooped up within the narrow limits of the law, levelled with poiſoned daggers the moſt deadly blows againſt each other's breaſt, and buried in their factious diviſions all regard to truth, honour, and morality.

CHAP. LXIX.

State of affairs in Ireland.——Shaftesbury acquitted.——Argyle's trial.——State of affairs in Scotland.——State of the miniſtry in England.——New nomination of ſheriffs.——Quo warrantos.——Great power of the Crown.——A conſpiracy.——Shaftesbury retires and dies.——Rye houſe plot.——Conſpiracy diſcovered.——Execution of the conſpirators.——Trial of lord Ruſſel.——His execution.——Trial of Algernon Sidney.——His execution.——State of the nation.——State of foreign affairs.——King's ſickneſs and death,——and character.

CHAP. LXIX.

1681. State of affairs in Ireland.

WHEN the Cabal entered into the myſterious alliance with France, they took care to remove the Duke of Ormond from the committee of foreign affairs; and nothing tended farther to encreaſe the national jealouſy, entertained againſt the new meaſures, than to ſee a man of ſo much loyalty, as well as probity, and honour, excluded from all their councils. They had even ſo great intereſt with the King as to get Ormond recalled from the government of Ireland; and lord Robarts, afterwards earl of Radnor, ſucceeded him in that important employment. Lord Berkly ſucceeded Robarts; and the earl of Eſſex, Berkely. At laſt in the year 1677, Charles caſt his eyes again upon Ormond, whom he had ſo long neglected; and ſent him over lieutenant to Ireland. "I have "done every thing," ſaid the King, "to diſoblige that "man; but it is not in my power to make him my ene-"my." Ormond, during his diſgrace, had never joined the malecontents, nor encouraged thoſe clamours, which,

CHAP. LXIX.

1681.

which, with too much reaſon, but often for bad purpoſes, were raiſed againſt the King's meaſures. He even thought it his duty, regularly, tho' with dignity, to pay his court at Whitehall; and to prove that his attachments were founded on gratitude, inclination, and principle, not on any temporary advantages. All the expreſſions, which dropped from him, while neglected by the Court, ſhowed more of good humour, than any prevalence of ſpleen and indignation. "I can do you no ſer-"vice," ſaid he to his friends, "I have only the power "left by my applications to do you ſome hurt." When colonel Cary Dillon ſollicited him to ſecond his pretenſions at Court, and urged that he had no friends but God and his grace. "Alas! poor Cary," replied the duke, "I pity thee; Thou couldſt not have two friends, that "poſſeſs leſs intereſt at Court. I am thrown by," ſaid he, on another occaſion, "like an old ruſty clock; yet "even that neglected machine twice in twenty-four "hours points right."

WHEN Charles found it his intereſt to ſhow favour to the old Royaliſts and to the church of England, Ormond, who was extremely revered by that whole party, could not fail of recovering, together with the government of Ireland, his former credit and authority. His adminiſtration, when lord lieutenant, was correſpondent to the general tenor of his life; and tended equally to promote the intereſt of Prince and people, of Proteſtant and Catholic. Ever firmly attached to the eſtabliſhed religion, he was able, even during theſe jealous times, to eſcape ſuſpicion, tho' he gratified not vulgar prejudices by any perſecution of the popiſh party. He encreaſed the revenue of Ireland to three hundred thouſand pounds a year: He maintained a regular army of ten thouſand men: He ſupported a well diſciplined militia of twenty thouſand: And tho' the act of ſettlement had ſo far been infringed, that Catholics were permitted to live in corporate towns, they

they were guarded with ſo careful an eye, that the moſt timorous Proteſtant never apprehended any danger from them.

THE chief object of Eſſex's ambition was to return to the ſtation of lord lieutenant, where he had behaved with honour and integrity: Shafteſbury and Buckingham bore an extreme hatred to Ormond, both from perſonal and party conſiderations: The great aim of the anti-courtiers was to throw reflections on every part of the King's government. It could be no ſurprize, therefore, to the lord lieutenant to learn, that his adminiſtration was attacked in Parliament, particularly by Shafteſbury; but he had the ſatisfaction, at the ſame time, to hear of the keen, tho' polite defence, made by his ſon, the generous Oſſory. After juſtifying ſeveral particulars of Ormond's adminiſtration againſt that intriguing patriot, Oſſory proceeded in the following words: "Having ſpoke of what the "lord lieutenant has done, I preſume with the ſame truth "to tell your lordſhips what he has not done. He never "adviſed the breaking of the triple league; he never ad-"viſed the ſhutting up of the Exchequer; he never "adviſed the declaration for a toleration; he never ad-"viſed the falling out with the Dutch and the joining "with France: He was not the author of that moſt ex-"cellent poſition *Delenda eſt Carthago*, that Holland, a "proteſtant country, ſhould, contrary to the true inte-"reſt of England, be totally deſtroyed. I beg, that "your lordſhips will be ſo juſt as to judge of my father "and all men, according to their actions and their coun-"cils." Theſe few ſentences, pronounced by a plain and gallant ſoldier, noted for probity, had a ſurprizing effect upon the audience, and confounded all the rhetoric of his eloquent and factious adverſary. The prince of Orange, who eſteemed the former character as much as he deſpiſed the latter, could not forbear congratulating by letter the earl of Oſſory on this new ſpecies of victory, which he had obtained.

OSSORY,

CHAP. LXIX.

1681.

Ossory, tho' he ever kept at a great distance from faction, was the most popular man in the kingdom; tho' he never made any compliance with the corrupt views of the Court, was extremely beloved and respected by the King. An universal grief appeared on his death, which happened about this time, and which the populace, as is usual wherever they are much affected, foolishly ascribed to poison. Ormond bore the loss with patience and dignity; tho' he ever retained a pleasing, however melancholy, sense of the signal merit of Ossory. "I "would not exchange my dead son," said he, "for any "living son in Christendom."

These particularities may appear a digression; but 'tis with pleasure, I own, that I relax myself for a moment in the contemplation of these humane and virtuous characters, amidst that scene of fury and faction, fraud and violence, in which at present our narration has unfortunately engaged us.

Besides the general interest of the country party to decry the conduct of all the King's ministers, the prudent and peaceable administration of Ormond was in a particular manner displeasing to them. In England, where the Catholics were scarce one to a hundred, means had been found to excite an universal panic, on account of insurrections and even massacres, projected by that sect; and it could not but seem strange that in Ireland, where they exceeded the Protestants ten to one, there should no symptoms appear of any combination or conspiracy. Such an incident, when duly considered, might even in England shake the credit of the plot, and diminish the authority of those leaders, who had so long, with such industry, inculcated the belief of it on the nation. Rewards therefore were published in Ireland to any that would bring intelligence or become witnesses; and some profligates were sent over to that kingdom, with a commission to seek out evidence against the Catholics.

Under

CHAP. LXIX. 1681.

Under pretence of searching for arms or papers, they broke into houſes, and plundered them: They threw innocent men into priſon, and took bribes for their releaſe: And after all their diligence, it was with difficulty, that that country, commonly fertile enough in witneſſes, could furniſh them with any fit for their purpoſe.

At laſt, a certain Fitzgerald appeared, followed by two Macnamaras, Ivey, Sanſon, Dennis, Bourke, and ſome others. Theſe men were immediately ſent over to England; and tho' they poſſeſſed neither character, ſufficient to gain belief even for truth, nor ſenſe to invent a credible falſhood, they were careſſed, rewarded, ſupported, and recommended by the earl of Shafteſbury. Oliver Plunket, the titular primate of Ireland, a man of very peaceable diſpoſitions, was condemned and executed upon ſuch teſtimony. And the Oxford-Parliament entered ſo far into the matter as to vote that they were entirely ſatisfied in the reality of the *horrid* and *damnable* Iriſh plot. But ſuch deciſions, tho' at firſt regarded as infallible, had now loſt much of their authority; and the public ſtill remained ſomewhat indifferent and incredulous.

After the diſſolution of the Parliament, and the ſubſequent victory of the Royaliſts, Shafteſbury's evidences, with Turberville, Smith, and others, addreſſed themſelves to the miniſters, and gave information of high treaſon againſt their former patron. It is ſufficiently ſcandalous, that intelligence, conveyed by ſuch men, ſhould have been attended to; but there is ſome reaſon to think, that the Court agents, nay the miniſters, nay the King himſelf[k], went farther, and were active in endeavouring, tho' in vain, to find more reputable perſons to ſupport the blaſted credit of the Iriſh witneſſes. Shafteſbury was committed to priſon, and his indictment was preſented to the grand jury. The new ſheriffs of Lon-

[k] See captain Wilkinſon's Narrative.

CHAP. LXIX.

1681.

don, Shute and Pilkington, were engaged as deeply as their predeceſſors in the country party; and they took care to name a jury extremely devoted to the ſame cauſe: A precaution quite requiſite, when it was ſcarce poſſible to find men indifferent or attached to neither party. As far as ſwearing could go, the treaſon was clearly proved againſt Shafteſbury; or rather ſo clearly as to merit no kind of credit or attention. That veteran leader of a party, enured from his early youth to faction and intrigue, to cabals and conſpiracies, was repreſented as opening without reſerve his treaſonable intentions to theſe obſcure banditti, and throwing out ſuch violent and outrageous reproaches upon the King, as none but men of low education, like themſelves, could be ſuppoſed to employ. The draught of an aſſociation, it is true, againſt popery and the Duke, was found in Shafteſbury's cabinet; and dangerous inferences might be drawn from many clauſes of that paper. But it did not appear that it had been framed by Shafteſbury, or ſo much as approved by him. And as projects of an aſſociation had been propoſed in Parliament, it was very natural for that nobleman to be thinking of ſome plan, which it might be proper to lay before that aſſembly. The grand jury, therefore, after weighing all theſe circumſtances, rejected the indictment; and the people, who attended the hall, teſtified their joy, by the loudeſt acclamations, which were echoed thro' the whole city.

Shafteſbury acquitted.

About this time a ſcheme of oppreſſion was laid in Scotland, after a manner ſtill more flagrant, againſt a nobleman much leſs obnoxious than Shafteſbury; and as that country was reduced almoſt to a ſtate of total ſubjection, the project had the fortune to ſucceed.

The earl of Argyle, from his youth, had diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his loyalty, and his attachment to the royal family. Tho' his father was head of the Covenanters, he

Argyle's trial

he refuſed to concur in any of their meaſures; and when a commiſſion of colonel was given him by the convention of ſtates, he forbore to act upon it, till it ſhould be ratified by the King. By his reſpectful behaviour, as well as by his ſervices, he made himſelf very acceptable to Charles, when that Prince was in Scotland; and even after the battle of Worceſter, all the misfortunes, which attended the royal cauſe, could not engage him to deſert it. Under Middleton he obſtinately perſevered to harraſs and infeſt the victorious Engliſh; and it was not till he received orders from that general, that he would ſubmit to accept of a capitulation. Such jealouſy of his loyal attachments was entertained by the Commonwealth and Protector, that a pretence was ſoon after fallen upon to commit him to priſon; and his confinement was rigorouſly continued till the reſtoration. The King, ſenſible of his ſervices, had remitted to him his father's forfeiture, and created him earl of Argyle; and when a moſt unjuſt ſentence was paſſed upon him by the Scots Parliament, Charles had anew remitted it. In the ſubſequent part of the reign, Argyle behaved himſelf dutifully; and tho' he ſeemed not diſpoſed to go all lengths with the Court, he always appeared, even in his oppoſition, a man of mild diſpoſitions and peaceable deportment.

CHAP. LXIX. 1681.

A PARLIAMENT was ſummoned at Edinburgh this ſummer, and the Duke was appointed commiſſioner. Beſides granting money to the king and voting the indefeaſible right of ſucceſſion, this Parliament enacted a teſt, which all perſons, poſſeſſed of offices, civil, military, or eccleſiaſtical, were bound to take. In this teſt, the King's ſupremacy was affirmed, the covenant renounced, paſſive obedience aſſented to, and all obligations diſclaimed of endeavouring any alterations in church or ſtate. This was the ſtate of the teſt, as propoſed by the courtiers: but the country party propoſed alſo a clauſe of adherence to the proteſtant religion, which could not

CHAP. LXIX.

1681.

with decency be refuſed. The whole was of an enormous length conſidered as an oath; and what was worſe, a confeſſion of faith was there ratified, which had been impoſed a little after the reformation, and which contained a great many articles, altogether forgot by the Parliament and nation. Among others, the doctrine of reſiſtance was inculcated; ſo that the teſt, being voted in a hurry, was found on examination to be a medley of contradiction and abſurdity. Several perſons, the moſt attached to the Crown, ſcrupled to take it. The biſhops and many of the clergy remonſtrated: The earl of Queenſbury refuſed to ſwear, except he might be allowed to add an explanation: And even the privy council thought it neceſſary to publiſh for general ſatisfaction a ſolution of ſome difficulties, attending the teſt.

Tho' the courtiers could not reject the clauſe of adherence to the proteſtant religion, they propoſed, as a requiſite mark of reſpect, that all Princes of the blood ſhould be exempted from taking that oath. This exception was zealouſly oppoſed by Argyle, who obſerved, that the ſole danger to be dreaded for the proteſtant religion muſt proceed from the perverſion of the royal family. By inſiſting on ſuch topics, he drew on himſelf the ſecret indignation of the Duke, of which he ſoon felt the fatal effects.

When Argyle took the teſt as a privy counſellor, he ſubjoined, in the Duke's preſence, an explanation, which he had beforehand communicated to that Prince, and which he believed to have been approved by him. It was in theſe words. "I have conſidered the teſt, and "am very deſirous of giving obedience as far as I can. I "am confident, that the Parliament never intended to "impoſe contradictory oaths: Therefore I think no "man can explain it but for himſelf. Accordingly, I "take it as far as it is conſiſtent with itſelf, and the proteſtant religion. And I do declare, that I mean not to

"bind

" bind up myſelf, in my ſtation, and in a lawful way, " from wiſhing and endeavouring any alteration, which " I think to the advantage of church or ſtate, and not " repugnant to the proteſtant religion and my loyalty: " And this I underſtand as a part of my oath." The Duke, as was natural, heard theſe words with great tranquillity: no one took the leaſt offence: Argyle was admitted to ſit that day in council: And it was impoſſible to imagine, that a capital offence had been committed, where occaſion ſeemed not to have been given, ſo much as for a frown or reprimand.

ARGYLE was much ſurprized, a few days after, to find that a warrant was iſſued for committing him to priſon; that he was indicted for high treaſon, leaſing-making and perjury; and that from theſe innocent words an accuſation was extracted, by which he was to forfeit honours, life, and fortune. It is needleſs to enter into particulars, where the iniquity of the whole is ſo apparent. Tho' the ſword of juſtice was diſplayed, even her ſemblance was not put on; and the forms alone of law were preſerved, in order to ſanctify, or rather aggravate the oppreſſion. Of five judges, three did not ſcruple to find the guilt of treaſon and leaſing-making to be incurred by the priſoner: A jury of fifteen noblemen gave verdict againſt him: And the King, being conſulted, ordered the ſentence to be pronounced; but the execution of it to be ſuſpended, till farther pleaſure.

IT was pretended by the Duke and his creatures, that Argyle's life and fortune were not in any danger, and that the ſole reaſon for puſhing the trial to ſuch extremities againſt him was in order to make him renounce ſome hereditary juriſdictions, which gave his family a dangerous authority in the Highlands, and checked the courſe of public juſtice. But allowing the end to be juſtifiable, the means were infamous; and ſuch as were incompatible, not only with a free, but a civilized government.

CHAP. LXIX.

1681.

Argyle had therefore no reaſon to truſt any longer to the juſtice or mercy of ſuch enemies: He made his eſcape from priſon; and till he ſhould find a ſhip for Holland, he concealed himſelf during ſome time in London. The King heard of his lurking-place, but would not allow him to be arreſted[1]. All the parts however of his ſentence, ſo far as the government in Scotland had power, were rigorouſly executed; his eſtate confiſcated, his arms reverſed and torne.

State of affairs in Scotland.

It would ſeem, that the genuine paſſion for liberty was at this time totally extinguiſhed in Scotland: There was only preſerved a ſpirit of mutiny and ſedition, encouraged by a miſtaken zeal for religion. Cameron and Cargil, two furious preachers, went a ſtep beyond all their brethren: They publickly excommunicated the King for his tyranny and his breach of the covenant, and renounced all allegiance to him. Cameron was killed by the troops in an action at Airs-Moſs; Cargil was taken and hanged. Many of their followers were tried and convicted. Their lives were offered them if they would ſay *God ſave the King*: But they would only agree to pray for his repentance. This obſtinacy was much inſiſted on as an apology for the rigors of the adminiſtration: But, if duly conſidered, it will rather afford reaſon for a contrary inference. Such unhappy deluſion is an object rather of commiſeration than of anger; And it is almoſt impoſſible, that men could have been carried to ſuch a degree of madneſs, unleſs provoked by a long train of violence and oppreſſion.

1682.

As the King was maſter in England, and no longer dreaded the clamours of the country party, he permitted the Duke to pay him a viſit; and was ſoon after prevailed on to allow of his return to England, and of his bearing a part in the adminiſtration. The Duke went to Scotland in order to bring up his family, and ſettle the go-

[1] Burnet, vol. i. p. 522.

vern-

CHAP. LXIX.

1682.

vernment of that country; and he choſe to take his paſſage by ſea. The ſhip ſtruck on a ſand-bank, and was loſt: The Duke eſcaped in the barge; and it is pretended, that, while many perſons of rank and quality were drowned, and among the reſt, Hyde, his brother-in-law, he was very careful to ſave ſeveral of his dogs and prieſts: For theſe two ſpecies of favourites are coupled together by ſome writers. It has likewiſe been aſſerted, that the barge might ſafely have held more perſons, and that ſome who ſwam to it were thruſt off, and even their hands cut in order to diſengage them. But every action of every eminent perſon, during this period, is ſo liable to be miſinterpreted and miſrepreſented by faction, that we ought to be very cautious of paſſing our judgment on too ſlight an evidence. It is remarkable, that the ſailors on board the ſhip, though they felt themſelves ſinking, and ſaw inevitable death before their eyes, yet ſo ſoon as they obſerved the Duke to be in ſafety, gave a loud ſhout, in teſtimony of their joy and ſatisfaction.

THE Duke, during his abode in Scotland, had behaved with great civility towards the gentry and nobility: and by his courtly demeanour had much won upon their affections: But his treatment of the enthuſiaſts was ſtill ſomewhat rigorous; and in many inſtances he appeared to be a man of a ſevere, if not an unrelenting temper. It is even aſſerted, that he uſually aſſiſted with his preſence at the torture of criminals, and looked on with tranquillity, as if he were conſidering ſome curious experiment [m]. He left the authority in the hands of the earl of Aberdeen, chancellor, and the earl of Queenſbury, treaſurer: A very arbitrary ſpirit appeared in their adminiſtration. A gentleman of the name of Weir was tried, becauſe he had kept company with one who had

[m] Burnet, vol. i. p. 583. Wodrow, vol. ii. p. 169. This laſt author, who is much the better authority, mentions only one inſtance, that of Spreul, which ſeems to have been an extraordinary one.

CHAP. LXIX.

1682.

been in the rebellion; though that perſon had never been marked out by proceſs or proclamation. The inferences upon which Weir was condemned (for a proſecution by the government and a condemnation were in Scotland the ſame thing) hung upon each other, after the following manner. No man, it was ſuppoſed, could have been in a rebellion, without being expoſed to ſuſpicion in the neighbourhood: If the neighbourhood had ſuſpected him, it was to be preſumed, that each individual had likewiſe heard of the grounds of ſuſpicion: Every man was bound to declare to the government his ſuſpicion againſt every man, and to avoid the company of traitors: To fail in this duty was to participate in the treaſon: The concluſion on the whole was, You have converſed with a rebel, therefore you are yourſelf a rebel. A reprieve was with ſome difficulty procured for Weir; but it was ſeriouſly determined to make uſe of the precedent. Courts of judicature were erected in the ſouthern and weſtern counties, and a ſtrict inquiſition carried on againſt this new ſpecies of crime. The term of three years was preſcribed for the continuance of theſe courts; after which an indemnity was promiſed. Whoever would take the teſt, was inſtantly entitled to the benefit of this indemnity. The Preſbyterians, alarmed with ſuch tyranny, from which no man could deem himſelf ſafe, began to think of leaving the country; and ſome of their agents were ſent to England, in order to treat with the proprietors of Carolina for a ſettlement in that colony. Any condition ſeemed preferable to the living in their native country, which, by the prevalence of perſecution and violence, was become as inſecure to them as a den of robbers.

ABOVE two thouſand perſons were out-lawed on pretence of their converſing or having intercourſe with rebels [n], and they were continually hunted in their retreats

[n] Wodrow, vol. ii. Appendix, 94.

by

CHAP. LXIX. 1682.

by ſoldiers, ſpies, informers, and oppreſſive magiſtrates. It was uſual to put enſnaring queſtions to people, living peaceably in their own houſes; ſuch as, "Will you renounce the Covenant? Do you eſteem the riſing at Bothwel to be rebellion? Was the killing the archbiſhop of St. Andrew's a murder?" And when the poor deluded creatures refuſed to anſwer, capital puniſhments were inflicted on them[o]. Even women were brought to the gibbet for this pretended crime. A number of fugitives, rendered frantic by oppreſſion, had publiſhed a ſeditious declaration; renouncing allegiance to Charles Stuart, whom they called, as they, for their parts, had indeed ſome reaſon to eſteem him, a tyrant. This incident afforded the privy council a pretence for a very unuſual kind of oppreſſion. Soldiers were diſperſed over the country, and power was given to all commiſſion officers, even the moſt inferior, to oblige every one whom they met with, to abjure the declaration; and upon refuſal, inſtantly, without farther queſtions, to ſhoot the delinquent[p]. It were endleſs, as well as ſhocking, to enumerate all the inſtances of perſecution, or, in other words, of abſurd tyranny, which at that time prevailed in Scotland. One of them however is ſo ſingular, that I cannot forbear relating it.

THREE women were ſeized[q]; and the cuſtomary oath was tendered to them, by which they were to abjure the ſeditious declaration above-mentioned. They all refuſed, and were condemned to a capital puniſhment by drowning. One of them was an elderly woman: The other two were very young; one eighteen years of age, the other only thirteen. Even theſe violent perſecutors were aſhamed to put the youngeſt to death: But the other two were conducted to the place of execution, and were tied to ſtakes within the ſea-mark at low water: A contrivance,

[o] Wodrow, vol. ii. paſſim. [p] Id. vol. ii. p. 434. [q] Id. vol. ii. p. 505.

which

CHAP. LXIX.

1682.

which rendered their death lingering and dreadful. The elderly woman was placed farthest in, and by the rising of the waters was first suffocated. The younger partly terrified with the view of her companion's death, partly subdued by the entreaty of her friends, was prevailed with to say *God save the King*. Immediately the spectators called out, that she had submitted; and she was loosened from the stake. Major Winram, the officer who guarded the execution, again required her to sign the abjuration; and upon her refusal, he ordered her instantly to be plunged in the water, where she was suffocated.

THE severity of the administration in Scotland is in part to be ascribed to the Duke's temper, to whom the King had consigned over the government of that country, and who gave such attention to affairs as to allow nothing of importance to escape him. Even the government of England from the same cause began somewhat to be infected with the same severity. The Duke's credit was very great at Court. Tho' neither so much beloved nor esteemed as the King, he was more dreaded; and thence an attendance more exact, as well as a submission more obsequious, was paid him. The saying of Waller was remarked, that Charles, in spite to the Parliament, who had determined, that the Duke should not succeed him, was resolved, that he should reign even in his lifetime.

State of the Ministry in England.

THE King however, who loved to maintain a ballance in his councils, still supported Halifax, whom he created a marquess, and made lord privy seal; tho' ever in opposition to the Duke. This man, who possessed the finest genius and most extensive capacity, of all employed in public affairs during the present reign, affected a species of neutrality between the parties, and was esteemed the head of that small body, known by the denomination of *Trimmers*. This conduct, which is much more natural to men of integrity than of ambition, could not how-

however procure him the former character; and he was always with reaſon, regarded as an intriguer rather than a patriot. Sunderland, who had promoted the excluſion-bill, and who had been diſplaced on that account, was again, with the Duke's conſent, brought into the adminiſtration. The extreme duplicity, at leaſt variableneſs, of this man's conduct thro' the whole courſe of his life, made it be ſuſpected, that it was by the King's direction he had mixed with the country party. Hyde, created earl of Rocheſter, was firſt commiſſioner of the treaſury, and was entirely in the Duke's intereſt. CHAP. LXIX. 1682.

THE King himſelf was obliged to act as the head of a party; a diſagreeable ſituation for a Prince, and always the ſource of much injuſtice and oppreſſion. He knew how obnoxious the diſſenters were to the church; and he reſolved, contrary to the maxims of toleration, which he had hitherto ſupported in England, to gratify his friends by the perſecution of his enemies. The laws againſt conventicles were now rigorouſly executed; an expedient, which, the King knew, would neither diminiſh the numbers nor influence of the Nonconformiſts; and which is therefore to be deemed more the reſult of paſſion than of policy. Scarce any perſecution ſerves the intended purpoſe but ſuch as amounts to a total extermination.

THO' the King's authority made every day great advances, it ſtill met with conſiderable obſtacles, chiefly from the city, which was entirely in the hands of the malecontents. The juries, in particular, named by the ſheriffs, were not likely to be impartial judges between the Crown, and the people, and after the experiments already made in the caſe of Shafteſbury and that of College, treaſon, it was apprehended, might there be committed with impunity. There could not therefore be a more important ſervice to the Court than to put affairs upon a different footing. Sir John Moor, lord mayor, was

New nomination of ſheriffs.

CHAP. LXIX.

1683.

which rendered their death lingering and dreadful. The elderly woman was placed fartheſt in, and by the riſing of the waters was firſt ſuffocated. The younger partly terrified with the view of her companion's death, partly ſubdued by the entreaty of her friends, was prevailed with to ſay *God ſave the King*. Immediately the ſpectators called out, that ſhe had ſubmitted; and ſhe was looſened from the ſtake. Major Winram, the officer who guarded the execution, again required her to ſign the abjuration; and upon her refuſal, he ordered her inſtantly to be plunged in the water, where ſhe was ſuffocated.

THE ſeverity of the adminiſtration in Scotland is in part to be aſcribed to the Duke's temper, to whom the King had conſigned over the government of that country, and who gave ſuch attention to affairs as to allow nothing of importance to eſcape him. Even the government of England from the ſame cauſe began ſomewhat to be infected with the ſame ſeverity. The Duke's credit was very great at Court. Tho' neither ſo much beloved nor eſteemed as the King, he was more dreaded; and thence an attendance more exact, as well as a ſubmiſſion more obſequious, was paid him. The ſaying of Waller was remarked, that Charles, in ſpite to the Parliament, who had determined, that the Duke ſhould not ſucceed him, was reſolved, that he ſhould reign even in his lifetime.

State of the Miniſtry in England.

THE King however, who loved to maintain a ballance in his councils, ſtill ſupported Halifax, whom he created a marqueſs, and made lord privy ſeal; tho' ever in oppoſition to the Duke. This man, who poſſeſſed the fineſt genius and moſt extenſive capacity, of all employed in public affairs during the preſent reign, affected a ſpecies of neutrality between the parties, and was eſteemed the head of that ſmall body, known by the denomination of *Trimmers*. This conduct, which is much more natural to men of integrity than of ambition, could not how-

however procure him the former character; and he was always with reaſon, regarded as an intriguer rather than a patriot. Sunderland, who had promoted the excluſion-bill, and who had been diſplaced on that account, was again, with the Duke's conſent, brought into the adminiſtration. The extreme duplicity, at leaſt variableneſs, of this man's conduct thro' the whole courſe of his life, made it be ſuſpected, that it was by the King's direction he had mixed with the country party. Hyde, created earl of Rocheſter, was firſt commiſſioner of the treaſury, and was entirely in the Duke's intereſt.

The King himſelf was obliged to act as the head of a party; a diſagreeable ſituation for a Prince, and always the ſource of much injuſtice and oppreſſion. He knew how obnoxious the diſſenters were to the church; and he reſolved, contrary to the maxims of toleration, which he had hitherto ſupported in England, to gratify his friends by the perſecution of his enemies. The laws againſt conventicles were now rigorouſly executed; an expedient, which, the King knew, would neither diminiſh the numbers nor influence of the Nonconformiſts; and which is therefore to be deemed more the reſult of paſſion than of policy. Scarce any perſecution ſerves the intended purpoſe but ſuch as amounts to a total extermination.

Tho' the King's authority made every day great advances, it ſtill met with conſiderable obſtacles, chiefly from the city, which was entirely in the hands of the malecontents. The juries, in particular, named by the ſheriffs, were not likely to be impartial judges between the Crown, and the people, and after the experiments already made in the caſe of Shafteſbury and that of College, treaſon, it was apprehended, might there be committed with impunity. There could not therefore be a more important ſervice to the Court than to put affairs upon a different footing. Sir John Moor, lord mayor, was

New nomination of ſheriffs.

CHAP. LXIX.

1682.

was gained by secretary Jenkins, and encouraged to insist upon the customary privilege of his office, of naming one of the sheriffs. Accordingly, when the time of election came, he drank to North, a Levant merchant, who accepted that expensive office. The country party said, that, being lately returned from Turkey, he was, on account of his recent experience, better qualified to serve the purposes of the Court. A poll was opened for the election of another sheriff; and here began the contest. The majority of the common-hall, headed by the two sheriffs of the former year, refused to acknowledge the mayor's right of nominating one sheriff, but insisted that both must be elected by the liveries. Papillon and Dubois were the persons whom the country party agreed to elect: Box was pointed out by the courtiers. Books were accordingly opened for the poll; but as the mayor would not allow the elections to proceed for two vacancies, the sheriffs and he separated, and each carried on the poll apart. The country party, who voted with the sheriffs for Papillon, and Dubois, were much more numerous than those who voted with the mayor for Box. But as the mayor insisted, that his books were the only legal ones, he declared Box to be duly elected. All difficulties however were not surmounted. Box, apprehensive of the consequences of so dubious an election, fined off; and the mayor found it requisite to proceed to a new election. When the matter was proposed to the common-hall, a loud cry was raised, No election! No election! The two sheriffs already elected, Papillon and Dubois, were insisted on as the only legal magistrates. But as the mayor still maintained, that Box alone had been legally chosen, and that it was now requisite to supply his place, he opened books anew, and during the tumult, and confusion of the citizens, a few of the mayor's partizans elected Rich, unknown to and unheeded by the rest of the liveries. North and Rich were

24th of June.

ac-

CHAP. LXIX.

accordingly ſworn ſheriffs for the enſuing year; but it was neceſſary to ſend a guard of the train bands to protect them in the entering upon their office. A new mayor of the court party was ſoon after choſen by means, as is pretended, much more violent and irregular.

1682. 25th of October.

THUS the country party were diſlodged from their ſtrong hold in the city; where, ever ſince the commencement of factions in the Engliſh government, they had, without interruption, almoſt without moleſtation, maintained a ſuperiority. It had been happy, had the partialities, hitherto objected to juries, been corrected, without giving place to partialites of an oppoſite kind: But in the preſent diſtracted ſtate of the nation, an equitable neutrality was almoſt impoſſible to be attained. The court and church party, who were now named on juries, made juſtice ſubſervient to their factious views; and the King had a proſpect of obtaining full revenge on his enemies. It was not long before the effects of theſe alterations were ſeen. When it was firſt reported, that the Duke intended to leave Scotland, Pilkington, at that time ſheriff, a very violent man, had broke out in theſe terms, "He has "already burned the city, and is he now coming to "cut all our throats?" For theſe ſcandalous expreſſions, the Duke ſued Pilkington; and enormous damages, to the amount of 100,000 pounds, were decreed him. By the law of England, ratified in the great charter, no fine ought to extend to the total ruin of a criminal. Sir Patience Ward, formerly mayor, who gave evidence for Pilkington, was ſued for perjury, and condemned to the pillory: A ſevere ſentence, and ſufficient to deter all witneſſes from appearing in favour of thoſe, who were proſecuted by the Court.

BUT tho' the crown had obtained ſo great a victory in the city, it was not quite deciſive; and the conteſt might be renewed every year at the election of magiſtrates. 1683.

An

CHAP. LXIX.

1683. Quo warrantos.

An important project therefore was formed, not only to make the King maſter of the city, but by that example to gain him the aſcendant in all the corporations of England, and thereby give the greateſt wound to the legal conſtitution, which the moſt powerful and moſt arbitrary Monarchs had ever yet been able to inflict. All the Royaliſts, tho' Engliſhmen, and even, to a certain degree, lovers of liberty, were yet induced, from enmity to the oppoſite faction, and from the deſire of ſuperiority, to concur in this violent meaſure. A writ of *quo warranto* was iſſued againſt the city; that is, an enquiry into the validity of their charter. It was pretended, that the city had forfeited all its privileges, and ought to be declared no longer a corporation, on account of two offences, which the court of aldermen and common council had committed. After the great fire in 1666, all the markets had been rebuilt, and had been fitted up with many conveniencies; and in order to defray the expence, the magiſtrates had impoſed a ſmall toll on ſuch as brought any goods to market. In the year 1679, they had addreſſed the King againſt the prorogation of Parliament, and had employed the following terms. "Your petitioners are greatly ſurprized at the late prorogation, "whereby the proſecution of the public juſtice of the "kingdom, and the making neceſſary proviſions for the "preſervation of your Majeſty and your proteſtant ſubjects, have received interruption." Theſe words were pretended to contain a ſcandalous reflection on the King and his meaſures. The cauſe of the city was defended againſt the attorney and ſollicitor generals, by Treby and Pollexfen.

THESE laſt pleaded, that, ſince the foundation of the Monarchy, no corporation had ever yet been forfeited, and the thing itſelf implied an abſurdity: That a corporation, as ſuch, was incapable of all crime or offence, and none was anſwerable for any iniquity but the perſons them-

themſelves, who committed it: That the members, in chooſing magiſtrates, had entruſted them only with legal powers; and where the magiſtrates had exceeded theſe powers, their acts were void, but could never involve the body itſelf in any criminal imputation: That ſuch had ever been the practice of England, except at the Reformation, when the monaſteries were forfeited; but this was an extraordinary caſe; and it was even thought neceſſary afterwards to ratify the whole tranſaction by act of Parliament: That corporate bodies, framed for public good, and calculated for perpetual duration, ought not to be annihilated for the temporary faults of their members, who might themſelves, without hurting the community, be queſtioned for their offences: That even a private eſtate, if entailed, could not be forfeited to the Crown, on account of treaſon, committed by the tenant for life; but upon his demiſe went to the next in remainder: That the offences, objected to the city, far from deſerving ſo ſevere a puniſhment, were not even worthy of the ſmalleſt reprehenſion: That all corporations were inveſted with the power of making bye-laws; and the ſmalleſt burrough in England had ever been allowed to carry the exerciſe of this power farther than London had done in the inſtance complained of: That the city, having, at their own expence, repaired the markets, which were built too on their own eſtates, might as lawfully claim a ſmall recompence from ſuch as brought commodities thither, as a man might require rent for a houſe, which he was poſſeſſed of: That thoſe who diſliked the condition, might abſtain from the market; and whoever paid, had done it voluntarily: That it was an avowed right of the ſubjects to petition; nor had the city in their addreſs abuſed this privilege: That the King himſelf had often declared, the Parliament often voted, the nation to be in danger from the popiſh plot; which, it is evident, could not be fully proſecuted but in a par-

CHAP. LXIX.

1683.

CHAP. LXIX.

1683.

liamentary manner: That the impeachment of the popiſh lords was certainly obſtructed by the frequent prorogations; as was alſo the enacting of neceſſary laws, and providing for the defence of the nation: That the loyalty of the city, no leſs than their regard to ſelf-preſervation, might prompt them to frame the petition; ſince it was acknowledged, that the King's life was every moment expoſed to the moſt imminent danger from the popiſh conſpiracy: That the city had not accuſed the King of obſtructing juſtice, much leſs of having any ſuch intention; ſince it was allowed, that evil counſellors were alone anſwerable for all the pernicious conſequences of any meaſure: And that it was unaccountable, that two public deeds, which had not, during ſo long a time, ſubjected to any, even the ſmalleſt penalty, the perſons guilty of them, ſhould now be puniſhed ſo ſeverely upon the corporation, which always was, and always muſt be innocent.

12th of June.

It is evident, that thoſe who would apologize for the meaſures of the court, muſt, in this caſe, found their arguments, not on law, but reaſons of ſtate. The judges, therefore, who condemned the city, are totally inexcuſable; ſince the ſole juſtifiable object of their determinations muſt ever be the pure principles of juſtice and equity. But the place of judge was at that time held during pleaſure; and it was impoſſible, that any cauſe, where the Court bent its force, could ever be carried againſt it. After ſentence was pronounced, the city applied in a very humble manner to the King; and he agreed to reſtore their charter, but in return they were obliged to ſubmit to the following regulations: That no lord mayor, ſheriff, recorder, common ſerjeant, town clerk, or coroner ſhould be admitted to the exerciſe of his office without his Majeſty's approbation: That if the King diſapprove twice of the mayor or ſheriffs elected, he may by commiſſion appoint theſe magiſtrates: That

the

CHAP. LXIX.

1683.

the lord mayor and court of aldermen may, with his Majeſty's leave, diſplace any magiſtrate: And that no alderman, in caſe of a vacancy, ſhall be elected without conſent of the court of aldermen, who, if they diſapprove twice of the choice, may fill the vacancy.

Great power of the Crown.

ALL the corporations in England, having the example of London before their eyes, ſaw how vain it would prove to ſtruggle with the Court, and were, moſt of them, ſucceſſively induced to ſurrender their charters into the King's hands. Conſiderable ſums were exacted for reſtoring the charters; and all the offices of power and profit were left at the diſpoſal of the Crown. Thoſe who judge of the actions of princes by the rules of policy alone, could excuſe thoſe meaſures of the King, by which he much extended his authority, and acquired a great aſcendant in every burrough and corporation. But it ſeems ſtrange, that the independant royaliſts, who never meant to make the Crown abſolute, ſhould yet be ſo elated with the victory obtained over their adverſaries, as to approve of a precedent, which left no national privileges in ſecurity, but enabled the King, under like pretences, and by means of like inſtruments, to recall anew all thoſe charters, which at preſent he was pleaſed to grant. And every friend to liberty muſt allow, that the nation, whoſe conſtitution was thus ſhattered in the ſhock of faction, had a right, by every prudent expedient, to recover that ſecurity, of which it was ſo unhappily bereaved.

WHILE ſo great a faction adhered to the Crown, it is apparent, that reſiſtance, however juſtifiable, could never be prudent; and all wiſe men ſaw no other expedient but peaceably to ſubmit to the preſent grievances. There was however a party of malecontents, ſo turbulent in their diſpoſition, that even before this laſt iniquity, which laid the whole conſtitution at the mercy of the King, they had meditated plans of reſiſtance; at a time when

CHAP. LXIX.

1683. A conſpiracy.

it could be as little juſtifiable as prudent. In the ſpring 1681[r], a little before the Oxford Parliament, the King was ſeized with a fit of ſickneſs at Windſor, which gave great alarm to the public. The Duke of Monmouth, lord Ruſſel, lord Grey, inſtigated by the reſtleſs Shafteſbury, had agreed, in caſe the King's ſickneſs ſhould prove mortal, to riſe in arms and oppoſe the ſucceſſion of the Duke. Charles recovered; but theſe dangerous projects were not laid aſide. The ſame conſpirators, together with Eſſex and Saliſbury, were determined to continue the Oxford Parliament, after the King, as was daily expected, ſhould diſſolve it; and they engaged ſome leaders among the Commons in the ſame deſperate meaſure. They went ſo far as to detain ſeveral lords in the Houſe, under pretence of ſigning a proteſtation againſt rejecting Fitz-harris's impeachment: But hearing that the Commons had broke up in great conſternation, they were likewiſe obliged at laſt to ſeparate. Shafteſbury's impriſonment and trial put an end for ſome time to theſe machinations; and it was not till the new ſheriffs were impoſed on the city that they were revived. The leaders of the country party began then to apprehend themſelves in imminent danger; and they were well pleaſed to find, that the citizens were ſtruck with the ſame terror, and were thence inclined to undertake the moſt perilous enterprizes. Beſides the city, applications were made to the gentry and nobility in ſeveral counties of England to riſe in arms. Monmouth engaged the earl of Macclesfield, lord Brandon, Sir Gilbert Gerrard, and other gentlemen in Cheſhire: Lord Ruſſel fixed a correſpon-

[r] Lord Grey's ſecret hiſtory of the Rye-houſe plot. This is the moſt full and authentic account of all theſe tranſactions; but is in the main confirmed by biſhop Sprat, and even Burnet, as well as by the trials and dying confeſſions of the conſpirators: So that nothing can be more unaccountable than that any one ſhould pretend, that this conſpiracy was an impoſture like the popiſh plot. Monmouth's declaration publiſhed in the next reign, confeſſes a conſult for extraordinary remedies.

dence

dence with Sir William Courtney, Sir Francis Rowles, Sir Francis Drake, who promiſed to raiſe the Weſt; and Trenchard in particular, who had great intereſt in the diſaffected town of Taunton, aſſured him of conſiderable aſſiſtance from that neighbourhood. Shafteſbury and his emiſſary, Ferguſon, an independant clergyman and a reſtleſs plotter, managed the correſpondence in the city, upon which the confederates chiefly relied. The whole train was ready to take fire; but was prevented by the caution of lord Ruſſel, who induced Monmouth to delay the enterprize. Shafteſbury in the mean time was ſo affected with the ſenſe of his danger, that he had left his houſe, and ſecretly lurked in the city; meditating all thoſe deſperate ſchemes, which diſappointed revenge and ambition could dictate. He exclaimed loudly againſt delay, and repreſented to his confederates, that having gone ſo far, and entruſted the ſecret into ſo many hands, there was no ſafety for them but in a bold and deſperate proſecution of their purpoſe. The projects were therefore renewed: Meetings of the conſpirators were appointed in different houſes, particulary in Shephard's an eminent wine-merchant in the city: A plan of the inſurrection was laid in London, Cheſhire, Devonſhire, and Briſtol: The ſeveral places of rendezvous in the city were concerted: and the whole operations fixed: The ſtate of the guards was even viewed by Monmouth and Armſtrong, and an attack on them pronounced very practicable: A declaration to juſtify the enterprize to the public was read and agreed to: And every circumſtance ſeemed now to render an inſurrection unavoidable; when a new delay was procured by Trenchard, who declared, that the riſing in the Weſt could not for ſome weeks be in ſufficient forwardneſs.

SHAFTESBURY was enraged at theſe perpetual cautions and delays in an enterprize, which, he thought, nothing but courage and celerity could render effectual: He threat-

CHAP. LXIX.

1683.

ened to commence the insurrection with his friends in the city alone; and he boasted, that he had ten thousand *brisk boys*, as he called them, who, on a motion of his finger, were ready to fly to arms. Monmouth, Russel, and the other conspirators, were, during some time, in apprehensions, lest despair should push him into some dangerous measure; when they heard, that, after a long struggle between fear and rage, he had at last abandoned all hopes of success, and had retired into Holland. He lived in a private manner at Amsterdam; and for greater security desired to be admitted into the magistracy of that city: But his former violent councils against the Dutch commonwealth were remembered, and all applications from him were rejected. He died soon after; and his end gave neither sorrow to his friends, nor joy to his enemies. His furious temper, notwithstanding his capacity, had done great injury to the cause, in which he was engaged. The violences and iniquities, which he suggested and encouraged, were greater than even faction itself could endure; and men could not forbear sometimes remembering, that the same person, who was become so zealous a patriot, was once a most prostitute courtier. It is remarkable, that this man, whose principles and conduct were, in all other respects, so exceptionable, proved an excellent chancellor; and that all his decrees, while he possessed that eminent office, were equally remarkable for justness and for integrity. So difficult it is to find in history a character either wholly bad or perfectly good; tho' the prejudices of party make writers run frequently into the extremes both of panegyric and of satire!

Shaftesbury retires and dies.

AFTER Shaftesbury's departure, the conspirators found some difficulty in renewing the correspondence with the city malecontents, who had been accustomed to depend solely on that nobleman. Their common views, however, as well as common apprehensions, made them at last

CHAP. LXIX.

1683.

laſt have recourſe to each other; and a regular project of an inſurrection was again formed. A council of ſix was erected, conſiſting of Monmouth, Ruſſel, Eſſex, Howard, Algernon Sidney, and John Hambden, grandſon to the great parliamentary leader. Theſe men entered into an agreement with Argyle and the Scots malecontents, who engaged, that, upon the payment of 10,000 pounds for the purchaſe of arms in Holland, they would bring the Covenanters into the field. Inſurrections likewiſe were anew projected in Cheſhire and the Weſt, as well as in the city; and ſome meetings of the leaders were held, in order to reduce theſe projects into form. The conſpirators differed extremely in their views. Sidney was paſſionate for a commonwealth. Eſſex had embraced the ſame project. But Monmouth had entertained hopes of acquiring the Crown for himſelf. Ruſſel, as well as Hambden, was much attached to the antient conſtitution, and propoſed only the excluſion of the Duke and the redreſs of grievances. Lord Howard was a man of abandoned principles, and was ready to embrace any party, which his immediate intereſt ſhould recommend to him. But notwithſtanding this difference of characters and of views, their common hatred of the Duke and the preſent adminiſtration united them into one party; and the dangerous experiment of an inſurrection was fully reſolved on.

Rye-houſe plot.

WHILE theſe ſchemes were concerting among the leaders, there was an inferior order of conſpirators, who frequently met together, and with the inſurrection, carried on projects quite unknown to Monmouth, and the cabal of ſix. Among theſe men were colonel Rumſey, an old republican officer, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in Portugal, and had been recommended to the King by Mareſchal Schomberg; lieutenant colonel Walcot, likewiſe a republican officer; Goodenough, under ſheriff of London, a zealous and noted

CHAP. LXIX.

1683.

ened to commence the insurrection with his friends in the city alone; and he boasted, that he had ten thousand *brisk boys*, as he called them, who, on a motion of his finger, were ready to fly to arms. Monmouth, Russel, and the other conspirators, were, during some time, in apprehensions, lest despair should push him into some dangerous measure; when they heard, that, after a long struggle between fear and rage, he had at last abandoned all hopes of success, and had retired into Holland. He lived in a private manner at Amsterdam; and for greater security desired to be admitted into the magistracy of that city: But his former violent councils against the Dutch commonwealth were remembered, and all applications from him were rejected. He died soon after; and his end gave neither sorrow to his friends, nor joy to his enemies. His furious temper, notwithstanding his capacity, had done great injury to the cause, in which he was engaged. The violences and iniquities, which he suggested and encouraged, were greater than even faction itself could endure; and men could not forbear sometimes remembering, that the same person, who was become so zealous a patriot, was once a most prostitute courtier. It is remarkable, that this man, whose principles and conduct were, in all other respects, so exceptionable, proved an excellent chancellor; and that all his decrees, while he possessed that eminent office, were equally remarkable for justness and for integrity. So difficult it is to find in history a character either wholly bad or perfectly good; tho' the prejudices of party make writers run frequently into the extremes both of panegyric and of satire!

Shaftesbury retires and dies.

After Shaftesbury's departure, the conspirators found some difficulty in renewing the correspondence with the city malecontents, who had been accustomed to depend solely on that nobleman. Their common views, however, as well as common apprehensions, made them at last

CHAP. LXIX.

1683.

laſt have recourſe to each other; and a regular project of an inſurrection was again formed. A council of ſix was erected, conſiſting of Monmouth, Ruſſel, Eſſex, Howard, Algernon Sidney, and John Hambden, grandſon to the great parliamentary leader. Theſe men entered into an agreement with Argyle and the Scots malecontents, who engaged, that, upon the payment of 10,000 pounds for the purchaſe of arms in Holland, they would bring the Covenanters into the field. Inſurrections likewiſe were anew projected in Cheſhire and the Weſt, as well as in the city; and ſome meetings of the leaders were held, in order to reduce theſe projects into form. The conſpirators differed extremely in their views. Sidney was paſſionate for a commonwealth. Eſſex had embraced the ſame project. But Monmouth had entertained hopes of acquiring the Crown for himſelf. Ruſſel, as well as Hambden, was much attached to the antient conſtitution, and propoſed only the excluſion of the Duke and the redreſs of grievances. Lord Howard was a man of abandoned principles, and was ready to embrace any party, which his immediate intereſt ſhould recommend to him. But notwithſtanding this difference of characters and of views, their common hatred of the Duke and the preſent adminiſtration united them into one party; and the dangerous experiment of an inſurrection was fully reſolved on.

Rye-houſe plot.

WHILE theſe ſchemes were concerting among the leaders, there was an inferior order of conſpirators, who frequently met together, and with the inſurrection, carried on projects quite unknown to Monmouth, and the cabal of ſix. Among theſe men were colonel Rumſey, an old republican officer, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in Portugal, and had been recommended to the King by Mareſchal Schomberg; lieutenant colonel Walcot, likewiſe a republican officer; Goodenough, under ſheriff of London, a zealous and noted

CHAP. LXIX.

1683.

party-man; Weſt, Tyley, Norton, Ayloffe, lawyers; Ferguſon, Rouſe, Hone, Keiling, Holloway, Bourne, Lee, Rumbald. Moſt of theſe laſt were merchants or tradeſmen; and the only perſons of this confederacy, who had acceſs to the leaders of the party, were Rumſey and Ferguſon. When theſe men were met together in their cabals, they indulged themſelves in the moſt deſperate and moſt criminal diſcourſe: They frequently mentioned the aſſaſſination of the King and the Duke, to which they had given the familiar appellation of *lopping*: They even went ſo far as to have thought of a ſcheme for that purpoſe. Rumbald, who was a malſter, poſſeſſed a farm, called the Rye-houſe, which lay on the way to Newmarket, whither the King commonly went once a year, for the diverſion of the races. A plan of this farm had been laid before ſome of the conſpirators by Rumbald, who ſhowed them how eaſy it would be, by over-turning a cart, to ſtop at that place the King's coach; while they might fire upon him from the hedges, and be eaſily enabled afterwards, thro' bye lanes and croſs the fields, to make their eſcape. But tho' the plauſibility of this ſcheme gave great pleaſure to the conſpirators, no concerted deſign was as yet laid, nor any men, horſes, or arms provided: The whole was little more than looſe diſcourſe, the over-flowings of their zeal and rancour. The houſe in which the King lived at Newmarket, took fire accidentally; and he was obliged to leave that place eight days ſooner than he intended. To this circumſtance his ſafety was afterwards aſcribed, when the conſpiracy was diſcovered; and the court party could not ſufficiently admire the wiſe diſpenſations of Providence. It is indeed certain, that as the King had thus unexpectedly left Newmarket, he was much worſe attended than uſual; and Rumbald informed his confederates with regret what a fine opportunity was thus unfortunately loſt.

AMONG

CHAP. LXIX.

1683. Conſpiracy diſcovered.

AMONG the conſpirators I have mentioned Keiling, a ſalter in London. This man had been engaged in a very bold meaſure, of arreſting the mayor of London, at the ſuit of Papillon and Dubois, the outed ſheriffs; and being liable to proſecution for that action, he thought it ſafeſt to purchaſe a pardon, by revealing the conſpiracy, in which he was deeply concerned. He brought to ſecretary Jenkins intelligence of the aſſaſſination plot; but as he was a ſingle evidence, the ſecretary, whom many falſe plots had probably rendered incredulous, ſcrupled to iſſue warrants for the commitment of ſo great a number of perſons. Keiling therefore, in order to fortify his teſtimony, engaged his brother in treaſonable diſcourſe with Goodenough, one of the conſpirators; and Jenkins began now to give more attention to the intelligence. The conſpirators had got ſome hint of the danger, in which they were involved; and all of them concealed themſelves. One perſon alone, of the name of Barber, an inſtrument-maker, was ſeized; and as his confeſſion concurred in many particulars with Keiling's information, the affair ſeemed to be put out of all queſtion; and a more diligent ſearch was every where made after the conſpirators. 12th of June.

WEST, the lawyer, and colonel Rumſey, finding the perils to which they were expoſed in endeavouring to eſcape, reſolved to ſave their own lives at the expence of their companions; and accordingly ſurrendered themſelves with an intention of becoming evidence. Weſt could do little more than confirm the teſtimony of Keiling with regard to the aſſaſſination plot; but Rumſey, beſides additional confirmation of the ſame deſign, was at laſt, tho' with much difficulty, led to give an account of the meetings at Shephard's. Shephard was immediately apprehended; and had not courage to maintain fidelity to his confederates. Upon his information, orders were iſſued for arreſting the great men engaged in

CHAP. LXIX.

1683.

the conſpiracy. Monmouth abſconded: Ruſſel was ſent to the Tower: Gray was arreſted but eſcaped from the meſſenger: Howard was taken, while he concealed himſelf in a chimney; and being a man of moſt profligate morals, as well as indigent circumſtances, he ſcrupled not, in hopes of a pardon, to reveal the whole conſpiracy. Eſſex, Sidney, Hambden were immediately apprehended upon his evidence. Every day ſome of the conſpirators were detected in their lurking-places, and thrown into priſon.

Execution of the conſpirators.

LIEUTENANT COLONEL WALCOT was firſt brought to his trial. This man, who was once noted for bravery, had been ſo far overcome by the love of life, that he had wrote to ſecretary Jenkins, and had offered upon promiſe of pardon to turn evidence: But no ſooner had he taken this mean ſtep, than he felt more generous ſentiments ariſe in him; and he endeavoured, tho' in vain, to conceal himſelf. The witneſſes againſt him were Rumſey, Weſt, Shephard, together with one Bourne, a brewer. His own letter to the ſecretary was produced, and rendered the teſtimony of the witneſſes unqueſtionable. Hone and Rouſe were alſo condemned to die. Theſe two men, as well as Walcot, at their execution, acknowleged the juſtice of the ſentence; and from their trial and confeſſion it is ſufficiently apparent, that the plan of an inſurrection had been regularly formed; and that even the aſſaſſination had been often talked of, and not without the approbation of many of the conſpirators.

Trial of lord Ruſſel.

THE condemnation of theſe criminals was probably intended as a preparative to the trial of lord Ruſſel, and ſerved to impreſs the public with a thorow belief of the conſpiracy, as well as a horror againſt it. The witneſſes produced againſt the noble priſoner were Rumſey, Shepard, and lord Howard. Rumſey ſwore, that he himſelf had been introduced to the cabal at Shephard's, where Ruſſel

Ruſſel was preſent; and had delivered them a meſſage from Shafteſbury, urging them to haſten the intended inſurrection: But had received for anſwer, that it was found neceſſary to delay the deſign, and that Shafteſbury muſt therefore, for ſome time, reſt contented. This anſwer, he ſaid, was delivered by Ferguſon, but was aſſented to by the priſoner. He added, that ſome diſcourſe had been entered into about taking a ſurvey of the guards; and he thought, that Monmouth, Gray and Armſtrong undertook to view them. Shephard ſwore, that his houſe had been beforehand beſpoke by Ferguſon for the ſecret meeting of the conſpirators, and that he had been careful to keep all his ſervants from approaching them, and had ſerved them himſelf. Their diſcourſe, he ſaid, ran chiefly upon the means of ſurprizing the guards; and it was agreed that Monmouth and his two friends ſhould take a ſurvey of them. The report, which they brought next meeting, was, that the guards were remiſs, and that the deſign was very practicable: But he did not affirm, that any reſolution was taken of executing it. The priſoner, he thought, was preſent at both theſe meetings; but he was ſure, that at leaſt he was preſent at one of them. A declaration, he added, had been read by Ferguſon in Ruſſel's preſence: The reaſons of the intended inſurrection were there ſet forth, and all the public grievances fully diſplayed.

Lord Howard had been one of the cabal of ſix after Shafteſbury's flight; and two meetings had been held of the conſpirators, one at Hambden's, another at Ruſſel's. Howard ſwore, that, at the firſt meeting, it was agreed to begin the inſurrection in the country before the city; the places were fixed, the proper quantity and kind of arms agreed on, and the whole plan of operations concerted: That at the ſecond meeting, the converſation turned chiefly upon their correſpondence with Argyle and the diſcontented Scots, and that the principal management

CHAP. LXIX.

1683.

of that affair was intruſted to Sidney, who had ſent one Aaron Smith into Scotland with proper inſtructions. He added, that in theſe conſults no queſtion was put nor votes collected: but there was no contradiction, and, as he took it, all of them, and the priſoner among the reſt, gave their conſent.

RUMSEY and Shephard were very unwilling witneſſes againſt lord Ruſſel; and it appears from Gray's Secret Hiſtory[s], that, if they had pleaſed, they could have given a more explicite teſtimony againſt him. This reluctance, together with the difficulty of recollecting circumſtances in a converſation, which had paſſed above eight months before, and which the perſons had not at that time any intention to diſcover, may beget ſome ſlight objection to their evidence. But on the whole, it was undoubtedly proved, that the inſurrection had been deliberated on by the priſoner, and fully reſolved; the ſurpriſal of the guards deliberated on, but not fully reſolved; and that an aſſaſſination had never once been mentioned or imagined by him. So far the matter of fact ſeems certain: But ſtill, with regard to law, there remained a difficulty, and that of a very important nature.

THE Engliſh laws of treaſon, both in the manner of defining that crime and in the proof required, are the mildeſt and moſt indulgent, and conſequently the moſt equitable, that are any where to be found. The two chief ſpecies of treaſon, contained in the law of Edward the third, are the compaſſing and intending the King's death, and the actual levying war againſt him; and by the law of Mary the crime muſt be proved by the concurring teſtimony of two witneſſes, to ſome overt act, tending to theſe purpoſes. But the lawyers, partly deſirous of paying court to the Sovereign, partly convinced of ill conſequences,

[s] Page 43.

which

1683.

which might attend ſuch narrow limitations, had introduced a greater latitude, both in the proof and definition of the crime. It was not required, that the two witneſſes ſhould teſtify the ſame preciſe overt act: It was ſufficient, that they both teſtified ſome overt act of the ſame treaſon; and tho' this evaſion may ſeem a ſubtilty, it had long prevailed in the courts of judicature, and had at laſt been ſolemnly fixed by parliament at the trial of lord Stafford. The lawyers had uſed the ſame freedom, tho' perhaps after a more exceptionable manner, with the law of Edward the third. They had obſerved, that, by that famous ſtatute, if a man ſhould enter into a conſpiracy for a rebellion, ſhould even fix a correſpondence with foreign powers for that purpoſe, ſhould provide arms and money, yet, if he was detected and no rebellion enſued, he could not be tried for treaſon. To prevent this inconvenience, which it had been better to remedy by a new law, they had commonly laid their indictment for intending the death of the King, and had produced the intention of a rebellion as a proof of that other intention. But tho' this form of indictment and trial was very frequent, and many criminals had received ſentence upon it, it was conſidered as irregular, and was plainly confounding, by a ſophiſm, two ſpecies of treaſon, which the ſtatute had moſt accurately diſtinguiſhed. What made this refinement ſtill more inexcuſable; a law had paſſed ſoon after the reſtoration, where the conſulting or intending a rebellion, was, during Charles's life-time, declared treaſon; and it was required that the proſecution ſhould be made within ſix months after the crime was committed. But notwithſtanding this ſtatute, the lawyers had perſevered, as they ſtill do perſevere, in the old form of indictment; and both Sir Harry Vane and Oliver Plunket, titular primate of Ireland, had been tried by it. Such was the general horror, entertained againſt the old republicans, and the popiſh conſpirators, that

CHAP. LXIX. 1683.

that no-one had murmured againſt this interpretation of the ſtatute; and the lawyers thought, that they might follow the precedent even in the caſe of the popular and beloved lord Ruſſel. Ruſſel's crime fell plainly under the ſtatute of Charles the 2d; but the facts ſworne to by Rumſey and Shepard were without the ſix months required by law, and to the other facts Howard was a ſingle witneſs. To make the indictment, therefore, more extenſive, the intention of murdering the King was comprehended in it; and for proof of this intention the conſpiracy for raiſing a rebellion was aſſigned; and what ſeemed to bring the matter ſtill nearer, the deſign of attacking the King's guards.

RUSSEL perceived this irregularity, and deſired to have the point argued by council: The chief juſtice told him, that that privilege could not be granted, unleſs he previouſly confeſſed the facts charged upon him. The artificial confounding the two ſpecies of treaſon, tho' a practice ſupported by many precedents, is the chief, but not the only hardſhip, of which Ruſſel had reaſon to complain on his trial. His defence was very feeble; and he contented himſelf with proteſting, that he never had entertained any deſign againſt the King's life: His candour would not allow him to deny the conſpiracy for an inſurrection. The jury were men of fair and irreproachable characters, but zealous Royaliſts: After a ſhort deliberation, they brought in the priſoner guilty.

APPLICATIONS were made to the King for a pardon; Even money, to the amount of an hundred thouſand pounds, was offered to the dutcheſs of Portſmouth by the old earl of Bedford, father to Ruſſel. The King was inexorable. He had been extremely harraſſed with the violence of the country party, and he had obſerved, that the priſoner, beſides his ſecret deſigns, had always been carried to the higheſt extremity of oppoſition in Parliament. He had even adopted a ſentiment, ſimilar to what

what we meet with in a letter of the younger Brutus. Had his father, he ſaid, adviſed the King to reject the excluſion-bill, he would be the firſt to move for a parliamentary impeachment againſt him. When ſuch determined reſolution was obſerved, his popularity, his humanity, his juſtice, his very virtues became ſo many crimes, and were uſed as arguments againſt ſparing him. Charles therefore would go no farther than remit the more ignominious part of the ſentence, which the law requires to be pronounced againſt traitors. "My lord Ruſſel," ſaid he, "ſhall find, that I am poſſeſſed of that prero-"gative, which, in the caſe of lord Stafford, he thought "fit to deny me." As the fury of the country party had rendered it impoſſible for the King, without the moſt imminent danger of his throne, to pardon ſo many Catholics, whom he firmly believed to be innocent, and even affectionate and loyal to him; he probably thought, that, ſince the edge of the law was now ready to fall upon that party themſelves, they could not reaſonably expect, that he would interpoſe to ſave them.

CHAP. LXIX. 1683.

RUSSEL's conſort, a woman of great merit, daughter and heireſs of the good earl of Southampton, threw herſelf at the King's feet, and pleaded with many tears the merits and loyalty of her father, as an atonement for thoſe errors, into which honeſt, however miſtaken principles had ſeduced her huſband. Theſe ſupplications were the laſt inſtance of female weakneſs (if they deſerve the name) which ſhe betrayed. Finding all applications vain, ſhe collected courage, and not only fortified herſelf againſt the fatal blow, but endeavoured by her example to ſtrengthen the reſolution of her unfortunate lord. With a tender and decent compoſure they took leave of each other on the day of his execution. "The "bitterneſs of death is now paſſed," ſaid he, when he turned from her. Lord Cavendiſh had lived in the cloſeſt intimacy with Ruſſel, and deſerted not his friend in

CHAP. LXIX. 1683.

in the preſent calamity. He gallantly offered to manage his eſcape, by changing cloaths with him, and remaining at all hazards in his place. Ruſſel refuſed to ſave his own life, by an expedient which might expoſe his friend to ſo many hardſhips. When the duke of Monmouth by meſſage offered to ſurrender himſelf, if Ruſſel thought that that meaſure would any way contribute to his ſafety; "It will be no advantage to me," he ſaid, "to have my "friends die with me." Some of his expreſſions diſcover, not only compoſure, but good humour in this melancholy extremity. The day before his execution he was ſeized with a bleeding at the noſe. "I ſhall not "now let blood to divert this diſtemper," ſaid he to doctor Burnet who attended him, "that will be done to morrow." A little before the ſheriffs conducted him to the ſcaffold, he wound up his watch, "Now I have "done," ſaid he, "with time, and henceforth muſt "think ſolely of eternity."

21ſt of July.

THE ſcaffold was erected in Lincoln's Inn Fields, a place very diſtant from the Tower; and it was probably intended, by conducting Ruſſel thro' ſo many ſtreets, to ſhow the mutinous city their beloved leader, once the object of all their confidence, now expoſed to the utmoſt rigours of the law. As he was the moſt popular among his own party; ſo was he ever the leaſt obnoxious to the oppoſite faction: And his melancholy fate united every heart, ſenſible of humanity, in a tender compaſſion for him. Without the leaſt change of countenance, he laid his head on the block; and at two ſtrokes, it was ſevered from his body.

and execution.

IN the ſpeech, which he delivered to the ſheriffs, he was very anxious to clear his memory from any imputation of ever intending the King's death, or any alteration in the government: He could not explicitely confeſs the projected inſurrection without hurting his friends, who might ſtill be called in queſtion for it; but he did

CHAP. LXIX. 1683.

not purge himſelf of that deſign, which, in the preſent condition of the nation, he regarded as no crime. By many paſſages in his ſpeech, he ſeems to the laſt to have lain under the influence of party zeal; a paſſion, which being nouriſhed by a ſocial temper, and cloathing itſelf under the appearance of principle, it is almoſt impoſſible for a virtuous man, who has acted in public life, ever thoroughly to eradicate. He profeſſed his entire belief in the popiſh plot: And he ſaid, that, tho' he had often heard the ſeizure of the guards mentioned, he had ever diſapproved of that attempt. To which he added, that the maſſacring ſo many innocent men in cold blood was ſo like a popiſh practice, that he could not but abhor it. Upon the whole, the integrity and virtuous intentions, rather than the capacity, of this unfortunate nobleman, ſeem to have been the ſhining parts of his character.

Trial of Algernon Sidney.

ALGERNON SIDNEY was next brought to his trial. This gallant perſon, ſon to the earl of Leiceſter, had entered deeply into the war againſt the late King; and tho' no way tainted with enthuſiaſm, he had ſo far ſhared in all the councils of the independant republican party, as to have been named on the high court of juſtice, which tried and condemned that Monarch: He thought not proper, however, to take his ſeat among the judges. He ever oppoſed Cromwel's uſurpation with zeal and courage; and after employing all his efforts againſt the reſtoration, he reſolved to take no benefit of the general indemnity, but choſe voluntary baniſhment, rather than ſubmit to a government and family, which he abhorred. As long as the republican party had any exiſtence, he was active in every ſcheme, however unpromiſing, which tended to promote their cauſe: But at laſt, in 1677, finding it neceſſary for his private affairs to return into England, he had applied for the King's pardon, and had obtained it. When the factions, ariſing from the popiſh plot, began to run high, Sidney, full of thoſe ideas

of

CHAP. LXIX.

1683. in the preſent calamity. He gallantly offered to manage his eſcape, by changing cloaths with him, and remaining at all hazards in his place. Ruſſel refuſed to ſave his own life, by an expedient which might expoſe his friend to ſo many hardſhips. When the duke of Monmouth by meſſage offered to ſurrender himſelf, if Ruſſel thought that that meaſure would any way contribute to his ſafety; "It will be no advantage to me," he ſaid, "to have my "friends die with me." Some of his expreſſions diſcover, not only compoſure, but good humour in this melancholy extremity. The day before his execution he was ſeized with a bleeding at the noſe. "I ſhall not "now let blood to divert this diſtemper," ſaid he to doctor Burnet who attended him, "that will be done to morrow." A little before the ſheriffs conducted him to the ſcaffold, he wound up his watch, "Now I have "done," ſaid he, "with time, and henceforth muſt "think ſolely of eternity."

21ſt of July. THE ſcaffold was erected in Lincoln's Inn Fields, a place very diſtant from the Tower; and it was probably intended, by conducting Ruſſel thro' ſo many ſtreets, to ſhow the mutinous city their beloved leader, once the object of all their confidence, now expoſed to the utmoſt rigours of the law. As he was the moſt popular among his own party; ſo was he ever the leaſt obnoxious to the oppoſite faction: And his melancholy fate united every heart, ſenſible of humanity, in a tender compaſſion for him. Without the leaſt change of countenance, he laid his head on the block; and at two ſtrokes, it was ſevered from his body.

and execution.

IN the ſpeech, which he delivered to the ſheriffs, he was very anxious to clear his memory from any imputation of ever intending the King's death, or any alteration in the government: He could not explicitely confeſs the projected inſurrection without hurting his friends, who might ſtill be called in queſtion for it; but he did

not purge himſelf of that deſign, which, in the preſent condition of the nation, he regarded as no crime. By many paſſages in his ſpeech, he ſeems to the laſt to have lain under the influence of party zeal; a paſſion, which being nouriſhed by a ſocial temper, and cloathing itſelf under the appearance of principle, it is almoſt impoſſible for a virtuous man, who has acted in public life, ever thoroughly to eradicate. He profeſſed his entire belief in the popiſh plot: And he ſaid, that, tho' he had often heard the ſeizure of the guards mentioned, he had ever diſapproved of that attempt. To which he added, that the maſſacring ſo many innocent men in cold blood was ſo like a popiſh practice, that he could not but abhor it. Upon the whole, the integrity and virtuous intentions, rather than the capacity, of this unfortunate nobleman, ſeem to have been the ſhining parts of his character.

Trial of Algernon Sidney.

ALGERNON SIDNEY was next brought to his trial. This gallant perſon, ſon to the earl of Leiceſter, had entered deeply into the war againſt the late King; and tho' no way tainted with enthuſiaſm, he had ſo far ſhared in all the councils of the independant republican party, as to have been named on the high court of juſtice, which tried and condemned that Monarch: He thought not proper, however, to take his ſeat among the judges. He ever oppoſed Cromwel's uſurpation with zeal and courage; and after employing all his efforts againſt the reſtoration, he reſolved to take no benefit of the general indemnity, but choſe voluntary baniſhment, rather than ſubmit to a government and family, which he abhorred. As long as the republican party had any exiſtence, he was active in every ſcheme, however unpromiſing, which tended to promote their cauſe: But at laſt, in 1677, finding it neceſſary for his private affairs to return into England, he had applied for the King's pardon, and had obtained it. When the factions, ariſing from the popiſh plot, began to run high, Sidney, full of thoſe ideas

of

CHAP. LXIX.

1683.

of liberty, which he had imbibed from the great examples of antiquity, joined the popular party; and was even willing to seek a second time, thro' all the horrors of civil war, for his adored republic.

From this imperfect sketch of the character and conduct of this illustrious personage, it may easily be conceived how obnoxious he was become to the court and ministry: What alone renders them inexcusable was the illegal method, which they took, of effecting their purpose against him. On Sidney's trial they produced a great number of witnesses, who proved the reality of a plot in general; and when the prisoner exclaimed, that all these evidences said nothing of him, he was answered, that this method of proceeding, however irregular, had been practised in the prosecutions of the popish conspirators: A topic more fit to condemn one party than to justify the other. The only witness, who deposed against Sidney, was lord Howard; but as the law required two witnesses, a strange expedient was fallen on to supply this deficiency. In ransacking the prisoner's closet, some discourses on government were found; where he had maintained principles, favourable indeed to liberty, but such as the best and most dutiful subjects in all ages have been known to embrace; the original contract, the source of power from a consent of the people, the lawfulness of resisting tyrants, the preference of liberty to the government of a single person. These papers were asserted to be equivalent to a second witness, and even to many witnesses. The prisoner replied, that there was no other reason for ascribing these papers to him besides a similitude of hand; a proof, which was never admitted in criminal prosecutions: That allowing him to be the author, he had composed them solely for his private amusement, and had never published them to the world, or even communicated them to any single person: That, when examined, they appeared by the colour

colour of the ink to have been wrote many years before, and were in vain produced as evidences of a preſent conſpiracy againſt the government: And that where the law poſitively requires two witneſſes, one witneſs, attended with the moſt convincing circumſtances, could never ſuffice; much leſs, when ſupported by a circumſtance ſo weak and precarious. All theſe arguments, tho' urged by the priſoner with great courage and pregnancy of reaſon, had no influence. The violent and inhuman Jefferies was now chief juſtice; and by his direction a partial jury was eaſily prevailed on to give a verdict againſt Sidney. His execution followed a few days afterwards: He complained, and with reaſon, of the iniquity of the ſentence; but he had too much greatneſs of mind to deny thoſe conſults with Monmouth and Ruſſel, in which he had been engaged. He rather gloried, that he now ſuffered for that *good old cauſe*, in which, from his earlieſt youth, he ſaid, he had inliſted himſelf.

17th of December. His execution.

THE execution of Sidney is regarded as one of the greateſt blemiſhes of the preſent reign. The evidence againſt him, it muſt be confeſſed, was not legal; and the jury, who condemned him, were, for that reaſon, very blameable. But that after ſentence paſſed by a court of judicature, the King ſhould interpoſe and pardon a man, who, tho' otherwiſe poſſeſſed of great merit, was undoubtedly guilty, who had ever been a moſt inflexible and moſt inveterate enemy to the royal family, and who lately had even abuſed the King's clemency, might be an act of heroic generoſity, but can never be regarded as a neceſſary and indiſpenſible duty.

HOWARD was alſo the ſole evidence againſt Hambden; and his teſtimony was not ſupported by any very material circumſtance. The crown-lawyers therefore found it in vain to try the priſoner for treaſon: They laid the indictment only for miſdemeanours, and obtained ſentence againſt him. The fine impoſed was exorbitant; no leſs than forty thouſand pounds.

CHAP. LXIX.

1683.

HOLLOWAY, a merchant of Briſtol, one of the conſpirators, had fled to the Weſt Indies, and was now brought over. He had been out-lawed; but the year, allowed him for preſenting himſelf, was not expired. A trial was therefore offered him: But as he had at firſt confeſſed his being engaged in a conſpiracy for an inſurrection, and even allowed that he had heard ſome diſcourſes of an aſſaſſination, tho' he had not approved of them, he thought it more expedient to throw himſelf on the King's mercy. He was executed, perſiſting in the ſame confeſſion.

SIR THOMAS ARMSTRONG, who had been ſeized in Holland by Chidley, the King's miniſter, and ſent over, was preciſely in the ſame ſituation with Holloway: But the ſame favour, or rather juſtice, was refuſed him. The lawyers pretended, that, unleſs he voluntarily came in before the expiration of the time aſſigned, he could not claim the privilege of a trial; not conſidering, that the ſeizure of his perſon ought in equity to be ſuppoſed the accident which prevented him. The King bore a great enmity againſt this gentleman, by whom he believed the duke of Monmouth to have been ſeduced from his duty: He alſo aſſerted, that Armſtrong had once promiſed Cromwel to aſſaſſinate him; tho' it muſt be confeſſed, that the priſoner juſtified himſelf from this imputation by very ſtrong arguments. Theſe were the reaſons of that injuſtice, which was now done him. It was apprehended, that ſufficient evidence of his guilt could not be produced; and that even the partial juries, which were now returned, and which allowed themſelves to be entirely directed by Jefferies and other violent judges, would not give ſentence againſt him.

ON the day that Ruſſel was tried, Eſſex, a man eminent both for virtues and abilities, was found in the Tower with his throat cut. The coroner's inqueſt brought in their verdict, *ſelf-murther*: Yet becauſe two children of ten years of age (one of whom too departed from

from his evidence) had affirmed, that they heard a great noiſe from his window, and that they ſaw a hand throw out a bloody razor, theſe circumſtances were laid hold of, and the murder was aſcribed to the King and the Duke, who happened that morning to pay a viſit to the Tower. Eſſex was ſubject to fits of deep melancholy, and had been ſeized with one immediately upon his commitment: He was accuſtomed to maintain the lawfulneſs of ſuicide: And his counteſs, upon a ſtrict enquiry, which was committed to the care of Dr. Burnet, found no reaſon to confirm the ſuſpicion: Yet could not all theſe circumſtances, joined to many others, entirely remove the imputation. It is no wonder, that faction is ſo productive of vices of all kinds: For, beſides that it inflames all the paſſions, it tends much to remove thoſe great reſtraints, honour and ſhame; when men find, that no iniquity can loſe them the applauſe of their own party, and no innocence ſecure them againſt the calumnies of the oppoſite.

But tho' there is no reaſon to think, that Eſſex had been murdered by any orders from court, it muſt be acknowleged, that a very unjuſtifiable uſe in Ruſſel's trial was made of that incident. The King's council mentioned it in their pleadings as a ſtrong proof of the conſpiracy; and it is ſaid to have had great weight with the jury. It was inſiſted on in Sidney's trial for the ſame purpoſe.

State of the nation.

Some memorable cauſes, tried about this time, tho' they have no relation to the Rye-houſe conſpiracy, ſhow the temper of the bench and the juries. Oates was convicted of having called the Duke a popiſh traitor; was fined to the amount of one hundred thouſand pounds; and was condemned to priſon till he ſhould make payment. A like illegal ſentence was paſſed upon Dutton-Colt for a like offence. Sir Samuel Barnardiſton was fined ten thouſand pounds; becauſe, in ſome private letters, which

CHAP. LXIX.

1683. had been intercepted, he had reflected on the government. This gentleman was obnoxious, becauſe he had been foreman of that jury, which rejected the bill againſt Shafteſbury. A pretence was therefore fallen upon for puniſhing him; tho' ſuch a precedent may juſtly be eſteemed a very unuſual act of ſeverity, and ſufficient to deſtroy all confidence in private friendſhip and correſpondence.

THERE is another remarkable trial, which ſhows the diſpoſition of the courts of judicature, and which, tho' it paſſed in the enſuing year, it may not be improper to relate here. One Roſewel, a preſbyterian preacher, was accuſed by three women of having ſpoke treaſonable words in a ſermon. They ſwore to two or three periods, and agreed ſo exactly together, that there was not the ſmalleſt variation in their depoſitions. Roſewel on the other hand made a very good defence. He proved, that the witneſſes were lewd and infamous perſons. He proved, that, even during Cromwel's uſurpation, he had always been loyal; that he prayed conſtantly for the King in his family; and that in his ſermons he often inculcated the obligations of loyalty. And as to the ſermon, of which he was accuſed, ſeveral witneſſes, who heard it, and ſome who wrote it in ſhort hand, depoſed that he had uſed no ſuch expreſſions as thoſe objected to him. He offered his own notes as a farther proof. The women could not ſhew by any circumſtance or witneſſes, that they were at his meeting. And the expreſſions, which they ſwore againſt him, were ſo groſs, that no man in his ſenſes could be ſuppoſed to employ them before a mixt audience. It was alſo urged, that it was next to impoſſible for three women to remember ſo long a period upon one ſingle hearing, and to remember it ſo exactly, as to agree to a tittle in their depoſitions with regard to it. The priſoner offered to put the whole upon this iſſue: He would pronounce, with

with his uſual tone of voice, a period as long as that which they had ſworn to; and then let them try to repeat it, if they could. What was more unaccountable, they had forgot even the text of his ſermon; nor did they remember any ſingle paſſage, but the words, which they depoſed to. After ſo ſtrong a defence, the ſollicitor general thought not proper to make any reply: Even Jefferies went no farther than ſome general declamations againſt conventicles and Preſbyterians: Yet ſo violent were party-prejudices, that the jury gave a verdict againſt the priſoner; which however appeared ſo palpably unjuſt, that it never was executed. CHAP. LXIX. 1683.

THE duke of Monmouth had abſconded on the firſt diſcovery of the conſpiracy; and the Court could get no intelligence of him. At laſt, Hallifax, who began to apprehend the too great prevalence of the royal party, and who thought, that Monmouth's intereſt would prove the beſt counterballance to the Duke's, diſcovered his retreat, and prevailed with him to write two letters to the King, full of the tendereſt and moſt ſubmiſſive expreſſions. The King's fondneſs was revived; and he permitted Monmouth to come to court. He even endeavoured to mediate a reconciliation between his ſon and his brother; and having promiſed Monmouth, that his teſtimony ſhould never be employed againſt any of his friends, he engaged him to give a full account of the plot. But, in order to put the country party to ſilence, he called next day an extraordinary council; and informed them, that Monmouth had ſhowed great penitence for the ſhare, which he had had in the late conſpiracy, and had expreſſed his reſolutions never more to engage in ſuch criminal enterprizes. He went ſo far as to give orders, that a paragraph to the like purpoſe ſhould be inſerted in the Gazette. Monmouth kept ſilence 'till he had obtained his pardon in form: But finding, that, by taking this ſtep, he was entirely diſgraced with his party, and that,

CHAP. LXIX.

1683.

even tho' he ſhould not be produced in court as an evidence, his teſtimony, being ſo publickly known, might have weight with juries on any future trial, he reſolved at all hazards to retrieve his honour. His emiſſaries, therefore, received orders to deny, that he had ever made any ſuch confeſſion as that aſcribed to him; and the party cried aloud, that the whole was a fiction of the Court. The King, provoked at this conduct, baniſhed Monmouth his preſence, and afterwards ordered him to depart the kingdom.

The court were well aware, that the malecontents in England had held a correſpondence with thoſe in Scotland; and that Baillie of Jerviſwood, a man of merit and learning, with two gentlemen of the name of Campbel, had come to London, under pretence of negociating the ſettlement of the Scots Preſbyterians in Carolina, but really with a view to concert meaſures with the Engliſh conſpirators. Baillie was ſent priſoner to Edinburgh; and as no evidence appeared againſt him, the council required him to ſwear, that he would anſwer all queſtions, which ſhould be propounded to him. Baillie refuſed to ſubmit to ſo iniquitious a condition; and a fine of ſix thouſand pounds was impoſed upon him. At laſt, two perſons, Spence and Carſtares, being put to the torture, gave evidence which involved the earl of Tarras and ſome others, who, in order to ſave themſelves from attainder, were reduced to accuſe Baillie. He was brought to trial; and being in ſo languiſhing a condition from the cruel treatment, which he had met with in priſon, that it was feared he would not ſurvive that night, he was ordered to be executed the very afternoon, on which he received ſentence.

The ſeverities, exerciſed during this part of the preſent reign, were much contrary to the uſual tenor of the King's conduct; and tho' thoſe who ſtudied his character more narrowly, have pronounced, that towards

great offences he was rigid and inexorable, the nation were more inclined to aſcribe every unjuſt or hard meaſure to the prevalence of the Duke's councils, into whoſe hands the King had, from indolence, not from any opinion of his brother's ſuperior capacity, reſigned the reins of government. The Crown indeed gained great advantages from the detection of the conſpiracy, and loſt none by the rigorous execution of the conſpirators: The horror entertained againſt the aſſaſſination-plot, which was commonly confounded with the deſign of an inſurrection, rendered the whole party unpopular, and reconciled the nation to the meaſures of the court. The moſt loyal addreſſes came from all parts of the kingdom; and the doctrine of ſubmiſſion to the civil magiſtrates, and even of an unlimited paſſive obedience, became the reigning principle of the times. The univerſity of Oxford paſſed a ſolemn decree, condemning ſome doctrines, which they denominated republican, but which indeed are, moſt of them, the only tenets, on which liberty and a limited conſtitution can be founded. The faction of the excluſioniſts, lately ſo numerous, powerful, and zealous, were at the King's feet; and were as much fallen in their ſpirit as in their credit with the nation. Nothing, which had the leaſt appearance of oppoſition to the Court, could be hearkened to by the public.

CHAP. LXIX.

1683.

THE King endeavoured to encreaſe his preſent popularity by every art; and knowing, that the ſuſpicion of popery was of all others the moſt dangerous, he judged it proper to marry his niece, the Lady Anne, to Prince George, brother to the King of Denmark. All the credit, however, and perſuaſion of Hallifax, could not engage him to call a Parliament, or truſt the nation with the election of a new repreſentative. Tho' his revenues were extremely burthened, he choſe rather to ſtruggle with the preſent difficulties, than try an experiment,

1684.

CHAP. LXIX. 1684.

which, by raiſing afreſh ſo many diſcontented humours, might prove dangerous to his repoſe. The Duke likewiſe zealouſly obſtructed this propoſal, and even engaged the King in meaſures, which could have no other tendency, than to render any accommodation with a Parliament altogether impracticable. Williams, who had been ſpeaker during the two laſt Parliaments, was proſecuted for warrants, iſſued by him, in obedience to orders of the Houſe: A breach of privilege, which it ſeemed not likely, any future Houſe of Commons would leave unpuniſhed. Danby and the popiſh lords, who had ſo long been confined to the Tower, and who ſaw no proſpect of a trial in Parliament, were admitted to bail: A meaſure very juſt in itſelf, but deemed a great encroachment on the privileges of that aſſembly. The Duke, contrary to law, was reſtored to the office of high admiral, without taking the teſt.

HAD the leaſt grain of jealouſy or emulation been mixed in the King's character; had he been actuated by that concern for his people's or even for his own honour, which his high ſtation demanded, he would have hazarded many domeſtic inconveniencies rather than allow France to domineer in ſo haughty a manner as that which at preſent ſhe aſſumed in every negotiation. The peace of Nimeguen, impoſed by the Dutch on their unwilling allies, had disjointed the whole confederacy; and all the powers, engaged in it, had diſbanded their ſupernumerary troops, which they found ſuch difficulty to ſubſiſt. Lewis alone ſtill maintained a very powerful army, and by his preparations rendered himſelf every day more formidable. He now acted as if he were the ſole Sovereign in Europe, and as if all other Princes were ſoon to become his vaſſals. Courts or chambers were erected in Metz and Briſac, for re-uniting ſuch territories as had ever been members of any part of his new conqueſts. They made inquiry into titles buried in the moſt

State of foreign affairs.

moſt remote antiquity. They cited the neighbouring Princes to appear before them, and iſſued decrees, expelling them from the conteſted territories. The important town of Straſbourg, an antient and a free ſtate, was ſeized by Lewis: Aloſt was demanded of the Spaniards, on a moſt frivolous, and even ridiculous pretence; and upon their refuſal to yield it, Luxembourg was blockaded, and ſoon after taken. Genoa had been bombarded, becauſe the Genoeſe had ſtipulated to build ſome gallies for the Spaniards; and in order to avoid a more ſevere fate, that republic was obliged to yield to the moſt mortifying conditions. The empire was inſulted in its head and principal members; and uſed no other expedient for redreſs, but impotent complaints and remonſtrances.

SPAIN was ſo enraged at the inſolent treatment which ſhe met with, that, without conſidering her preſent weak condition, ſhe declared war againſt her haughty enemy: She hoped, that the other powers of Europe, ſenſible of the common danger, would fly to her aſſiſtance. The prince of Orange, whoſe ruling paſſions were the love of war and animoſity againſt France, ſeconded every where the applications of the Spaniards. In the year 1681, he even made a journey to England, in order to engage the King into cloſer meaſures with the confederates. He alſo propoſed to the States to make an augmentation of their forces; but ſeveral of the provinces, and even the town of Amſterdam, had been gained by the French, and the propoſal was rejected. The Prince's enemies derived the moſt plauſible reaſons of their oppoſition from the ſituation of England, and the known and avowed attachments of the Engliſh Monarch.

No ſooner had Charles diſmiſſed his Parliaments, and embraced the reſolution of governing by prerogative alone, than he dropped his new alliance with Spain, and returned to his former dangerous connexions with Lewis.

That

CHAP. LXIX.

1684.

That Prince had even offered to make him arbiter of his differences with Spain; and this latter power, ſenſible of Charles's partiality, had refuſed to ſubmit to ſuch a diſadvantageous propoſal. Whether any money was now remitted to England, we do not certainly know: But we may fairly preſume, that the King's neceſſities were in ſome degree relieved by France. And tho' Charles had reaſon to apprehend the utmoſt danger from the great, and ſtill encreaſing, naval power of that kingdom, joined to the weak condition of the Engliſh fleet, no conſideration was able to rouze him from his preſent lethargy.

It is here we are to fix the point of the higheſt exaltation, which the power of Lewis or that of any European Prince, ſince the age of Charlemagne, had ever attained. The only Monarch, capable of oppoſing his progreſs, was entirely engaged in his intereſts; and the Turks, invited by the malecontents of Hungary, were preparing to invade the Emperor, and to diſable that Prince from making head againſt the progreſs of the French power. Lewis may even be accuſed of overſight, in not making ſufficient advantage of ſuch favourable opportunities, which he was never afterwards able to recall. But that Monarch, tho' more governed by motives of ambition than by thoſe of juſtice or moderation, was ſtill more actuated by the ſuggeſtions of vanity. He contented himſelf with inſulting and domineering over all the Princes and free States of Europe; and he thereby provoked their reſentment, without ſubduing their power. While every one, who approached his perſon, and behaved with ſubmiſſion to his authority, was treated with the higheſt politeneſs; all the neighbouring Potentates had ſucceſſively felt the effects of his haughty imperious diſpoſition. And by indulging his poets, orators, and courtiers in their flatteries, and in their prognoſtications of univerſal empire, he conveyed

faſter,

faſter, than by the proſpect of his power alone, the apprehenſion of general conqueſt and ſubjection.

CHAP. LXIX.

1684.

1685.

THE French greatneſs never, during his whole reign, inſpired Charles with any apprehenſions; and Clifford, 'tis ſaid, one of his moſt favoured miniſters, went ſo far as to affirm, that it were better for the King to be Viceroy under a great and generous Monarch, than a ſlave to five hundred of his own inſolent ſubjects. The ambition therefore and uncontrouled power of Lewis were no diminution of Charles's happineſs; and in other reſpects his condition ſeemed at preſent more eligible than it had ever been ſince his reſtoration. A mighty faction, which had ſhook his throne, and menaced his family, was totally ſubdued, and by their precipitant indiſcretion had expoſed themſelves both to the rigour of the laws and to public hatred. He had recovered his former popularity in the nation; and what probably pleaſed him more than having a compliant Parliament, he was enabled to govern altogether without one. But it is certain, that the King, amidſt all theſe promiſing circumſtances, was not happy nor ſatisfied. Whether he found himſelf expoſed to difficulties for want of money, or dreaded a recoil of the popular humour from the preſent arbitrary meaſures, is uncertain. Perhaps the violent, imprudent temper of the Duke, by puſhing him upon dangerous attempts, gave him apprehenſion and uneaſineſs. He was overheard to ſay one day, in oppoſing ſome of the Duke's haſty councils, "Brother, I am too old "to go again to my travels: You may, if you chooſe "it." Whatever was the cauſe of the King's diſſatisfaction, it ſeems very probable, that he was meditating ſome change of meaſures, and had formed a new plan of adminiſtration. He was determined, 'tis thought, to ſend the Duke to Scotland, to recall Monmouth, to ſummon a Parliament, to diſmiſs all his unpopular miniſters,

CHAP. LXIX.

1684.

That Prince had even offered to make him arbiter of his differences with Spain; and this latter power, ſenſible of Charles's partiality, had refuſed to ſubmit to ſuch a diſadvantageous propoſal. Whether any money was now remitted to England, we do not certainly know: But we may fairly preſume, that the King's neceſſities were in ſome degree relieved by France. And tho' Charles had reaſon to apprehend the utmoſt danger from the great, and ſtill encreaſing, naval power of that kingdom, joined to the weak condition of the Engliſh fleet, no conſideration was able to rouze him from his preſent lethargy.

It is here we are to fix the point of the higheſt exaltation, which the power of Lewis or that of any European Prince, ſince the age of Charlemagne, had ever attained. The only Monarch, capable of oppoſing his progreſs, was entirely engaged in his intereſts; and the Turks, invited by the malecontents of Hungary, were preparing to invade the Emperor, and to diſable that Prince from making head againſt the progreſs of the French power. Lewis may even be accuſed of overſight, in not making ſufficient advantage of ſuch favourable opportunities, which he was never afterwards able to recall. But that Monarch, tho' more governed by motives of ambition than by thoſe of juſtice or moderation, was ſtill more actuated by the ſuggeſtions of vanity. He contented himſelf with inſulting and domineering over all the Princes and free States of Europe; and he thereby provoked their reſentment, without ſubduing their power. While every one, who approached his perſon, and behaved with ſubmiſſion to his authority, was treated with the higheſt politeneſs; all the neighbouring Potentates had ſucceſſively felt the effects of his haughty imperious diſpoſition. And by indulging his poets, orators, and courtiers in their flatteries, and in their prognoſtications of univerſal empire, he conveyed

faſter,

faſter, than by the proſpect of his power alone, the apprehenſion of general conqueſt and ſubjection. CHAP. LXIX.

1684.

THE French greatneſs never, during his whole reign, inſpired Charles with any apprehenſions; and Clifford, 'tis ſaid, one of his moſt favoured miniſters, went ſo far as to affirm, that it were better for the King to be Viceroy under a great and generous Monarch, than a ſlave to five hundred of his own inſolent ſubjects. The ambition therefore and uncontrouled power of Lewis were no diminution of Charles's happineſs; and in other reſpects his condition ſeemed at preſent more eligible than it had ever been ſince his reſtoration. A mighty faction, which had ſhook his throne, and menaced his family, was totally ſubdued, and by their precipitant indiſcretion had expoſed themſelves both to the rigour of the laws and to public hatred. He had recovered his former popularity in the nation; and what probably pleaſed him more than having a compliant Parliament, he was enabled to govern altogether without one. But it is certain, that the King, amidſt all theſe promiſing circumſtances, was not happy nor ſatisfied. Whether he found himſelf expoſed to difficulties for want of money, or dreaded a recoil of the popular humour from the preſent arbitrary meaſures, is uncertain. Perhaps the violent, imprudent temper of the Duke, by puſhing him upon dangerous attempts, gave him apprehenſion and uneaſineſs. He was overheard to ſay one day, in oppoſing ſome of the Duke's haſty councils, "Brother, I am too old "to go again to my travels: You may, if you chooſe "it." Whatever was the cauſe of the King's diſſatisfaction, it ſeems very probable, that he was meditating ſome change of meaſures, and had formed a new plan of adminiſtration. He was determined, 'tis thought, to ſend the Duke to Scotland, to recall Monmouth, to ſummon a Parliament, to diſmiſs all his unpopular miniſters, 1685.

CHAP. LXIX.

1685.

niſters, and to throw himſelf entirely on the good will and affection of his ſubjects. Amidſt theſe truly wiſe and virtuous deſigns, he was ſeized with a ſudden fit, which reſembled an apoplexy; and tho' he was recovered from it by bleeding, he languiſhed only for a few days, and then expired, in the fifty-fifth year of his age, and twenty-fifth of his reign. He was ſo happy in a good conſtitution of body, and had ever been ſo remarkably careful of his health, that his death ſtruck as great a ſurprize into his ſubjects, as if he had been in the flower of his youth. And their inexpreſſible concern for him, owing to their affection for his perſon, as well as the dread of his ſucceſſor, very naturally, when joined to the critical time of his death, begot the ſuſpicion of poiſon. All circumſtances however conſidered, this ſuſpicion muſt be allowed to vaniſh; like many others, of which all hiſtories are full.

King's ſickneſs and death, 6th of February.

DURING the few days of the King's illneſs, clergymen of the church of England attended him; but he diſcovered a total indifference towards their devotions and exhortations. Catholic prieſts were brought, and he received the ſacrament from them, accompanied with all the other rites of the Romiſh church. Two papers were found in his cloſet, wrote with his own hand, and containing arguments in favour of that communion. The Duke had the imprudence immediately to publiſh theſe papers; and thereby both confirmed all the reproaches of thoſe who had been the greateſt enemies to his brother's meaſures, and afforded to the whole world a ſpecimen of his own bigotry.

IF we ſurvey the character of Charles the Second in the different lights, which it will admit of, it will appear very various, and give riſe to different and even oppoſite ſentiments. When conſidered as a companion, he appears the moſt amiable and engaging of men; and indeed, in this view, his deportment muſt be allowed altoge-

and character.

1685.

together unexceptionable. His love of raillery was so tempered with good breeding, that it never offensive: His propensity to satyre was so checked with discretion, that his friends never dreaded their becoming the object of it: His wit, to use the expression of one, who knew him well, and who was himself an exquisite judge[u], could not be said so much to be very refined or elevated, qualities apt to beget jealousy and apprehension in company, as to be a plain, gaining, well-bred, recommending kind of wit. And tho' perhaps he talked more than strict rules of behaviour might permit, men were so pleased with the affable, communicative deportment of the Monarch, that they always went away contented both with him and with themselves. This indeed is the most shining part of the King's character; and he seems to have been sensible of it: For he was fond of dropping the formality of state, and of relapsing every moment into the companion.

In the duties of private life, his conduct, tho' not free from exception, was, in the main, laudable. He was an easy generous lover, a civil obliging husband, a friendly brother, an indulgent father, and a good natured master[x]. The voluntary friendships, however, which this Prince contracted, nay, even his sense of gratitude, were feeble; and he never attached himself to any of his ministers or courtiers with a very sincere affection. He believed them to have no other motive for serving him but self-interest, and he was still ready, in his turn, to sacrifice them to present ease or convenience.

With a detail of his private character we must set bounds to our panegyric on Charles. The other parts of his conduct may admit of some apology, but can deserve small applause. He was indeed so much fitted for private life, preferably to public, that he even possessed order, frugality, œconomy in the former: Was profuse, thoughtless, negligent in the latter. When

[u] Marquess of Hallifax. [x] Duke of Buckingham.

we

CHAP. LXIX.

1685.

we conſider him as a Sovereign, his character, tho' not altogether void of virtues, was in the main dangerous to his people, and diſhonourable to himſelf. Negligent of the intereſts of the nation, careleſs of its glory, averſe to its religion, jealous of its liberty, laviſh of its treaſure, ſparing only of its blood; he expoſed it by his meaſures, tho' he appeared ever but in ſport, to the danger of a furious civil war, and even to the ruin and ignominy of a foreign conqueſt. Yet may all theſe enormities, if fairly and candidly examined, be imputed, in a great meaſure, to the indolence of his temper; a fault, which, however unfortunate in a Monarch, it is impoſſible for us to regard with great ſeverity.

It has been remarked of this King, that he never ſaid a fooliſh thing, nor ever did a wiſe one: A cenſure, which, tho' too far carried, ſeems to have ſome foundation in his character and deportment.

If we reflect on the appetite for power, inherent in human nature, and add to it, the King's education in foreign countries, and among the Cavaliers, a party which would naturally exaggerate the late uſurpations of popular aſſemblies upon the rights of Monarchy; it is not ſurprizing, that civil liberty ſhould not find in him a very zealous patron. Harraſſed with domeſtic factions, weary of calumnies and complaints, oppreſſed with debts, ſtraitened in his revenue, he ſought, tho' with feeble efforts, for a form of government, more ſimple in its ſtructure and more eaſy in its management. But his attachment to France, after all the pains, which we have taken, by enquiry and conjecture, to fathom it, contains ſtill ſomething, it muſt be confeſſed, myſterious and inexplicable. The hopes of rendering himſelf abſolute by Lewis's aſſiſtance ſeem ſo chimerical, that they could ſcarce be retained with ſuch obſtinacy by a Prince of Charles's penetration: And as to pecuniary ſubſidies, he ſurely ſpent much greater ſums in one ſeaſon, during the ſecond Dutch war, than were remitted from France du-

1685.

during the courſe of his whole reign. I am apt therefore to imagine, that Charles was in this particular guided chiefly by inclination, and by a prepoſſeſſion in favour of the French nation. He conſidered that people as gay, ſprightly, polite, elegant, courteous, devoted to their Prince, and attached to the catholic faith; and for theſe reaſons he cordially loved them. The oppoſite character of the Dutch, had rendered them the objects of his averſion; and even the uncourtly humours of the Engliſh made him very indifferent towards them. Men's notions of intereſt are much warped by their affections; and it is not altogether without example, that a man may be guided by national prejudices, who has ever been little biaſſed by private and perſonal friendſhip.

THE character of this Prince has been very elaborately drawn by two great maſters, perfectly well acquainted with him, the duke of Buckingham and the marqueſs of Hallifax; not to mention ſeveral elegant ſtrokes given by Sir William Temple. Dr. Welwood likewiſe and biſhop Burnet have employed their pencil on the ſame ſubject: But the former is ſomewhat partial in his favour; as the latter is by far too harſh and malignant. Inſtead of finding an exact parallel between Charles the Second and the Emperor Tiberius, as that prelate pretends, it would be more juſt to remark a full contraſt and oppoſition. The Emperor ſeems as much to have ſurpaſſed the King in abilities, as he falls ſhort of him in virtue. Provident, wiſe, active, jealous, malignant, dark, ſullen, unſociable, reſerved, cruel, unrelenting, unforgiving; theſe are the lights, under which the Roman tyrant has been tranſmitted to us. And the only circumſtance, in which, it can juſtly be pretended, he was ſimilar to Charles, is his love of women; a paſſion, which is too general to form any ſtriking reſemblance, and which that deteſtable and deteſted monſter ſhared alſo with unnatural appetites.

JAMES

JAMES II.

CHAP. LXX.

King's first transactions.——A Parliament.——Arguments for and against a revenue for life.——Oates convicted of perjury.——Monmouth's invasion.——His defeat——and execution.——Cruelties of Kirke——and of Jefferies.——State of affairs in Scotland.——Argyle's invasion,——defeat,——and execution.——A Parliament.——French persecutions.——The dispensing power.——State of Ireland.——Breach betwixt the King and the church.——Court of ecclesiastical commission.——Sentence against the bishop of London.——Suspension of the penal laws.——State of Ireland.——Embassy to Rome.——Attempt upon Magdalen College.——Imprisonment,——trial,——and acquittal of the bishops.——Birth of the Prince of Wales.

1685. King's first transactions.

THE first act of James's reign was to assemble the privy council; where, after some praises bestowed on the memory of his predecessor, he made professions of his resolution to maintain the established government, both in church and state. Tho' he had been reported, he said, to have imbibed very arbitrary principles, he knew that the laws of England were sufficient to make him as great a Monarch as he could wish; and he was determined never to depart from them. And as he had heretofore ventured his life in defence of the

1685.

nation, he would ſtill go as far as any man in maintaining all its juſt rights and liberties.

THIS diſcourſe was received with great applauſe, not only by the council, but by the whole nation. The King univerſally paſſed for a man of great ſincerity and great honour; and as the current of favour ran at that time for the Court, men believed, that his intentions were conformable to his expreſſions. "We have now," it was ſaid, "the word of a King; and a word never yet "broken." Addreſſes came from all quarters, full of duty, nay, of the moſt ſervile adulation. Every one haſtened to pay court to the new Monarch[y]: And James had reaſon to think, that, notwithſtanding the violent efforts made by ſo potent a party for his excluſion, no throne in Europe was better eſtabliſhed than that of England.

THE King, however, in the firſt exerciſe of his authority, ſhewed, that either he was not ſincere in his profeſſions of attachment to the laws, or that he had entertained ſo lofty an idea of his own legal power, that even his utmoſt ſincerity would tend very little to ſecure the liberties of the people. All the cuſtoms and the greater part of the exciſe had been voted by Parliament during the late King's life, and conſequently the grant was now expired; nor had the ſucceſſor any right to levy theſe branches of revenue. But James iſſued a proclamation, ordering the cuſtoms and exciſe to be paid as before; and this exertion of power he would not deign to qualify by the leaſt act or even appearance of condeſcenſion. It was propoſed to him, that, in order to

[y] The Quakers' addreſs was eſteemed ſomewhat ſingular. It was conceived in theſe terms. "We are come to teſtify our ſorrow for the death "of our good friend Charles, and our joy for thy being made our gover-"nour. We are told thou art not of the perſwaſion of the church of "England, no more than we: Wherefore we hope thou wilt grant us "the ſame liberty, which thou alloweſt thyſelf. Which doing, we wiſh "thee all manner of happineſs."

JAMES II.

CHAP. LXX.

King's first transactions.——A Parliament.——Arguments for and against a revenue for life.——Oates convicted of perjury.——Monmouth's invasion.——His defeat——and execution.——Cruelties of Kirke——and of Jefferies.——State of affairs in Scotland.——Argyle's invasion,——defeat,——and execution.——A Parliament.——French persecutions.——The dispensing power.——State of Ireland.——Breach betwixt the King and the church.——Court of ecclesiastical commission.——Sentence against the bishop of London.——Suspension of the penal laws.——State of Ireland.——Embassy to Rome.——Attempt upon Magdalen College.——Imprisonment,——trial,——and acquittal of the bishops.——Birth of the Prince of Wales.

1685. King's first transactions.

THE first act of James's reign was to assemble the privy council; where, after some praises bestowed on the memory of his predecessor, he made professions of his resolution to maintain the established government, both in church and state. Tho' he had been reported, he said, to have imbibed very arbitrary principles, he knew that the laws of England were sufficient to make him as great a Monarch as he could wish; and he was determined never to depart from them. And as he had heretofore ventured his life in defence of the

1685.

nation, he would ſtill go as far as any man in maintaining all its juſt rights and liberties.

THIS diſcourſe was received with great applauſe, not only by the council, but by the whole nation. The King univerſally paſſed for a man of great ſincerity and great honour; and as the current of favour ran at that time for the Court, men believed, that his intentions were conformable to his expreſſions. "We have now," it was ſaid, "the word of a King; and a word never yet "broken." Addreſſes came from all quarters, full of duty, nay, of the moſt ſervile adulation. Every one haſtened to pay court to the new Monarch[y]: And James had reaſon to think, that, notwithſtanding the violent efforts made by ſo potent a party for his excluſion, no throne in Europe was better eſtabliſhed than that of England.

THE King, however, in the firſt exerciſe of his authority, ſhewed, that either he was not ſincere in his profeſſions of attachment to the laws, or that he had entertained ſo lofty an idea of his own legal power, that even his utmoſt ſincerity would tend very little to ſecure the liberties of the people. All the cuſtoms and the greater part of the exciſe had been voted by Parliament during the late King's life, and conſequently the grant was now expired; nor had the ſucceſſor any right to levy theſe branches of revenue. But James iſſued a proclamation, ordering the cuſtoms and exciſe to be paid as before; and this exertion of power he would not deign to qualify by the leaſt act or even appearance of condeſcenſion. It was propoſed to him, that, in order to

[y] The Quakers' addreſs was eſteemed ſomewhat ſingular. It was conceived in theſe terms. "We are come to teſtify our ſorrow for the death "of our good friend Charles, and our joy for thy being made our gover- "nour. We are told thou art not of the perſwaſion of the church of "England, no more than we: Wherefore we hope thou wilt grant us "the ſame liberty, which thou alloweſt thyſelf. Which doing, we wiſh "thee all manner of happineſs."

CHAP. LXX.

1685.

prevent the ill effects of any intermiſſion in levying theſe duties, entries ſhould be made, and bonds for the ſums taken of the merchants: But the payment be ſuſpended till the Parliament ſhould give authority to receive it. This precaution was recommended as an expreſſion of deference to that aſſembly, or rather to the laws: But for that very reaſon probably, it was rejected by the King, who thought, that the Commons would thence be invited to aſſume more authority, and would regard the whole revenue, and conſequently the whole power of the Crown, as dependant on their good will and pleaſure.

THE King likewiſe went openly, and with all the enſigns of his dignity, to maſs, an illegal meeting: And by this imprudence he diſplayed at once his arbitrary diſpoſition, and the bigotry of his principles: Theſe two great characteriſtics of his reign and bane of his adminiſtration. He even ſent Caryl, as his agent to Rome, to make ſubmiſſions to the Pope, and to pave the way for a ſolemn readmiſſion of England into the boſom of the catholic church. The Pope, Innocent the XIth, very prudently adviſed the King not to be too precipitant in his meaſures, nor raſhly attempt what repeated experience might convince him was abſolutely impracticable. The Spaniſh ambaſſador, Ronquillo, deeming the tranquillity of England very requiſite for the ſupport of Spain, uſed the freedom to make like remonſtrances. He obſerved how buſy the prieſts appeared at court, and adviſed the King not to aſſent with too great facility to their dangerous councils. "Is it not the "cuſtom of Spain," replied James, "for the King to "conſult with his confeſſor?" "Yes," ſaid the ambaſſador, "and 'tis for that very reaſon our affairs ſucceed "ſo ill."

JAMES gave hopes on his acceſſion, that he would hold the ballance of power more ſteadily than his predeceſſor;

CHAP. LXX. 1685.

deceſſor; and that France, inſtead of rendering England ſubſervient to her ambitious projects, would now meet with ſtrong oppoſition from that Kingdom. Beſides applying himſelf to buſineſs with great induſtry, he ſeemed jealous of national honour, and expreſſed great care, that no more reſpect ſhould be payed the French ambaſſador than his own received at Paris. But theſe appearances were not ſufficiently ſupported; and he found himſelf by degrees under the neceſſity of falling into an union, at leaſt of preſerving peace, with that great Monarch, who, by his power as well as his zeal, ſeemed alone capable of aſſiſting him, in the projects formed for promoting the catholic religion in England.

NOTWITHSTANDING the King's prejudices, all the chief offices of the Crown continued ſtill in the hands of Proteſtants. Rocheſter was lord high treaſurer; his brother Clarendon lord chamberlain; Godolphin chamberlain to the Queen; Sunderland ſecretary of ſtate; Halifax preſident of the council. This nobleman had ſtood in oppoſition to the King during the laſt years of Charles's reign; and when he attempted, on the acceſſion, to make ſome apology for his late meaſures, James very genteely told him, that he would forget every thing that was paſt, except his behaviour during the excluſion bill. In other reſpects, however, the King appeared not of ſo forgiving a temper. When the principal excluſioniſts came to pay their reſpects to their new Sovereign, they either were not admitted, or were received very coldly, ſometimes even with frowns. This conduct might ſuit the character, which the King ſo much affected, of ſincerity: But by ſhowing, that a King of England could reſent the quarrels of a duke of Yorke, he gave his people no high idea either of his lenity or magnanimity.

ON all occaſions, the King was very free in declaring, that men muſt now look for a more active and more vigilant government, and that he would retain no mi-

CHAP. LXX.

1685.

prevent the ill effects of any intermiſſion in levying theſe duties, entries ſhould be made, and bonds for the ſums taken of the merchants: But the payment be ſuſpended till the Parliament ſhould give authority to receive it. This precaution was recommended as an expreſſion of deference to that aſſembly, or rather to the laws: But for that very reaſon probably, it was rejected by the King, who thought, that the Commons would thence be invited to aſſume more authority, and would regard the whole revenue, and conſequently the whole power of the Crown, as dependant on their good will and pleaſure.

THE King likewiſe went openly, and with all the enſigns of his dignity, to maſs, an illegal meeting: And by this imprudence he diſplayed at once his arbitrary diſpoſition, and the bigotry of his principles: Theſe two great characteriſtics of his reign and bane of his adminiſtration. He even ſent Caryl, as his agent to Rome, to make ſubmiſſions to the Pope, and to pave the way for a ſolemn readmiſſion of England into the boſom of the catholic church. The Pope, Innocent the XIth, very prudently adviſed the King not to be too precipitant in his meaſures, nor raſhly attempt what repeated experience might convince him was abſolutely impracticable. The Spaniſh ambaſſador, Ronquillo, deeming the tranquillity of England very requiſite for the ſupport of Spain, uſed the freedom to make like remonſtrances. He obſerved how buſy the prieſts appeared at court, and adviſed the King not to aſſent with too great facility to their dangerous councils. "Is it not the "cuſtom of Spain," replied James, "for the King to "conſult with his confeſſor?" "Yes," ſaid the ambaſſador, "and 'tis for that very reaſon our affairs ſucceed "ſo ill."

JAMES gave hopes on his acceſſion, that he would hold the ballance of power more ſteadily than his predeceſſor,

CHAP. LXX.

1685.

deceſſor; and that France, inſtead of rendering England ſubſervient to her ambitious projects, would now meet with ſtrong oppoſition from that Kingdom. Beſides applying himſelf to buſineſs with great induſtry, he ſeemed jealous of national honour, and expreſſed great care, that no more reſpect ſhould be payed the French ambaſſador than his own received at Paris. But theſe appearances were not ſufficiently ſupported; and he found himſelf by degrees under the neceſſity of falling into an union, at leaſt of preſerving peace, with that great Monarch, who, by his power as well as his zeal, ſeemed alone capable of aſſiſting him, in the projects formed for promoting the catholic religion in England.

NOTWITHSTANDING the King's prejudices, all the chief offices of the Crown continued ſtill in the hands of Proteſtants. Rocheſter was lord high treaſurer; his brother Clarendon lord chamberlain; Godolphin chamberlain to the Queen; Sunderland ſecretary of ſtate; Halifax preſident of the council. This nobleman had ſtood in oppoſition to the King during the laſt years of Charles's reign; and when he attempted, on the acceſſion, to make ſome apology for his late meaſures, James very genteely told him, that he would forget every thing that was paſt, except his behaviour during the excluſion bill. In other reſpects, however, the King appeared not of ſo forgiving a temper. When the principal excluſioniſts came to pay their reſpects to their new Sovereign, they either were not admitted, or were received very coldly, ſometimes even with frowns. This conduct might ſuit the character, which the King ſo much affected, of ſincerity: But by ſhowing, that a King of England could reſent the quarrels of a duke of Yorke, he gave his people no high idea either of his lenity or magnanimity.

ON all occaſions, the King was very free in declaring, that men muſt now look for a more active and more vigilant government, and that he would retain no mi-

CHAP. LXX.

1685.

niſters, who did not practiſe an unreſerved obedience to his commands. We are not indeed to look for the ſprings of his adminiſtration ſo much in his council and chief officers of ſtate, as in his own temper, and in the character of thoſe perſons, with whom he ſecretly conſulted. The Queen had great influence over him; a woman of ſpirit, whoſe conduct had been very popular, till ſhe arrived at that high dignity. She was much governed by the prieſts, eſpecially the jeſuits; and as theſe were alſo the King's favourites, all public meaſures were taken originally from the ſuggeſtions of theſe men, and bore evident marks of their ignorance in government, and of the violence of their religious zeal.

The King however had another attachment, ſeemingly not very conſiſtent with this devoted regard to his Queen and to his prieſts: It was to Mrs. Sedley, whom he ſoon after created counteſs of Dorcheſter, and who expected to govern him with the ſame authority, which the dutcheſs of Portſmouth had poſſeſſed during the former reign. But the King, who had entertained the ambition of converting his people, was told, that the regularity of his life ought to correſpond to the ſanctity of his intentions; and he was prevailed with, at firſt, to remove Mrs. Sedley from Court: A reſolution in which he had not the courage to perſevere. Good agreement between the miſtreſs and the confeſſor of Princes is not commonly a difficult matter to compaſs: But in the preſent caſe theſe two potent engines of command were found very incompatible. Mrs. Sedley, who poſſeſſed all the wit and ingenuity of her father, Sir Charles, made the prieſts and their councils the perpetual objects of her raillery; and it is not to be doubted, but they, on their part, redoubled their exhortations with their penitent to break off ſo criminal an attachment.

HOWEVER little inclination the King, as well as his Queen and prieſts, might bear to an Engliſh Parliament,

it

CHAP. LXX. 1685.

it was abſolutely neceſſary, at the beginning of a reign, to ſummon that aſſembly. The low condition, into which the Whigs or country party had fallen during the laſt years of Charles's reign, the odium under which they laboured on account of the Rye-houſe conſpiracy; theſe cauſes made that party meet with little ſucceſs in the new elections. The general reſignation too of the charters had made the corporations extremely dependant; and the recommendations of the Court, tho' little aſſiſted, at that time, by pecuniary influence, were become very prevalent. The new Houſe of Commons therefore conſiſted almoſt entirely of zealous Tories and churchmen; and were of conſequence ſtrongly byaſſed, by their affections, to comply with the meaſures of the Crown.

A Parliament.

THE diſcourſe, which the King made to the Parliament, was more fitted to work on their fears than their affections. He repeated indeed, and with great ſolemnity, the promiſe which he had made before the privy council, of governing according to the laws, and of preſerving the eſtabliſhed religion: But at the ſame time he told them, that he poſitively expected they would ſettle his revenue, and during life too, as in the time of his brother. "I might uſe many arguments," ſaid he, "to inforce this demand, the benefit of trade, the ſup-"port of the navy, the neceſſities of the Crown, and "the well-being of the government itſelf, which I muſt "not ſuffer to be precarious: But I am confident, that "your own conſideration and your ſenſe of what is "juſt and reaſonable will ſuggeſt to you whatever on "this occaſion might be enlarged upon. There is "indeed one popular argument," added he, "which "may be urged againſt compliance with my demand: "Men may think, that by feeding me from time to "time with ſuch ſupplies as they think convenient, "they will better ſecure frequent meetings of Parlia-"ment:

19th of May.

CHAP. LXX. 1685.

"ment: But as this is the first time I speak to you from "the throne, I must plainly tell you, that such an ex- "pedient would be very improper to employ with me, "and that the best way to engage me to meet you often "is always to use me well."

It was easy to interpret this language of the King. He plainly intimated, that he had resources in his prerogative for supporting the government, independant of their supplies; and that so long as they complied with his demands, he would have recourse to them; but that any ill usage on their part would set him free from those measures of government, which he seemed to regard more as voluntary than as necessary. It must be confessed, that no Parliament in England was ever placed in a more critical situation, nor where more forcible arguments could be urged, either for their opposition or compliance with the Court.

Reasons for and against a revenue during life.

It was said on the one hand, that jealousy of royal power was the very basis of the English constitution, and the principle to which the nation was beholden for all that liberty, which they enjoy above the subjects of other monarchies. That this jealousy, tho', at different periods, it may be more or less intense, can never safely be laid asleep, even under the best and wisest Princes. That the character of the present Sovereign afforded cause for the highest vigilance, by reason of the arbitrary principles, which he had imbibed; and still more, by reason of his religious zeal, which it is impossible for him ever to gratify, without assuming more authority than the constitution allows him. That power is to be watched in its very first encroachments; nor is any thing ever gained by timidity and submission. That every concession adds new force to usurpation; and at the same time, by discovering the dastardly dispositions of the people, inspires it with new courage and enterprize. That as arms were intrusted altogether in the hands of the

Prince, no check remained upon him but the dependant condition of his revenue; a ſecurity therefore which it would be the moſt egregious folly to abandon. That all the other barriers, which, of late years, had been erected againſt arbitrary power, would be found, without this capital article, to be rather pernicious and deſtructive. That new limitations in the conſtitution ſtimulated the Monarch's inclination to ſurmount the laws, and required frequent meetings of Parliament, in order to repair all the breaches, which either time or violence may have made upon that complicated fabric. That recent experience during the reign of the late King, a Prince who wanted neither prudence nor moderation, had ſufficiently proved the ſolidity of all theſe maxims. That his Parliament, having raſhly fixed his revenue for life, and at the ſame time repealed the triennial bill, found that they themſelves were no longer of importance, and that liberty, not protected by national aſſemblies, was expoſed to every outrage and violation. And that the more openly the King made an unreaſonable demand, the more obſtinately ought it to be refuſed; ſince it is evident, that his purpoſe in making it cannot poſſibly be juſtifiable.

CHAP. LXX. 1685.

On the other hand it was urged, that the rule of watching the very firſt encroachments of power could only have place, where the oppoſition to it might be regular, peaceful, and legal. That tho' the refuſal of the King's preſent demand might ſeem to be of this nature, yet in reality it involved conſequences, which led much farther than at firſt ſight might be apprehended. That the King in his ſpeech had plainly intimated, that he had reſources in his prerogative, which, in caſe of oppoſition from Parliament, he thought himſelf fully intitled to employ. That if the Parliament openly diſcovered an intention of reducing him to dependance, matters muſt preſently be brought to a criſis, at a time the

CHAP. LXX. 1685.

most favourable to his cause, which his most sanguine wishes could ever have promised him. That if we cast our eyes abroad, to the state of affairs on the continent, to the situation of Scotland and Ireland; or, what is of more importance, if we consider the disposition of men's minds at home, every circumstance would be found adverse to the cause of liberty. That the country party, during the late reign, by their violent, and in many respects unjustifiable measures in Parliament, by their desperate attempts out of Parliament, had exposed their principles to public hatred, and had excited extreme jealousy in all the Royalists and zealous churchmen, who now formed the bulk of the nation. That it would not be acceptable to that party to see this King worse treated than his brother in point of revenue, or any attempts made to keep the Crown in dependance. That they thought Parliaments as liable to abuse as Monarchy, and desired not to see things in a situation, where the King could not, if he found it requisite, either prorogue or dissolve them. That if the present Parliament, by making great concessions, could gain the King's confidence, and engage him to observe the promises now given them, every thing would by gentle methods succeed to their wishes. That if, on the contrary, after such instances of compliance, he formed any design on the liberties and religion of the nation, he would in the eyes of all mankind render himself entirely inexcusable, and the whole people would join in opposition to him. That resistance could scarce be attempted twice; and there was therefore the greater necessity of waiting till time and incidents had prepared the minds of the nation for it. That the King's prejudices in favour of popery, tho' in the main pernicious, yet were so far fortunate, that they rendered the connexion inseparable between the national religion and national liberty. And that if any illegal attempts were afterwards made, the church, which

which was at preſent the chief ſecurity of the Crown, would ſurely catch the alarm, and would ſoon diſpoſe the people to an effectual reſiſtance. CHAP. LXX. 1685.

These laſt reaſons, fortified by the prejudices and affections of party, prevailed in Parliament; and the Commons, beſides thanks for the King's ſpeech, voted unanimouſly, that they would ſettle on the preſent King during life all the revenue enjoyed by the late King at the time of his deceaſe. That they might not detract from this generoſity by any ſymptoms of diſtruſt, they alſo voted unanimouſly, that the Houſe entirely relied on his Majeſty's royal word and repeated declarations to ſupport the religion of the church of England: but they added, that that religion was dearer to them than their lives. The ſpeaker, in preſenting the revenue-bill, took care to inform the King of the Commons' vote with regard to religion: but could not, by ſo ſignal a proof of confidence, extort from him one word, in favour of that religion, on which, he told his Majeſty, they ſet ſo high a value. Notwithſtanding the grounds of ſuſpicion, which this ſilence afforded, the Houſe continued in the ſame liberal diſpoſition. The King having demanded a farther ſupply for the navy and other purpoſes, they revived thoſe duties on wines and vinegar, which had been once enjoyed by the late King; and they added ſome impoſitions on tobacco and ſugar. This grant amounted on the whole to about ſix hundred thouſand pounds a year.

The Houſe of Lords were in a humour no leſs compliant. They even went ſome lengths towards breaking in pieces all the remains of the popiſh plot; that once formidable engine of bigotry and faction.

A little before the meeting of Parliament, Oates had been tried for perjury on two indictments. One for ſwearing, that he was preſent at a conſult of jeſuits in London the twenty-fourth of April, 1679: Another for ſwear- Oates convicted of perjury.

CHAP. LXX. 1685.

most favourable to his cause, which his most sanguine wishes could ever have promised him. That if we cast our eyes abroad, to the state of affairs on the continent, to the situation of Scotland and Ireland; or, what is of more importance, if we consider the disposition of men's minds at home, every circumstance would be found adverse to the cause of liberty. That the country party, during the late reign, by their violent, and in many respects unjustifiable measures in Parliament, by their desperate attempts out of Parliament, had exposed their principles to public hatred, and had excited extreme jealousy in all the Royalists and zealous churchmen, who now formed the bulk of the nation. That it would not be acceptable to that party to see this King worse treated than his brother in point of revenue, or any attempts made to keep the Crown in dependance. That they thought Parliaments as liable to abuse as Monarchy, and desired not to see things in a situation, where the King could not, if he found it requisite, either prorogue or dissolve them. That if the present Parliament, by making great concessions, could gain the King's confidence, and engage him to observe the promises now given them, every thing would by gentle methods succeed to their wishes. That if, on the contrary, after such instances of compliance, he formed any design on the liberties and religion of the nation, he would in the eyes of all mankind render himself entirely inexcusable, and the whole people would join in opposition to him. That resistance could scarce be attempted twice; and there was therefore the greater necessity of waiting till time and incidents had prepared the minds of the nation for it. That the King's prejudices in favour of popery, tho' in the main pernicious, yet were so far fortunate, that they rendered the connexion inseparable between the national religion and national liberty. And that if any illegal attempts were afterwards made, the church, which

which was at preſent the chief ſecurity of the Crown, would ſurely catch the alarm, and would ſoon diſpoſe the people to an effectual reſiſtance.

CHAP. LXX. 1685.

THESE laſt reaſons, fortified by the prejudices and affections of party, prevailed in Parliament; and the Commons, beſides thanks for the King's ſpeech, voted unanimouſly, that they would ſettle on the preſent King during life all the revenue enjoyed by the late King at the time of his deceaſe. That they might not detract from this generoſity by any ſymptoms of diſtruſt, they alſo voted unanimouſly, that the Houſe entirely relied on his Majeſty's royal word and repeated declarations to ſupport the religion of the church of England: but they added, that that religion was dearer to them than their lives. The ſpeaker, in preſenting the revenue-bill, took care to inform the King of the Commons' vote with regard to religion: but could not, by ſo ſignal a proof of confidence, extort from him one word, in favour of that religion, on which, he told his Majeſty, they ſet ſo high a value. Notwithſtanding the grounds of ſuſpicion, which this ſilence afforded, the Houſe continued in the ſame liberal diſpoſition. The King having demanded a farther ſupply for the navy and other purpoſes, they revived thoſe duties on wines and vinegar, which had been once enjoyed by the late King; and they added ſome impoſitions on tobacco and ſugar. This grant amounted on the whole to about ſix hundred thouſand pounds a year.

THE Houſe of Lords were in a humour no leſs compliant. They even went ſome lengths towards breaking in pieces all the remains of the popiſh plot; that once formidable engine of bigotry and faction.

A LITTLE before the meeting of Parliament, Oates had been tried for perjury on two indictments. One for ſwearing, that he was preſent at a conſult of jeſuits in London the twenty-fourth of April, 1679: Another for

Oates convicted of perjury.

CHAP. LXX.

1685.

ſwearing, that father Ireland was in London between the eighth and twelfth of Auguſt and on the beginning of September in the ſame year. Never crimnal was convicted on fuller and more undoubted evidence. Two and twenty perſons, who had been ſtudents at St. Omers, moſt of them men of credit and family, gave evidence, that Oates had entered into that ſeminary about Chriſtmas in the preceding year, and had never been abſent but one night, till the month of July following. Forty-ſeven witneſſes, perſons alſo of untainted character, ſwore that father Ireland, on the third of Auguſt, had gone to Staffordſhire, where he reſided till the middle of September; and, what ſome years before would have been regarded as a very material circumſtance, nine of theſe witneſſes were Proteſtants of the church of England. Oates's ſentence was to be fined a thouſand marks on each indictment, to be whipped on two different days from Aldgate to Newgate, and from Newgate to Tyburn, to be impriſoned during life, and to be pilloried five times every year. The impudence of the man ſupported itſelf under the conviction, and his courage under the puniſhment. He made ſolemn appeals to Heaven, and proteſtations of the veracity of his teſtimony: Tho' the whipping was ſo cruel, that it was evidently the intention of the Court to put him to death by that puniſhment, he was enabled, by the care of his friends, to recover: And he lived to King William's reign; when he had a penſion of four hundred pounds a year ſettled on him. A conſiderable number ſtill adhered to him in his diſtreſſes, and regarded him as the martyr of the proteſtant cauſe. The populace were affected with the ſight of a puniſhment, more ſevere than is commonly exerciſed in England. And the ſentence of perpetual impriſonment was deemed illegal.

THE conviction of Oates's perjury was taken notice of by the houſe of Peers. Beſides freeing the popiſh lords, Powis, Arun-

Lux

CHAP. LXX.

1685.

Arundel, Bellaſis, and Tyrone, together with Danby, from the former impeachment by the Commons, they went ſo far as to vote a reverſal of Stafford's attainder, on account of the falſhood of that evidence, on which he had been condemned. This bill fixed ſo deep a ſtain on the former proceedings of the excluſioniſts, that it met with great oppoſition among the Lords; and it was at laſt, after one reading, dropped by the Commons. Tho' the reparation of injuſtice be the ſecond honour, which a nation can attain; the preſent emergence ſeemed very improper for granting ſo full a juſtification of the catholics, and throwing ſo ſignal an imputation on the Proteſtants.

Monmouth's invaſion.

THE courſe of parliamentary proceedings was interrupted by the news of Monmouth's arrival on the weſt coaſt with three ſhips from Holland. No ſooner was this intelligence conveyed to the Parliament, than they voted, that they would adhere to his Majeſty with their lives and fortunes. They paſſed a bill of attainder againſt Monmouth: and they granted a ſupply of four hundred thouſand pounds for ſuppreſſing this rebellion. After having thus ſtrengthened the hands of the King, they adjourned themſelves.

MONMOUTH, when ordered to depart the kingdom, during the late reign, had retired to Holland; and as it was well known, that he was ſtill much favoured by his indulgent father, all marks of honour and diſtinction were beſtowed upon him by the Prince of Orange. After the acceſſion of James, the Prince thought proper to diſmiſs Monmouth and all his followers; and that illuſtrious fugitive retired to Bruſſels. Finding himſelf ſtill purſued by the King's ſeverity, he was puſhed, contrary to his judgment as well as inclination, to make a very raſh and premature attempt upon England. He ſaw that the King had lately mounted the Throne, not only without oppoſition, but ſeemingly with the good will

and

CHAP. LXX. 1685.

ſwearing, that father Ireland was in London between the eighth and twelfth of Auguſt and on the beginning of September in the ſame year. Never crimnal was convicted on fuller and more undoubted evidence. Two and twenty perſons, who had been ſtudents at St. Omers, moſt of them men of credit and family, gave evidence, that Oates had entered into that ſeminary about Chriſtmas in the preceding year, and had never been abſent but one night, till the month of July following. Forty-ſeven witneſſes, perſons alſo of untainted character, ſwore that father Ireland, on the third of Auguſt, had gone to Staffordſhire, where he reſided till the middle of September; and, what ſome years before would have been regarded as a very material circumſtance, nine of theſe witneſſes were Proteſtants of the church of England. Oates's ſentence was to be fined a thouſand marks on each indictment, to be whipped on two different days from Aldgate to Newgate, and from Newgate to Tyburn, to be impriſoned during life, and to be pilloried five times every year. The impudence of the man ſupported itſelf under the conviction, and his courage under the puniſhment. He made ſolemn appeals to Heaven, and proteſtations of the veracity of his teſtimony: Tho' the whipping was ſo cruel, that it was evidently the intention of the Court to put him to death by that puniſhment, he was enabled, by the care of his friends, to recover: And he lived to King William's reign; when he had a penſion of four hundred pounds a year ſettled on him. A conſiderable number ſtill adhered to him in his diſtreſſes, and regarded him as the martyr of the proteſtant cauſe. The populace were affected with the ſight of a puniſhment, more ſevere than is commonly exerciſed in England. And the ſentence of perpetual impriſonment was deemed illegal.

THE conviction of Oates's perjury was taken notice of by the houſe of Peers. Beſides freeing the popiſh lords, Powis, Arun-

Lux

CHAP. LXX.

1685.

Arundel, Bellaſis, and Tyrone, together with Danby, from the former impeachment by the Commons, they went ſo far as to vote a reverſal of Stafford's attainder, on account of the falſhood of that evidence, on which he had been condemned. This bill fixed ſo deep a ſtain on the former proceedings of the excluſioniſts, that it met with great oppoſition among the Lords; and it was at laſt, after one reading, dropped by the Commons. Tho' the reparation of injuſtice be the ſecond honour, which a nation can attain; the preſent emergence ſeemed very improper for granting ſo full a juſtification of the catholics, and throwing ſo ſignal an imputation on the Proteſtants.

Monmouth's invaſion.

THE courſe of parliamentary proceedings was interrupted by the news of Monmouth's arrival on the weſt coaſt with three ſhips from Holland. No ſooner was this intelligence conveyed to the Parliament, than they voted, that they would adhere to his Majeſty with their lives and fortunes. They paſſed a bill of attainder againſt Monmouth: and they granted a ſupply of four hundred thouſand pounds for ſuppreſſing this rebellion. After having thus ſtrengthened the hands of the King, they adjourned themſelves.

MONMOUTH, when ordered to depart the kingdom, during the late reign, had retired to Holland; and as it was well known, that he was ſtill much favoured by his indulgent father, all marks of honour and diſtinction were beſtowed upon him by the Prince of Orange. After the acceſſion of James, the Prince thought proper to diſmiſs Monmouth and all his followers; and that illuſtrious fugitive retired to Bruſſels. Finding himſelf ſtill purſued by the King's ſeverity, he was puſhed, contrary to his judgment as well as inclination, to make a very raſh and premature attempt upon England. He ſaw that the King had lately mounted the Throne, not only without oppoſition, but ſeemingly with the good will and

CHAP. LXXI. 1685.

and affections of his subjects. A Parliament was sitting, which discovered the greatest disposition to comply with the Court, and whose adherence to the Crown, he knew, would give a sanction and authority to all public measures. The grievances of this reign were hitherto inconsiderable; and the people were not as yet in a disposition to remark them with great severity. All these considerations occurred to Monmouth; but such was the impatience of his followers, such the precipitate humour of Argyle, who set out for Scotland a little before him, that no reasons could be attended to; and this unhappy man was drove upon his fate.

11th of June.

THE imprudence, however, of this enterprize did not at first appear. Tho' on his landing at Lime in Dorsetshire, he had scarce a hundred followers; so popular was his name, that in four days he had assembled above two thousand horse and foot. They were indeed almost all of them, the lowest of the people; and his declaration was chiefly calculated to suit the prejudices of the vulgar, or the most bigotted of the whig-party. He called the King, Duke of Yorke; and denominated him a traitor, a tyrant, a murderer, a popish usurper. He imputed to him the fire of London, the murder of Godfrey and of Essex, nay the poisoning the late King. And he invited all the people to join in opposition to his tyranny.

THE duke of Albemarle, son to him who had restored the Royal Family, summoned together the militia of Devonshire to the number of 4000 men, and took post at Axminster, in order to oppose the rebels; but observing, that his troops bore a great affection to Monmouth, he thought proper to retire. Monmouth, tho' he had formerly given many signal proofs of personal courage, had not the vigour of mind requisite for an undertaking of this nature. From an ill grounded diffidence of his men, he neglected to attack Albemarle; an easy enter-

prize,

prize, by which he might both have acquired credit and ſupplied himſelf with arms. Lord Gray, who commanded his horſe, diſcovered himſelf to be a notorious coward; yet ſuch was the ſoftneſs of Monmouth's nature, that Gray was ſtill continued in his command. Fletcher of Salton, a Scotſman, a perſon of ſignal probity and fine genius, had been engaged by his republican principles in this enterprize, and commanded the cavalry together with Gray: But being inſulted by one, who had newly joined the army, and whoſe horſe he had in a hurry made uſe of, he was prompted by paſſion, to which he was much ſubject, to diſcharge a piſtol at the man; and he killed him on the ſpot. This accident obliged him immediately to leave the camp; and the loſs of ſo gallant an officer was a great prejudice to Monmouth's enterprize. CHAP. LXX. 1685.

THE next ſtation of the rebels was Taunton, a very diſaffected town, which gladly and even fondly received them, and re-inforced them with conſiderable numbers. Twenty young maids of ſome rank preſented Monmouth with a pair of colours of their handiwork, together with a copy of the bible. Monmouth was here perſuaded to take upon him the title of King, and aſſert the legitimacy of his birth; a claim, which he advanced in his firſt declaration, but whoſe diſcuſſion he was determined, he then ſaid, during ſome time to poſtpone. His numbers had now increaſed to ſix thouſand men; and he was obliged every day, for want of arms, to diſmiſs a great many, who crowded to his ſtandard. He entered Bridgewater, Wells, Frome; and was proclaimed in all theſe places: But forgetting, that ſuch deſperate enterprizes can only be rendered ſucceſsful by the moſt adventurous courage, he allowed the expectations of the people to languiſh, without attempting any conſiderable undertaking.

WHILE

CHAP. LXX. 1685.

WHILE Monmouth by his imprudent and ill-timed caution, was thus waſting time in the Weſt, the King employed himſelf in making preparations to oppoſe him. Six regiments of Britiſh troops were called over from Holland: The army was conſiderably augmented: And regular forces, to the number of 3000 men, were diſpatched under the command of Feverſham and Churchill, in order to check the progreſs of the rebels.

MONMOUTH, obſerving that no conſiderable men joined him, finding that an inſurrection which was projected in the city had not taken place, hearing that Argyle, his confederate, was already defeated and taken; ſunk into ſuch deſpondency, that he had once reſolved to withdraw himſelf, and leave his unhappy followers to their fate. His followers expreſſed more courage than their leader, and ſeemed determined to adhere to him in every fortune. The negligent diſpoſition made by Feverſham, invited Monmouth to attack the King's army at Sedgemoor near Bridgewater; and his men in this action ſhowed what a native courage and a principle of duty, even when unaſſiſted by diſcipline, is able to perform. They made great impreſſion on the veteran forces; drove them from their ground; continued the fight till their ammunition failed them; and would at laſt have obtained a victory, had not the miſconduct of Monmouth and the cowardice of Gray prevented it. After a conteſt of three hours the rebels gave way; and were followed with great ſlaughter. About 1500 fell in the battle and purſuit. And thus was concluded in a few weeks this enterprize, raſhly undertaken, and feebly conducted.

5th of July. Monmouth defeated,

MONMOUTH fled from the field of battle above twenty miles, till his horſe ſunk under him. He then changed cloaths with a peaſant, in order to conceal himſelf. The peaſant was found by the purſuers, who now redoubled the

CHAP. LXX.

1685.

the diligence of their ſearch. At laſt, the unhappy Monmouth was diſcovered, lying in the bottom of a ditch, and covered with fern: His body depreſſed with fatigue and hunger; his mind by the memory of paſt misfortunes, by the proſpect of future diſaſters. Human nature is unequal to ſuch calamitous ſituations; much more, the temper of a man, ſoftened by early proſperity, and accuſtomed to value himſelf chiefly on military bravery. He burſt into tears, when ſeized by his enemies; and he ſeemed ſtill to indulge the fond hope and deſire of life. Tho' he might have known, from the greatneſs of his own offences, and the ſeverity of James's temper, that no mercy could be expected, he wrote him the moſt ſubmiſſive letters, and conjured him to ſpare the blood of a brother, who had ever been ſo ſtrongly attached to his intereſts. James, finding ſuch ſymptoms of depreſſion and deſpondency in the unhappy priſoner, admitted him to his preſence, in hopes of extorting a diſcovery of his accomplices: But Monmouth would not purchaſe life, however loved, at the price of ſo much infamy. Finding all efforts vain, he aſſumed courage from deſpair, and prepared himſelf for death, with a ſpirit, better ſuited to his rank and character. This favourite of the people was attended to the ſcaffold with a plentiful effuſion of tears. He warned the executioner not to fall into the error which he had committed in beheading Ruſſel, where it had been neceſſary to redouble the blow. This precaution ſerved only to diſmay the executioner. He ſtruck a feeble blow on Monmouth, who raiſed his head from the block, and looked him in the face, as if reproaching him for his failure. He gently laid down his head a ſecond time; and the executioner ſtruck him again and again to no purpoſe. He at laſt threw aſide the ax, and cried out that he was incapable of finiſhing the bloody office. The ſheriff obliged him to renew the attempt; and at two blows more the head was ſevered from the body.

and executed, 15th of July.

CHAP. LXX.

1685.

THUS perished in the thirty-sixth year of his age a nobleman, who, in less turbulent times, was well qualified to be an ornament to the Court, even to be serviceable to his country. The favour of his Prince, the caresses of faction, the allurements of popularity, seduced him into enterprizes, which exceeded his capacity. The good will of the people still followed him in every fortune. Even after his execution, their fond credulity flattered them with hopes of seeing him once more at their head. They believed, that the person executed was not Monmouth, but one, who, having the fortune to resemble him nearly, was willing to give this proof of his extreme attachment, and to suffer death in his stead.

THIS victory, obtained by the King in the commencement of his reign, would naturally, had it been prudently managed, have tended much to encrease his power and authority. But by reason of the cruelty, with which it was prosecuted, and of the temerity, which it afterwards occasioned, it was a principal cause of his sudden ruin and downfall.

SUCH arbitrary principles had the Court instilled into all its servants, that Feversham, immediately after the victory, hanged up above twenty prisoners; and was proceeding in his executions, when the bishop of Bath and Wells warned him, that these unhappy men were now by law entitled to a trial, and that their execution would be deemed a real murther. This remonstrance however did not stop the savage nature of colonel Kirke, a soldier of fortune, who had long served at Tangiers, and had contracted from his habitudes with the Moors, an inhumanity less known in European and in free countries. At his first entry into Bridgewater, he hanged nineteen without the least enquiry into the merits of their cause. As if to make sport with death, he ordered a certain number to be executed, while he and his company should drink to the King's health, or to the queen's,

Cruelty of colonel Kirke.

queen's, or to judge Jefferies's. Observing their feet to shake in the agonies of death, he cried that he would give them music to their dancing; and he immediately commanded the drums to beat and the trumpets to sound. By way of experiment, he ordered one man to be hung up three times, questioning him at every interval, whether he repented of his crime: But the man obstinately asserting, that, notwithstanding all the past, he would still willingly engage in the same cause, Kirke ordered him to be hung in chains. One story, commonly told of him, is memorable for the treachery, as well as barbarity, which attended it. A young maid pleaded for the life of her brother, and flung herself at Kirke's feet, armed with all the charms, which beauty and innocence, bathed in tears, could bestow upon her. The tyrant was inflamed with desire, not softened into love or clemency. He promised to grant her request, provided that she, in her turn, would be equally compliant to him. The maid yielded to the conditions: But after she had passed the night with him, the wanton savage, next morning, showed her from the window her brother, the darling object for whom she had sacrificed her virtue, hanged on a gibbet, which he had secretly ordered to be there erected for his execution. Rage and despair and indignation took possession of her mind, and deprived her for ever of her senses. All the inhabitants of that country, innocent as well as guilty, were exposed to the ravages of this barbarian. The soldiery were let loose to live on free quarter; and his own regiment, instructed by his example, and encouraged by his exhortations, distinguished themselves in a more particular manner by their outrages. By way of pleasantry he used to denominate them *his lambs*; an appellation, which was long remembered with horror in the west of England.

CHAP. LXX. 1685.

The cruel Jefferies succeeded after some interval; and showed the people, that the rigours of the law

CHAP. LXX.

1685.

might equal, if not exceed, the ravages of military tyranny. This man, who wantoned in cruelty, had already given a ſpecimen of his character in many trials, where he had preſided; and he now ſet out with a ſavage joy as to a full harveſt of death and deſtruction. He began at Dorcheſter; and thirty rebels being arraigned, he exhorted them, but in vain, to ſave him, by their free confeſſion, the trouble of trying them: And when twenty-nine were found guilty, he ordered them, as an additional puniſhment of their diſobedience, to be led to immediate execution. Moſt of the other priſoners, terrified with this example, pleaded guilty; and no leſs than two hundred and ninety-two received ſentence at Dorcheſter. Of theſe eighty were executed. Exeter was the next ſtage of his cruelty: Two hundred and forty-three were there tried, of whom a great number were condemned and executed. He alſo opened his commiſſion at Taunton and Wells; and every where carried terror and aſtoniſhment along with him. The juries were ſo ſtruck with his menaces, that they gave their verdict with precipitation, and many innocent perſons were involved with the guilty. And on the whole, beſides thoſe butchered by the military commanders, two hundred and fifty-one are computed to have fallen by the hand of juſtice. The whole country was ſtrowed with the heads and limbs of traitors. Every village almoſt beheld the dead carcaſs of a wretched inhabitant. And all the rigours of juſtice, unabated by any appearance of clemency, were fully diſplayed to the people by the inhuman Jefferies.

Of all the executions during this diſmal period, the moſt remarkable were thoſe of Mrs. Gaunt and Lady Liſle, who had been accuſed of harbouring traitors. Mrs. Gaunt was an Anabaptiſt, noted for her beneficence, which ſhe extended to perſons of all profeſſions and perſwaſions. One of the rebels, knowing her humane

mane character, had recourſe to her in his diſtreſs, and was concealed by her. Hearing of the proclamation, which offered an indemnity and rewards to ſuch as diſcovered criminals, he baſely betrayed his benefactreſs, and bore evidence againſt her. He received a pardon for his treachery; ſhe was burned alive for her charity. CHAP. LXX. 1685.

LADY LISLE was widow of one of the Regicides, who had enjoyed great favour and authority under Cromwel, and who having fled, after the reſtoration, to Lauzunne in Swiſſerland, was there aſſaſſinated by three Iriſh ruffians, who hoped to make their fortune by this infamous piece of ſervice. His widow was now proſecuted for harbouring two rebels the day after the battle of Sedgemoor; and Jefferies puſhed on the trial with the moſt unrelenting violence. In vain did the aged priſoner plead, that theſe criminals had been put into no proclamation, had been convicted by no verdict; nor could any man be denominated a traitor, till the ſentence of ſome legal court was paſſed upon him: That it appeared not by any proof, that ſhe was ſo much as acquainted with the guilt of the perſons, or had heard of their joining the rebellion of Monmouth: That tho' ſhe might be obnoxious on account of her family, it was well known, that her heart was ever loyal, and that no perſon in England had ſhed more tears for that fatal event, in which her huſband had unfortunately bore too great a ſhare: And that the ſame principles, which ſhe herſelf had ever embraced, ſhe had carefully inſtilled into her ſon, and had, at that very time, ſent him to fight againſt thoſe rebels, whom ſhe was now accuſed of harbouring. Tho' theſe arguments did not move Jefferies, they had influence on the jury. Twice they ſeemed inclined to bring in a favourable verdict: They were as often ſent back with menaces and reproaches; and at laſt were conſtrained to give ſentence againſt the priſoner. Notwithſtanding all applications for pardon, the cruel ſen-

CHAP. LXX. 1685.

tence was executed. The King ſaid, that he had given Jefferies a promiſe not to pardon her: An excuſe, which could ſerve only to aggravate the blame againſt himſelf.

One might have hoped, that, by all theſe bloody executions, a rebellion, ſo precipitate, ſo ill ſupported, and of ſuch ſhort duration, would have been ſufficiently expiated: But nothing could ſatiate the ſpirit of rigour, which poſſeſſed the adminiſtration. Even thoſe multitudes, who received pardon, were obliged to attone for their guilt by fines, which reduced them to beggary; or where their former poverty made them incapable of payment, they were condemned to cruel whippings or ſevere impriſonments. Nor could the innocent eſcape the hands, equally rapacious as cruel, of the chief juſtice. Prideaux, a gentleman of Devonſhire, being thrown into priſon, and terrified with the ſevere and arbitrary meaſures, which at that time met with no controul, was obliged to buy his liberty of Jefferies at the price of fifteen thouſand pounds; tho' he could never ſo much as learn the crime of which he was accuſed.

Goodenough, the ſeditious under-ſheriff of London, who had been engaged in the moſt bloody and deſperate part of the Rye-houſe conſpiracy, was taken priſoner after the battle of Sedgemoor, and was reſolved to ſave his own life, by an accuſation of Corniſh, the ſheriff, whom he knew to be extremely obnoxious to the Court. Colonel Rumſey joined him in the accuſation; and the proſecution was ſo haſtened, that the priſoner was tried, condemned, and executed in the ſpace of a week. The perjury of the witneſſes appeared immediately after; and the King ſeemed to regret the execution of Corniſh. He granted his eſtate to his family, and condemned the witneſſes to perpetual impriſonment.

The injuſtice of this ſentence againſt Corniſh, was not required to diſguſt the nation againſt the Court: The continued rigour of the other executions had al-

ready impreſſed an univerſal hatred towards the miniſters of juſtice, attended with a compaſſion for the unhappy ſufferers, who, as they had been ſeduced into this crime by miſtaken principles, bore their puniſhment with the ſpirit and zeal of martyrs. The people might have been willing on this occaſion to diſtinguiſh between the King and his miniſters: But care was taken to prove, that the latter had done nothing but what was agreeable to their maſter. Jefferies, on his return, was immediately, for thoſe eminent ſervices, created a peer; and was ſoon after veſted with the dignity of chancellor. No body could then doubt but that the King intended to rule more by fear than love, and that he was not averſe to the cruelties which had been practiſed. CHAP. LXX. 1685.

State of affairs in Scotland.

We muſt now take a view of the ſtate of affairs in Scotland; where the fate of Argyle had been decided before that of Monmouth. Immediately after the King's acceſſion, a Parliament had been ſummoned at Edinburgh; and all affairs were there conducted by the duke of Queenſbery the commiſſioner, and the earl of Perth the chancellor. The former had reſolved to make an entire ſurrender of the liberties of his country; but was determined ſtill to adhere to its religion: The latter entertained no ſcruples of paying court even by the ſacrifice of both. But no courtiers, even the moſt proſtitute, could go farther than the Parliament itſelf, towards a reſignation of their liberties. In a vote, which they called an offer of duty, after adopting the fabulous hiſtory of an hundred and eleven Scots Monarchs, they acknowledged, that all theſe Princes, by the primary and fundamental law of the ſtate, had been veſted with a *ſolid* and *abſolute* authority. They declared their abhorrence of all principles and poſitions, derogatory to the King's ſacred, ſupreme, ſovereign, abſolute power, of which none, they ſaid, whether ſingle perſons or collective bodies, can participate, but in dependance on him and by

CHAP. LXX. 1685.

commiſſion from him. They promiſed, that the whole nation, between ſixty and ſixteen, ſhall be in readineſs for his Majeſty's ſervice, where and as oft as it ſhall be his royal pleaſure to require them. And they annexed the whole exciſe both of inland and foreign commodities for ever to the Crown.

ALL the other acts of this aſſembly ſavoured of the ſame ſpirit. They declared it high treaſon for any perſon to refuſe the teſt, if tendered by the council. To defend the obligation of the covenant, ſubjected a perſon to the ſame penalty. To be preſent at any conventicle, was made puniſhable with death and confiſcation of goods. Even ſuch as refuſed to give teſtimony, either in caſes of treaſon or nonconformity, were declared equally puniſhable as if guilty of thoſe very crimes: An excellent prelude to all the rigours of an inquiſition. It muſt be confeſſed, that nothing could equal the abject ſervility of the Scotch nation during this period but the arbitrary ſeverity of the adminiſtration.

Argyle's invaſion,

IT was in vain, that Argyle ſummoned a nation, ſo loſt to all ſenſe of liberty, ſo degraded by repeated indignities, to riſe in vindication of their violated laws and privileges. The greater part of thoſe who declared for him, were his own vaſſals; men, who, if poſſible, were ſtill more ſunk in ſlavery than the reſt of the nation. He arrived, after a proſperous voyage, in Argyleſhire, attended by ſome fugitives from Holland; and among the reſt, by Sir Patric Hume, a man of mild diſpoſitions, who had been driven to this extremity by a continued train of oppreſſion. The privy council was apprized of Argyle's intentions. The whole militia of the kingdom, to the number of twenty-two thouſand men, were already in arms; and a third part of them, with all the regular forces, were on their march to oppoſe him. All the conſiderable gentry of his clan were thrown into priſon. And two ſhips of war were on the coaſt

to

CHAP. LXX.

1685.

to watch his motions. Under all theſe diſcouragements he yet made a ſhift, partly from terror, partly from affection, to collect and arm a body of about two thouſand five hundred men; but ſoon found himſelf ſurrounded on all ſides with inſuperable difficulties. His arms and ammunition were ſeized: His proviſions cut off: The marqueſs of Athole preſſed him on one ſide; lord Charles Murray on another; the Duke of Gordon hung upon his rear; the earl of Dunbarton met him in front. His followers daily fell off from him; but Argyle, reſolute to perſevere, broke at laſt with the ſhattered remains of his troops into the diſaffected part of the low countries, which he had endeavoured to allure to him by declarations for the covenant. No perſon ſhowedei ther courage or inclination to join him; and his ſmall and ſtill decreaſing army, after wandering about for a little time, was at laſt defeated and diſſolved without an enemy. Argyle himſelf was ſeized and carried to Edinburgh; where, after enduring many indignities with a gallant ſpirit, he was publickly executed. He ſuffered upon the former unjuſt ſentence, which had been paſſed upon him. The reſt of his followers either eſcaped or were pardoned; all except Rombold and Ayloffe, two Engliſhmen, who had attended him on this expedition.

defeat,

and execution.

THE King was ſo elated with this continued tide of proſperity, that he began to undervalue even an Engliſh Parliament, at all times formidable to his family; and from his ſpeech to both Houſes, whom he had aſſembled early in the winter, he ſeemed to think himſelf exempted from all rules of prudence or neceſſity of diſſimulation He plainly told the two houſes, that the militia, which had formerly been ſo much magnified, was now found, by the experience of the laſt rebellion, to be altogether uſeleſs; and he required a new ſupply, in order to maintain thoſe additional forces, which he had levied. He alſo took notice, that he had employed a great many

9th of November. A Parliament.

CHAP. LXX.

1685.

catholic officers, and that he had, in their favour, dispensed with the law, requiring the test to be taken by every one who possessed any public office. And to cut short all opposition, he declared, that, having reaped the benefit of their service during such times of danger, he was determined, neither to expose them afterwards to disgrace, nor himself, in case of another rebellion, to the want of their assistance.

SUCH violent aversion did this Parliament bear to opposition; so great dread had been instilled of the consequences attending any breach with the King; that it is probable, had he used his dispensing power without declaring it, no enquiries would have been made, and time might have reconciled the nation to this dangerous exercise of the prerogative. But to invade at once their constitution, to threaten their religion, to establish a standing army, and even to require them, by their concurrence, to contribute towards all these measures, exceeded the bounds of their patience, and they began, for the first time, to display some small remains of English spirit and generosity. When the King's speech was taken into consideration by the Commons, many severe reflections were thrown out against the present measures; and the House was, with seeming difficulty engaged to promise in a general vote, that they would grant some supply. But instead of finishing that business, which could alone render them acceptable to the King, they proceeded to examine the dispensing power; and they voted an address to the King against it. Before this address was presented, they resumed the consideration of the supply; and as one million two hundred thousand pounds were demanded by the Court, and two hundred thousand pounds proposed by the country-party, a middle course was chosen, and seven hundred thousand pounds, after some dispute, were at last voted. The address against the dispensing power was expressed in the

most

moſt reſpectful and ſubmiſſive manner; yet was it very ill received by the King, and his anſwer contained a flat denial, uttered with great warmth and vehemence. The Commons were ſo daunted with this reply, that they kept ſilence a long time; and when Coke, member for Derby, roſe up and ſaid, "I hope we are all Engliſh-"men, and not to be frighted with a few hard words;" ſo little ſpirit appeared in that aſſembly, often ſo refractory and mutinous, that they ſent him to the Tower for bluntly expreſſing a free and generous ſentiment. They adjourned, without fixing a day for the conſideration of his Majeſty's anſwer; and on their next meeting, they very ſubmiſſively proceeded to the conſideration of the ſupply, and even went ſo far as to eſtabliſh funds for paying the ſum voted, in nine years and a half. The King, therefore, had in effect, almoſt without ſtruggle or violence, obtained a total victory over the Commons; and inſtead of conteſting for their liberties, now expoſed to manifeſt danger, they even conferred an additional revenue to the Crown; and rendering the King in ſome degree independent, contributed to encreaſe thoſe imminent dangers, with which they had ſo good reaſon to be alarmed.

THE next oppoſition came from the Houſe of Peers, which has not commonly taken the lead on theſe occaſions, and even from the bench of biſhops, whence the Court uſually expects the greateſt complaiſance and ſubmiſſion. The upper Houſe had been engaged, in the firſt days of the ſeſſion, to give general thanks for the King's ſpeech; by which compliment they were underſtood, according to the practice of that time, to have acquieſced in every part of it: Yet notwithſtanding that ſtep, Compton, biſhop of London, in his own name and that of his brethren, moved that a day ſhould be appointed for taking the ſpeech into conſideration: He was ſeconded by Halifax, Nottingham, and Mordaunt.

Jef-

CHAP. LXX. 1685.

Jefferies, the chancellor, oppoſed this motion; and ſeemed inclined to uſe in that Houſe the ſame arrogance, to which on the bench he had ſo long been accuſtomed: But he was ſoon taught to know his place; and he proved, by his behaviour, that inſolence, when checked, naturally ſinks into meanneſs and cowardice. The biſhop of London's motion prevailed.

THE King might reaſonably have preſumed, that even if the Peers ſhould ſo far recover courage as to make an application againſt his diſpenſing power, the ſame ſteddy anſwer, which he had given the Commons, would make them relapſe into the ſame timidity; and he might by that means have obtained a very conſiderable ſupply, without making any conceſſions in return. But ſo imperious was his temper, ſo lofty the idea which he had entertained of his own authority, ſo violent the ſchemes ſuggeſted by his own bigotry and that of his prieſts; that, without any delay, without waiting for any farther provocation, he immediately proceeded to a prorogation. He continued the Parliament during a year and a half by four more prorogations; but having in vain tried by ſeparate applications to break the obſtinacy of the leading members, he at laſt diſſolved that aſſembly. And as it was plainly impoſſible for him to find among his proteſtant ſubjects a ſet of men more devoted to royal authority, it was univerſally concluded, that he intended thenceforth to govern entirely without Parliaments.

NEVER King mounted the throne of England with greater advantages than James; nay, poſſeſſed greater facility, if that were any advantage, of rendering himſelf and his poſterity abſolute: But all theſe fortunate circumſtances tended only, by his own miſconduct, to bring more ſudden ruin upon him. The nation ſeemed diſpoſed of themſelves to reſign their liberties into his hands, had he not, at the ſame time, made an attempt upon

upon their religion: And he might even have ſucceeded in ſurmounting at once their liberties and religion, had he conducted his ſchemes with common prudence and diſcretion. Openly to declare to the Parliament, ſo early in his reign, his intention to diſpenſe with the teſts, ſtruck an univerſal alarm thro' the nation; infuſed terror into the church, which had hitherto been the chief ſupport of Monarchy; and even diſguſted the army, by whoſe means alone he could now propoſe to govern. The former horror againſt popery was revived by polemical books and ſermons; and in every diſpute the victory ſeemed to be gained by the proteſtant divines, who were heard with more favourable ears, and who conducted the controverſy with more learning and eloquence. But another incident happened at this time, which tended extremely to excite the animoſity of the nation againſt the catholic communion.

CHAP. LXX. 1685

Lewis the fourteenth, after having long harraſſed and moleſted the Proteſtants, at laſt revoked entirely the edict of Nantz; which had been enacted by Harry the fourth for ſecuring them the exerciſe of their religion; which had been declared irrevocable; and which, during the experience of near a century, had been attended with no ſenſible inconvenience. All the iniquities, inſeparable from perſecution, were exerciſed againſt thoſe unhappy religioniſts; who became obſtinate in proportion to the oppreſſions which they ſuffered, and either covered under a feigned converſion a more violent abhorrence to the catholic communion, or ſought among foreign nations for that liberty, of which they were bereaved in their native country. Above half a million of the moſt uſeful and induſtrious ſubjects deſerted France; and exported, together with immenſe ſums of money, thoſe arts and manufactures, which had chiefly tended to enrich that kingdom. They propagated every where the moſt tragical accounts of the tyranny, exer-

CHAP. LXX.

exerciſed againſt them, and revived among the Proteſtants all thoſe ſentiments of the bloody and perſecuting ſpirit of popery, to which ſo many incidents in all ages had given too much foundation. Near fifty thouſand refugees paſſed over into England; and all men were diſpoſed from their repreſentations to foſter the utmoſt horror againſt the projects, which they apprehended to be entertained by the King for the abolition of the proteſtant religion. When a Prince of ſo much humanity and of ſuch ſignal prudence as Lewis could be engaged, by the bigotry of his religion alone, without any provocation, to embrace ſuch ſanguinary and impolitic meaſures; what might be dreaded, they aſked, from James, who was ſo much inferior in theſe virtues, and who had already been irritated by ſuch obſtinate and violent oppoſition? In vain did the King affect to throw the higheſt blame on the perſecutions of France: In vain did he afford the moſt real protection and aſſiſtance to the diſtreſſed Hugonots. All theſe ſymptoms of toleration were regarded as fallacious; oppoſite to the avowed principles of his ſect, and belied by the ſevere adminiſtration, which he himſelf had exerciſed againſt the Nonconformiſts in Scotland.

1685.

1686. THE ſmalleſt approach towards the introduction of popery, muſt, in the preſent diſpoſition of the people, have afforded reaſon of jealouſy; much more ſo wide a ſtep as that of diſpenſing with the teſts, the ſole ſecurity which the nation, being diſappointed of the excluſion-bill, found provided againſt thoſe dreaded innovations. Yet was the King reſolute to perſevere in his purpoſe; and having failed in bringing over the Parliament, he made an attempt, with more ſucceſs, for eſtabliſhing the diſpenſing power, by a verdict of his judges. Sir Edward Hales, a new proſelyte, had accepted a commiſſion of colonel; and directions were given

given to his coachman to profecute him for the penalty of five hundred pounds, which the law, eſtabliſhing the teſts, had granted to informers. By this feigned action, the King hoped, both from the authority of the deciſion, and the reaſon of the thing, to put an end to all queſtions with regard to his diſpenſing power.

CHAP. LXX. 1686. Diſpenſing power.

It could not be expected, that the lawyers, appointed to plead againſt Hales, would exert great force on that occaſion: But the cauſe was regarded with ſuch anxiety by the public, that it has been thoroughly diſcuſſed in ſeveral elaborate diſcourſes [a]; and could men diveſt themſelves of prejudice, there want not ſufficient materials, on which to form a true judgment. The claim and exerciſe of the diſpenſing power is allowed to be very antient in England; and tho' it ſeems at firſt to have been copied from papal uſurpations, it may plainly be traced up as high as the reign of Henry the third. In the gothic governments, men were more anxious to ſecure their private property than to ſhare in the public adminiſtration; and provided no innovations were attempted on their rights and poſſeſſions, the care of executing the laws, and enſuring general ſafety was without jealouſy entruſted to the Sovereign. Penal ſtatutes were commonly intended to arm the Prince with more authority for that purpoſe; and being in the main calculated for promoting his influence and intereſt as firſt magiſtrate, there ſeemed no danger in allowing him to diſpenſe with their execution, in ſuch particular caſes as might require an exception or indulgence. That practice had ſo much prevailed, that the Parliament itſelf had more than once acknowleged this prerogative of the Crown; particularly during the reign of Henry the fifth, when they enacted the law againſt aliens [b], and alſo when they paſſed the ſtatute of proviſors [d]. But tho' the general tenor of the penal

[a] Particularly Sir Edward Herbert's defence in the State Trials, and Sir Robert Atkins's Enquiry concerning the diſpenſing power. [b] Rot. Parl. 1. Hen. V. n. xv. [d] Rot. Parl. 1. Hen. V. n. xxii. It is remarkable,

CHAP. LXX.

1685. exercised against them, and revived among the Protestants all those sentiments of the bloody and persecuting spirit of popery, to which so many incidents in all ages had given too much foundation. Near fifty thousand refugees passed over into England; and all men were disposed from their representations to foster the utmost horror against the projects, which they apprehended to be entertained by the King for the abolition of the protestant religion. When a Prince of so much humanity and of such signal prudence as Lewis could be engaged, by the bigotry of his religion alone, without any provocation, to embrace such sanguinary and impolitic measures; what might be dreaded, they asked, from James, who was so much inferior in these virtues, and who had already been irritated by such obstinate and violent opposition? In vain did the King affect to throw the highest blame on the persecutions of France: In vain did he afford the most real protection and assistance to the distressed Hugonots. All these symptoms of toleration were regarded as fallacious; opposite to the avowed principles of his sect, and belied by the severe administration, which he himself had exercised against the Nonconformists in Scotland.

1686. THE smallest approach towards the introduction of popery, must, in the present disposition of the people, have afforded reason of jealousy; much more so wide a step as that of dispensing with the tests, the sole security which the nation, being disappointed of the exclusion-bill, found provided against those dreaded innovations. Yet was the King resolute to persevere in his purpose; and having failed in bringing over the Parliament, he made an attempt, with more success, for establishing the dispensing power, by a verdict of his judges. Sir Edward Hales, a new proselyte, had accepted a commission of colonel; and directions were given

1686. Dispensing power.

given to his coachman to prosecute him for the penalty of five hundred pounds, which the law, establishing the tests, had granted to informers. By this feigned action, the King hoped, both from the authority of the decision, and the reason of the thing, to put an end to all questions with regard to his dispensing power.

It could not be expected, that the lawyers, appointed to plead against Hales, would exert great force on that occasion: But the cause was regarded with such anxiety by the public, that it has been thoroughly discussed in several elaborate discourses [a]; and could men divest themselves of prejudice, there want not sufficient materials, on which to form a true judgment. The claim and exercise of the dispensing power is allowed to be very antient in England; and tho' it seems at first to have been copied from papal usurpations, it may plainly be traced up as high as the reign of Henry the third. In the gothic governments, men were more anxious to secure their private property than to share in the public administration; and provided no innovations were attempted on their rights and possessions, the care of executing the laws, and ensuring general safety was without jealousy entrusted to the Sovereign. Penal statutes were commonly intended to arm the Prince with more authority for that purpose; and being in the main calculated for promoting his influence and interest as first magistrate, there seemed no danger in allowing him to dispense with their execution, in such particular cases as might require an exception or indulgence. That practice had so much prevailed, that the Parliament itself had more than once acknowleged this prerogative of the Crown; particularly during the reign of Henry the fifth, when they enacted the law against aliens [b], and also when they passed the statute of provisors [d]. But tho' the general tenor of the penal

[a] Particularly Sir Edward Herbert's defence in the State Trials, and Sir Robert Atkins's Enquiry concerning the dispensing power. [b] Rot. Parl. 1. Hen. V. n. xv. [d] Rot. Parl. 1. Hen. V. n. xxii. It is remarkable,

CHAP. LXX.

1686.

penal ſtatutes was ſuch as gave the King a ſuperior intereſt in their execution beyond any of his ſubjects; it could not but ſometimes happen in a mixed government, that the Parliament would deſire to enact laws, by which the regal power, in ſome particulars, even where private property was not immediately concerned, might be regulated and reſtrained. In the twenty-third of Henry the ſixth, a law of this kind was enacted, prohibiting any man to ſerve in a county as ſheriff above a year; and a clauſe was inſerted, by which the King was diſabled from granting a diſpenſation. Plain reaſon might have taught, that this law, at leaſt, ſhould be exempted from the King's prerogative; But as the diſpenſing power ſtill prevailed in other caſes, it was ſoon able, aided by the ſervility of the courts of judicature, even to overpower this ſtatute, which the legiſlature had evidently intended to ſecure againſt all violation. In the reign of Henry the ſeventh, the caſe was brought to a trial before all the judges in the Exchequer-chamber; and it was decreed, that, notwithſtanding the ſtrict clauſe abovementioned, the King might diſpenſe with the ſtatute: He could firſt, it was alleged, diſpenſe with the prohibitory clauſe, and then with the ſtatute itſelf. This opinion of the judges, however abſurd, had ever ſince paſſed for undoubted law: The practice of continuing the ſheriffs had ever prevailed: And moſt of the property in England had been fixed by deciſions, which juries, returned by ſuch ſheriffs, had given in the courts of judicature. Many other diſpenſations of a like nature may be produced; not only ſuch as took place by intervals, but ſuch as were uniformly continued. Thus the law was diſpenſed with which prohibited any man to go a judge of aſſize into his own county; that which rendered all Welchmen incapable of offices in

markable, however, that in the reign of Richard the ſecond, the Parliament granted the King only a temporary power of diſpenſing with the ſtatute of proviſors. Rot. Parl. 15. Rich. II. n. 1. A plain implication that he had not, of himſelf, ſuch a prerogative. So uncertain were many of theſe points at that time.

Wales;

Wales; that which required every one, who received a pardon for felony, to find ſureties for his good behaviour. In the ſecond of James the firſt, a new conſultation of all the judges had been held in the Exchequer-chamber upon a like queſtion: This prerogative of the Crown was again unanimouſly confirmed[e]: And it became an eſtabliſhed principle in Engliſh juriſprudence, that, tho' the King could not allow of what was morally unlawful, he could permit what was only prohibited by poſitive ſtatute. Even the jealous Houſe of Commons, which extorted the petition of right from Charles the firſt, made no ſcruple, by the mouth of Glanville, their manager, to allow of the diſpenſing power in its full extent[f]; and in the famous trial of ſhip-money, Holborne, the popular lawyer, had, freely, and in the moſt expreſs terms, made the ſame conceſſion[g]. Sir Edward Coke, the great oracle of Engliſh law, had not only concurred with all other lawyers in favour of this prerogative; but ſeems even to believe it ſo inherent in the Crown, that an act of Parliament itſelf could not aboliſh it[h]. And he particularly obſerves, that no law can impoſe ſuch a diſability of enjoying offices as the King may not diſpenſe with; becauſe the King, from the law of nature, has a right to the ſervice of all his ſubjects. This particular reaſon, as well as all the general principles, is applicable to the queſtion of the teſts; nor can the dangerous conſequence of granting diſpenſations in that caſe be ever received before a court of judicature. Every prerogative of the Crown, it may be ſaid, admits of abuſe: Should the King pardon all criminals, law muſt be totally diſſolved: Should he declare and continue perpetual war againſt all nations, inevitable ruin muſt

[e] Sir Edward Coke's Reports, ſeventh report. vol. vii. firſt edit. p. 205. Parl. Hiſt. vol. viii. p. 132. [f] State Trials, vol. v. firſt edit. p. 171. [g] State Trials, twelfth report, p. 18. [h] Sir Edward Coke's Reports,

en-

CHAP. LXX. 1686.

penal ſtatutes was ſuch as gave the King a ſuperior intereſt in their execution beyond any of his ſubjects; it could not but ſometimes happen in a mixed government, that the Parliament would deſire to enact laws, by which the regal power, in ſome particulars, even where private property was not immediately concerned, might be regulated and reſtrained. In the twenty-third of Henry the ſixth, a law of this kind was enacted, prohibiting any man to ſerve in a county as ſheriff above a year; and a clauſe was inſerted, by which the King was diſabled from granting a diſpenſation. Plain reaſon might have taught, that this law, at leaſt, ſhould be exempted from the King's prerogative; But as the diſpenſing power ſtill prevailed in other caſes, it was ſoon able, aided by the ſervility of the courts of judicature, even to overpower this ſtatute, which the legiſlature had evidently intended to ſecure againſt all violation. In the reign of Henry the ſeventh, the caſe was brought to a trial before all the judges in the Exchequer-chamber; and it was decreed, that, notwithſtanding the ſtrict clauſe abovementioned, the King might diſpenſe with the ſtatute: He could firſt, it was alleged, diſpenſe with the prohibitory clauſe, and then with the ſtatute itſelf. This opinion of the judges, however abſurd, had ever ſince paſſed for undoubted law: The practice of continuing the ſheriffs had ever prevailed: And moſt of the property in England had been fixed by deciſions, which juries, returned by ſuch ſheriffs, had given in the courts of judicature. Many other diſpenſations of a like nature may be produced; not only ſuch as took place by intervals, but ſuch as were uniformly continued. Thus the law was diſpenſed with which prohibited any man to go a judge of aſſize into his own county; that which rendered all Welchmen incapable of offices in

markable, however, that in the reign of Richard the ſecond, the Parliament granted the King only a temporary power of diſpenſing with the ſtatute of proviſors. Rot. Parl. 15. Rich. II. n. 1. A plain implication that he had not, of himſelf, ſuch a prerogative. So uncertain were many of theſe points at that time.

Wales;

Wales; that which required every one, who received a pardon for felony, to find ſureties for his good behaviour. In the ſecond of James the firſt, a new conſultation of all the judges had been held in the Exchequer-chamber upon a like queſtion: This prerogative of the Crown was again unanimouſly confirmed[e]: And it became an eſtabliſhed principle in Engliſh juriſprudence, that, tho' the King could not allow of what was morally unlawful, he could permit what was only prohibited by poſitive ſtatute. Even the jealous Houſe of Commons, which extorted the petition of right from Charles the firſt, made no ſcruple, by the mouth of Glanville, their manager, to allow of the diſpenſing power in its full extent[f]; and in the famous trial of ſhip-money, Holborne, the popular lawyer, had, freely, and in the moſt expreſs terms, made the ſame conceſſion[g]. Sir Edward Coke, the great oracle of Engliſh law, had not only concurred with all other lawyers in favour of this prerogative; but ſeems even to believe it ſo inherent in the Crown, that an act of Parliament itſelf could not aboliſh it[h]. And he particularly obſerves, that no law can impoſe ſuch a diſability of enjoying offices as the King may not diſpenſe with; becauſe the King, from the law of nature, has a right to the ſervice of all his ſubjects. This particular reaſon, as well as all the general principles, is applicable to the queſtion of the teſts; nor can the dangerous conſequence of granting diſpenſations in that caſe be ever received before a court of judicature. Every prerogative of the Crown, it may be ſaid, admits of abuſe: Should the King pardon all criminals, law muſt be totally diſſolved: Should he declare and continue perpetual war againſt all nations, inevitable ruin muſt

[e] Sir Edward Coke's Reports, ſeventh report. [f] State Trials, vol. vii. firſt edit. p. 205. Parl. Hiſt. vol. viii. p. 132. [g] State Trials, vol. v. firſt edit. p. 171. [h] Sir Edward Coke's Reports, twelfth report, p. 18.

en-

CHAP. LXX. 1686.

enſue: Yet theſe powers are entruſted to the Sovereign; and we muſt be contented, as our anceſtors were, to depend upon his prudence and diſcretion in the exerciſe of them.

THO' this reaſoning ſeems founded on ſuch principles as are uſually admitted by lawyers, the people had entertained ſuch violent prepoſſeſſions againſt the uſe, which James here made of his prerogative, that he was obliged, before he brought on Hales's cauſe, to diſplace four of the judges, Jones, Montague, Charleton and Nevil; and even Sir Edward Herbert, the chief juſtice, tho' a man of acknowleged virtue, yet becauſe he here ſupported the pretenſions of the Crown, fell under a great load of infamy. Men deemed a diſpenſing, to be in effect the ſame with a repealing power; and they could not conceive, that leſs authority was requiſite to repeal than to enact any ſtatute. If one penal law was diſpenſed with, any other might undergo the ſame fate: And by what principle could even the laws, which define property, be afterwards ſecured from violation? The teſt act had ever been conceived the great barrier of the eſtabliſhed religion under a popiſh ſucceſſor: As ſuch it had been inſiſted on by the Parliament; as ſuch granted by the King; as ſuch, during the debates with regard to the excluſion, recommended by the chancellor. By what magic, what chicane of law, is it now annihilated, and rendered of no validity? Theſe queſtions were every where aſked; and men, ſtraitened by precedents and deciſions of great authority, were reduced either to queſtion the antiquity of this prerogative itſelf, or to aſſert, that even the practice of near five centuries could not beſtow on it ſufficient authority[k]. It was not conſidered that the preſent difficulty or ſeeming abſurdity had proceeded from late innovations introduced into the government. Ever ſince the beginning of this century, the

[k] Sir Robert Atkins, p. 21.

Parlia-

CHAP. LXX. 1686.

Parliament had, with the moſt laudable zeal, been acquiring powers and eſtabliſhing principles, favourable to law and liberty: The authority of the Crown had been limited in many important particulars: And penal ſtatutes were often calculated to ſecure the conſtitution againſt the attempts of miniſters, as well as to preſerve general peace and repreſs crimes and immoralities. A prerogative however, derived from very antient, and almoſt uniform practice, the diſpenſing power, ſtill remained, or was ſuppoſed to remain with the Crown; ſufficient in an inſtant to overturn this whole fabric, and to throw down all the fences of the conſtitution. If this prerogative, which carries, on the face of it, ſuch ſtrong ſymptoms of an abſolute authority in the Crown, had yet, in antient times, ſubſiſted with ſome degree of liberty in the ſubject; this fact only proves, that ſcarce any human government, much leſs one erected in rude and barbarous times, is entirely conſiſtent and uniform in all its parts. But to expect, that the diſpenſing power could, in any degree, be rendered compatible with thoſe accurate and regular limitations, which had of late been eſtabliſhed, and which the people were determined to maintain, was a vain hope; and tho' men knew not upon what principles they could deny that prerogative, they ſaw, that, if they would preſerve their laws and conſtitution, there was an abſolute neceſſity for denying, or at leaſt for aboliſhing it. The revolution alone, which ſoon ſucceeded, happily put an end to all theſe diſputes: By means of it a more uniform edifice was at laſt erected: The monſtrous inconſiſtence, ſo viſible between the antient Gothic parts of the fabric and the recent plans of liberty, was fully corrected: And to their mutual felicity, King and people were finally taught to know their proper limits and boundaries[1].

WHAT-

[1] It is remarkable, that the Convention, ſummoned by the Prince of Orange, did not, even when they had the making of their own terms in

CHAP. LXX.

1686.

enſue: Yet theſe powers are entruſted to the Sovereign; and we muſt be contented, as our anceſtors were, to depend upon his prudence and diſcretion in the exerciſe of them.

THO' this reaſoning ſeems founded on ſuch principles as are uſually admitted by lawyers, the people had entertained ſuch violent prepoſſeſſions againſt the uſe, which James here made of his prerogative, that he was obliged, before he brought on Hales's cauſe, to diſplace four of the judges, Jones, Montague, Charleton and Nevil; and even Sir Edward Herbert, the chief juſtice, tho' a man of acknowleged virtue, yet becauſe he here ſupported the pretenſions of the Crown, fell under a great load of infamy. Men deemed a diſpenſing, to be in effect the ſame with a repealing power; and they could not conceive, that leſs authority was requiſite to repeal than to enact any ſtatute. If one penal law was diſpenſed with, any other might undergo the ſame fate: And by what principle could even the laws, which define property, be afterwards ſecured from violation? The teſt act had ever been conceived the great barrier of the eſtabliſhed religion under a popiſh ſucceſſor: As ſuch it had been inſiſted on by the Parliament; as ſuch granted by the King; as ſuch, during the debates with regard to the excluſion, recommended by the chancellor. By what magic, what chicane of law, is it now annihilated, and rendered of no validity? Theſe queſtions were every where aſked; and men, ſtraitened by precedents and deciſions of great authority, were reduced either to queſtion the antiquity of this prerogative itſelf, or to aſſert, that even the practice of near five centuries could not beſtow on it ſufficient authority[k]. It was not conſidered that the preſent difficulty or ſeeming abſurdity had proceeded from late innovations introduced into the government. Ever ſince the beginning of this century, the

[k] Sir Robert Atkins, p. 21.

Parlia-

CHAP. LXX. 1686.

Parliament had, with the moſt laudable zeal, been acquiring powers and eſtabliſhing principles, favourable to law and liberty: The authority of the Crown had been limited in many important particulars: And penal ſtatutes were often calculated to ſecure the conſtitution againſt the attempts of miniſters, as well as to preſerve general peace and repreſs crimes and immoralities. A prerogative however, derived from very antient, and almoſt uniform practice, the diſpenſing power, ſtill remained, or was ſuppoſed to remain with the Crown; ſufficient in an inſtant to overturn this whole fabric, and to throw down all the fences of the conſtitution. If this prerogative, which carries on the face of it, ſuch ſtrong ſymptoms of an abſolute authority in the Crown, had yet, in antient times, ſubſiſted with ſome degree of liberty in the ſubject; this fact only proves, that ſcarce any human government, much leſs one erected in rude and barbarous times, is entirely conſiſtent and uniform in all its parts. But to expect, that the diſpenſing power could, in any degree, be rendered compatible with thoſe accurate and regular limitations, which had of late been eſtabliſhed, and which the people were determined to maintain, was a vain hope; and tho' men knew not upon what principles they could deny that prerogative, they ſaw, that, if they would preſerve their laws and conſtitution, there was an abſolute neceſſity for denying, or at leaſt for aboliſhing it. The revolution alone, which ſoon ſucceeded, happily put an end to all theſe diſputes: By means of it a more uniform edifice was at laſt erected: The monſtrous inconſiſtence, ſo viſible between the antient Gothic parts of the fabric and the recent plans of liberty, was fully corrected: And to their mutual felicity, King and people were finally taught to know their proper limits and boundaries[1].

WHAT-

[1] It is remarkable, that the Convention, ſummoned by the Prince of Orange, did not, even when they had the making of their own terms in

CHAP. LXX.

1686.

WHATEVER topics lawyers might find to defend James's diſpenſing power, the nation thought it dangerous, if not fatal, to liberty; and his reſolution of exerciſing it may on that account be eſteemed equally alarming, as if the power had been founded on the moſt recent and moſt flagrant uſurpation. It was not likely, that an authority, which had been aſſumed thro' ſo many obſtacles, would in his hands lie long idle and unemployed. Four catholic lords were brought into the privy council, Powis, Arundel, Bellaſis, and Dover. Halifax, finding, that notwithſtanding all his paſt merits, he poſſeſſed no real credit or authority, became very refractory in his oppoſition; and his office of privy ſeal was given to Arundel. The King was open, as well as zealous, in the deſire of making converts; and men plainly ſaw, that the only way to acquire his affection and confidence was by a ſacrifice of their religion. Sunderland, ſome time after, ſcrupled not to gain favour at this price. Rocheſter, the treaſurer, tho' the King's brother-in-law, yet, becauſe he refuſed to give this inſtance of complaiſance, was turned out of his office: The Treaſury was put in commiſſion, and Bellaſis was placed at the head of it. All the courtiers were diſguſted, even ſuch as had little regard to religion. The

the Declaration of Rights, venture to condemn the diſpenſing power in general, which had been uniformly exerciſed by the former kings of England. They only condemned it ſo far, *as it had been aſſumed and exerciſed of late.* But in the *Bill of Rights*, which paſſed about a twelvemonth after, the Parliament took care to ſecure themſelves more effectually againſt a branch of prerogative, incompatible with all legal liberty and limitations; and they excluded, in poſitive terms, all diſpenſing power in the Crown. Yet even then the Houſe of Lords rejected that clauſe of the bill, which condemned the exerciſe of this power in former kings, and obliged the Commons to reſt contented with aboliſhing it for the future. There needs no other proof of the irregular nature of the old Engliſh government, than the ſubſiſtence of ſuch a prerogative, always exerciſed and never queſtioned, till the acquiſition of real liberty diſcovered, at laſt, the danger of it. See the Journals.

diſho-

diſhonour, as well as diſtruſt, attending renegades, made moſt men reſolve, at all hazards, to adhere to their antient faith.

State of Scotland.

In Scotland, James's zeal for proſelytiſm was more ſucceſsful. The earls of Murray, Perth, and Melfort were brought over to the Court religion; and the two latter noblemen made uſe of a very courtly reaſon for their converſion: They pretended, that the papers, found in the late King's cabinet, had opened their eyes, and had convinced them of the preference due to the Catholic religion. Queenſberry, who diſcovered not the ſame complaiſance, fell into total diſgrace, notwithſtanding his former ſervices, and the unlimited ſacrifices, which he had made to the meaſures of the Court. Theſe merits could not even enſure him of ſafety againſt the vengeance, to which he ſtood expoſed. His rival, Perth, who had been ready to ſink under his ſuperior intereſt, now acquired the aſcendant; and all the complaints, exhibited againſt him, were totally obliterated. His faith, according to a ſaying of Halifax, had made him whole.

State of Ireland.

But it was in Ireland chiefly, that the maſk was wholly taken off; and that the King thought himſelf at liberty to proceed to the full extent of his zeal, and his violence. The duke of Ormond was recalled; and tho' the primate and lord Granard, two proteſtants, ſtill poſſeſſed the authority of juſtices, the whole power was lodged in the hands of Talbot, the general, ſoon after created earl of Tyrconnel; a man, who, from the blindneſs of his prejudices and fury of his temper, was tranſported with the moſt immeaſurable ardour for the Catholic cauſe. After the ſuppreſſion of Monmouth's rebellion, orders were given by Tyrconnel to diſarm all the proteſtants, on pretence of ſecuring the public peace, and keeping their arms in a few magazines for the uſe of the militia. Next, the army was new-modelled; and great numbers of officers were diſmiſſed, becauſe it was

CHAP. LXX.

1686.

pretended, that they or their fathers had ſerved under Cromwel and the Republic. The injuſtice was not confined to them. Near three hundred officers more were afterwards broke, tho' many of them had purchaſed their commiſſions: About four or five thouſand private ſoldiers, becauſe they were Proteſtants, were diſmiſſed; and being ſtripped even of their regimentals, were turned out to ſtarve in the ſtreets. While theſe violences were carrying on, Clarendon, who had been named lord lieutenant, came over; but he quickly found, that, as he had refuſed to give the King the deſired pledge of fidelity, by changing his religion, he poſſeſſed no credit or authority. He was even a kind of priſoner in the hands of Tyrconnel; and as he gave all oppoſition in his power to the precipitant meaſures of the Catholics, he was ſoon after recalled, and Tyrconnel ſubſtituted in his place. The unhappy Proteſtants now ſaw all the legal authority, as well as the military force, transferred into the hands of their inveterate enemies; inflamed with hereditary hatred, and ſtimulated by every motive, which either the paſſion for power, property, or religion could inſpire. Even the barbarous banditti were let looſe to prey on them in their preſent defenceleſs condition. A renewal of the antient maſſacres was apprehended; and great multitudes, ſtruck with the beſt grounded terror, deſerted the kingdom, and infuſed into the Engliſh nation a dread of thoſe violences, to which, after ſome time, they might juſtly, from the prevalence of the Catholics, think themſelves expoſed.

ALL judicious perſons of the Catholic communion were diſguſted with theſe violent meaſures, and could eaſily foreſee the conſequences. But James was entirely governed by the raſh counſels of the Queen and of his confeſſor, father Peters, a jeſuit, whom he ſoon after created a privy counſellor. He thought too that as he

was

was now in the decline of life, it was neceſſary for him, by haſty ſteps, to carry his deſigns into execution; leſt the ſucceſſion of the princeſs of Orange ſhould overturn all his projects. In vain did Arundel, Powis, and Bellaſis remonſtrate, and ſuggeſt more moderate and cautious meaſures. Theſe men had ſeen and felt, during the proſecution of the plot, the extreme antipathy which the nation bore to popery; and though ſome ſubſequent incidents had ſeemingly allayed that ſpirit, they knew, that the ſettled habits of the people were ſtill the ſame, and that the ſmalleſt incident was ſufficient to renew the former animoſity. A very moderate indulgence therefore to their religion would have ſatisfied them; and all attempts to acquire power, much more to procure a change of the national faith, they deemed dangerous and deſtructive.

CHAP. LXX. 1686.

On the firſt broaching of the popiſh plot, the Church of England had concurred with the ſame violence and credulity as the reſt of the nation, in the proſecution of it; But dreading afterwards the prevalence of republican and preſbyterian principles, they had been engaged to ſupport the meaſures of the court; and to their aſſiſtance James had chiefly owed his ſucceſſion to the crown. Finding that all theſe ſervices were forgot, and that the Catholic religion was the King's ſole darling, the church had commenced an oppoſition to court-meaſures; and popery was now acknowledged the more immediate danger. In order to prevent inflammatory ſermons on this popular ſubject, James revived ſome directions to preachers which had been promulgated by the late King, in the beginning of his reign, when no deſign againſt the national religion was yet formed, or at leaſt apprehended. But in the preſent delicate and intereſting ſituation of the church, there was little reaſon to expect, that orders, founded on no legal authority, would be rigidly obeyed by preachers, who ſaw no ſecurity to themſelves but in preſerving the confidence and regard of the people. In-

Breach betwixt the King and the church.

CHAP. LXX.

1686.

ſtead of avoiding controverſy, according to the King's admonition, the preachers every where declaimed againſt popery; and among the reſt, Dr. Sharpe, a clergyman of London, particularly diſtinguiſhed himſelf, and affected to throw great contempt on thoſe who had been induced to change their religion by ſuch pitiful arguments as the Romiſh miſſionaries could ſuggeſt. This topic, being ſuppoſed to reflect on the King, gave great offence at court; and poſitive orders were iſſued to the biſhop of London, his dioceſan, immediately to ſuſpend Sharpe, till his Majeſty's pleaſure ſhould be farther known. The prelate replied, that he could not poſſibly obey theſe commands, and that he was not empowered, in ſuch a ſummary manner, to inflict any puniſhment even upon the greateſt delinquent. But neither theſe obvious reaſons, nor the moſt dutiful ſubmiſſions, both of the prelate and of Sharpe himſelf, could appeaſe the court. The King was determined to proceed with the utmoſt violence in this cauſe. The biſhop himſelf he reſolved to puniſh for diſobedience to his commands; and the expedient which he employed for that purpoſe, was of a nature at once the moſt illegal and moſt alarming.

Court of eccleſiaſtical commiſſion.

AMONG all the engines of authority formerly employed by the Crown, none had been more dangerous or even deſtructive to liberty, than the court of high commiſſion, which, together with the ſtar-chamber, had been aboliſhed in the reign of Charles I. by act of Parliament; in which a clauſe was alſo inſerted, prohibiting the erection, in all future times, of that court or any of a like nature. But the law was deemed by James no obſtacle; and an eccleſiaſtical commiſſion, was anew iſſued, by which ſeven [m] commiſſioners were veſted with

[m] The perſons named were the archbiſhop of Canterbury, Sancroft; the biſhop of Durham, Crew; of Rocheſter, Sprat; the earl of Rocheſter, Sunderland, chancellor Jefferies, and lord chief juſtice Herbert. The archbiſhop refuſed to act, and the biſhop of Cheſter was ſubſtituted in his place.

full

CHAP. LXX. 1686.

full and unlimited authority over the whole church of England. On this court were beſtowed the ſame inquiſitorial powers, poſſeſſed by the former court of high commiſſion: They might proceed upon bare ſuſpicion; and the better to ſet the law at defiance, it was expreſsly inſerted in their patent itſelf, that they were to exerciſe their juriſdiction, notwithſtanding any law or ſtatute to the contrary. The King's deſign to ſubdue the church was now ſufficiently known; and had he been able to eſtabliſh the authority of this new-erected court, his ſucceſs was infallible. A more ſenſible blow could not be given both to national liberty and religion; and happily the conteſt could not be tried in a cauſe more iniquitous and unpopular than that againſt Sharpe and the biſhop of London.

THE prelate was cited before the commiſſioners. After denying the legality of the court, after claiming the privilege of all Chriſtian biſhops to be tried by the metropolitan and his ſuffragans; he pleaded in his own defence, that as he was obliged, if he had ſuſpended Sharpe, to act in the capacity of a judge, he could not, conſiſtent either with law or juſtice, pronounce ſentence without a previous citation and trial: That he had by petition repreſented this difficulty to his Majeſty; and not receiving any anſwer, he had reaſon to think, that his petition had given entire ſatisfaction. That in order to ſhew his farther deference, he had adviſed Sharpe to preach no more, till he had juſtified his conduct to the King; an advice, which, coming from a ſuperior, was equivalent to a command, and had accordingly met with the proper obedience: That he had thus in his apprehenſion conformed himſelf to his Majeſty's pleaſure; but if he ſhould ſtill be found wanting to his duty in any particular, he was now contented to crave pardon, and to make reparation. All this ſubmiſſion, both in Sharpe and the prelate, had no effect: The King was determined to have an example:

Sentence againſt the biſhop of London.

CHAP. LXX. 1687.

Orders were accordingly sent to the commissioners to proceed: And by a majority of votes the bishop, as well as the doctor, was suspended.

ALMOST the whole of this short reign consists of attempts always imprudent, often illegal, and sometimes both, against whatever was most loved and revered by the nation: Even such schemes of the King's as might be laudable in themselves, were so disgraced with these intentions, that they serve only to aggravate the charge against him. James was become a great patron of toleration, and an enemy to all those persecuting laws, which, from the influence of the church, had been enacted both against the Dissenters and Catholics. Not contented with granting dispensations to particular persons, he assumed a power of issuing a declaration of general indulgence, and of suspending at once all the penal statutes, by which a conformity was required to the established religion. This was a strain of authority, it must be confessed, quite inconsistent with law and a limited constitution; but was supported by many strong precedents in the history of England. Even after the principles of liberty were become more prevalent, and began to be well understood, the late King had oftner than once, and without giving much umbrage, exerted this dangerous power: He had in 1662 suspended the execution of a law, which regulated carriages: During the two Dutch wars, he had twice suspended the act of navigation: And the Commons in 1666, being resolved, contrary to the King's judgment, to enact that iniquitous law against Irish cattle, found it necessary, in order to obviate the exercise of this prerogative, which they desired not at that time entirely to deny or abrogate, to call the importation of that cattle a nuisance.

Penal laws suspended.

THO' the former authority of the King was great in civil affairs, it was still greater in ecclesiastical; and the whole despotic power of the popes was often believed, in

virtue

virtue of the ſupremacy, to be devolved to the crown. The laſt parliament of Charles the firſt, by depriving the King and convocation of the power of framing canons without conſent of Parliament, had ſomewhat diminiſhed the ſuppoſed extent of the ſupremacy; but ſtill very conſiderable remains of it, at leaſt very important claims, were preſerved, and were occaſionally made uſe of by the Sovereign. In 1662, Charles, pleading both the rights of his ſupremacy and his ſuſpending power, had granted a general indulgence or toleration; and in 1672 he renewed the ſame edict: Tho' the remonſtrance of his Parliament obliged him, on both occaſions, to retract; and in the laſt inſtance, the triumph of law over prerogative was deemed very great and memorable. In general, we may remark, where the exerciſe of the ſuſpending power was agreeable and uſeful, the power itſelf was little queſtioned: Where the exerciſe was thought liable to exceptions, men not only oppoſed it, but proceeded to deny altogether the legality of the prerogative on which it was founded. CHAP. LXX. 1687.

JAMES, much more imprudent, head-ſtrong, and arbitrary than his brother, iſſued anew a proclamation, ſuſpending all the penal laws in eccleſiaſtical affairs, and granting a general liberty of conſcience to all his ſubjects. He was not deterred by the conſideration, that this ſcheme of indulgence was already blaſted by two fruitleſs attempts; and that in ſuch a government as that of England, it was not ſufficient that a prerogative be approved of by ſome lawyers and antiquarians: If it was condemned by the general voice of the nation, and yet was ſtill exerted, the victory over national liberty was equally ſignal as if obtained by the moſt flagrant injuſtice and uſurpation. Theſe two conſiderations indeed would rather ſerve to recommend this project to James; who deemed himſelf ſuperior in vigour and activity to his brother, and who probably thought, that his people enjoyed

CHAP. LXX.

joyed no liberties, but by his royal conceſſion and indulgence.

1687. In order to procure a better reception for his edict of toleration, the King, finding himſelf oppoſed by the church, began to pay great court to the Diſſenters; and he imagined, that, by playing one party againſt another, he would eaſily obtain the victory over both; a refined policy which it much exceeded his capacity to conduct. His intention was ſo obvious, that it was impoſſible for him ever to gain the ſincere confidence and regard of the Nonconformiſts. They knew, that the genius of their religion was diametrically oppoſite to that of the Catholics, the ſole object of the King's affection. They were ſenſible, that both the violence of his temper, and the maxims of his religion, were repugnant to the principles of toleration. They had ſeen, that on his firſt acceſſion to the Crown, as well as during his brother's reign, he had courted the church at their expence; and it was not till after his dangerous ſchemes were rejected by the prelates, that he had recourſe to the Nonconformiſts. All his favours, therefore, muſt, to every man of judgment among the ſectaries, have appeared moſt inſidious: Yet ſuch was the pleaſure reaped from preſent eaſe, ſuch the animoſity of the diſſenters againſt the church, who had ſo long ſubjected them to the rigours of perſecution, that they every where expreſſed the moſt entire duty to the King and compliance with his meaſures; and could not forbear rejoicing extremely in the preſent depreſſion of their enemies.

But had the Diſſenters been ever ſo much inclined to ſhut their eyes with regard to the King's intentions, the manner of conducting his ſcheme in Scotland was ſufficient to diſcover the ſecret. The King firſt applied to the Scots Parliament, and deſired an indulgence for the Catholics alone, without comprehending the Preſbyterians: But that aſſembly, though more diſpoſed than even the Par-

CHAP. LXX. 1687.

Parliament of England, to ſacrifice their civil liberties, reſolved likewiſe to adhere pertinaciouſly to their religion; and they now rejected for the firſt time the King's application. James therefore found himſelf obliged to exert his prerogative; and he thought it prudent to intereſt a party of his ſubjects, beſides the Catholics, in ſupporting this act of authority. To the great ſurprize of the harraſſed and perſecuted Preſbyterians, they heard the principles of toleration every where extolled, and found that permiſſion was granted to attend conventicles; an offence, which, even during this reign, had been declared no leſs than a capital crime. The King's declaration, however, of indulgence contained articles, ſufficient to depreſs their joy. As if Popery were already predominant, he declared, "that he never would uſe "force or *invincible neceſſity* againſt any man on account "of his perſwaſion or the proteſtant religion:" A promiſe ſurely of toleration given to the Proteſtants with great precaution, and admitting a conſiderable latitude for perſecution and violence. It is likewiſe remarkable, that the King declared in expreſs terms, "that he had "thought fit, by his ſovereign authority, prerogative "royal, and *abſolute* power, which all his ſubjects were "to obey *without reſerve*, to grant this royal toleration." The dangerous deſigns of other Princes are to be collected by a compariſon of their ſeveral actions, by a diſcovery of their more ſecret councils: But ſo blinded was James with zeal, ſo tranſported with his imperious temper, that even his proclamations and public edicts contain expreſſions, which, without any farther enquiry, may ſuffice to his condemnation.

THE Engliſh well knew, that the King, by the conſtitution of their government, thought himſelf intitled, as indeed he was, to as ample authority in his ſouthern, as in his northern kingdom; and therefore, tho' the declaration of indulgence publiſhed for England was more cau-

CHAP. LXX.

1687.

joyed no liberties, but by his royal conceſſion and indulgence.

In order to procure a better reception for his edict of toleration, the King, finding himſelf oppoſed by the church, began to pay great court to the Diſſenters; and he imagined, that, by playing one party againſt another, he would eaſily obtain the victory over both; a refined policy which it much exceeded his capacity to conduct. His intention was ſo obvious, that it was impoſſible for him ever to gain the ſincere confidence and regard of the Nonconformiſts. They knew, that the genius of their religion was diametrically oppoſite to that of the Catholics, the ſole object of the King's affection. They were ſenſible, that both the violence of his temper, and the maxims of his religion, were repugnant to the principles of toleration. They had ſeen, that on his firſt acceſſion to the Crown, as well as during his brother's reign, he had courted the church at their expence; and it was not till after his dangerous ſchemes were rejected by the prelates, that he had recourſe to the Nonconformiſts. All his favours, therefore, muſt, to every man of judgment among the ſectaries, have appeared moſt inſidious: Yet ſuch was the pleaſure reaped from preſent eaſe, ſuch the animoſity of the diſſenters againſt the church, who had ſo long ſubjected them to the rigours of perſecution, that they every where expreſſed the moſt entire duty to the King and compliance with his meaſures; and could not forbear rejoicing extremely in the preſent depreſſion of their enemies.

But had the Diſſenters been ever ſo much inclined to ſhut their eyes with regard to the King's intentions, the manner of conducting his ſcheme in Scotland was ſufficient to diſcover the ſecret. The King firſt applied to the Scots Parliament, and deſired an indulgence for the Catholics alone, without comprehending the Preſbyterians: But that aſſembly, though more diſpoſed than even the Par-

Parliament of England, to ſacrifice their civil liberties, reſolved likewiſe to adhere pertinaciouſly to their religion; and they now rejected for the firſt time the King's application. James therefore found himſelf obliged to exert his prerogative; and he thought it prudent to intereſt a party of his ſubjects, beſides the Catholics, in ſupporting this act of authority. To the great ſurprize of the harraſſed and perſecuted Preſbyterians, they heard the principles of toleration every where extolled, and found that permiſſion was granted to attend conventicles; an offence, which, even during this reign, had been declared no leſs than a capital crime. The King's declaration, however, of indulgence contained articles, ſufficient to depreſs their joy. As if Popery were already predominant, he declared, "that he never would uſe "force or *invincible neceſſity* againſt any man on account "of his perſwaſion or the proteſtant religion:" A promiſe ſurely of toleration given to the Proteſtants with great precaution, and admitting a conſiderable latitude for perſecution and violence. It is likewiſe remarkable, that the King declared in expreſs terms, "that he had "thought fit, by his ſovereign authority, prerogative "royal, and *abſolute* power, which all his ſubjects were "to obey *without reſerve*, to grant this royal toleration." The dangerous deſigns of other Princes are to be collected by a compariſon of their ſeveral actions, by a diſcovery of their more ſecret councils: But ſo blinded was James with zeal, ſo tranſported with his imperious temper, that even his proclamations and public edicts contain expreſſions, which, without any farther enquiry, may ſuffice to his condemnation.

CHAP. LXX. 1687.

THE Engliſh well knew, that the King, by the conſtitution of their government, thought himſelf intitled, as indeed he was, to as ample authority in his ſouthern, as in his northern kingdom; and therefore, tho' the declaration of indulgence publiſhed for England was more cau-

CHAP. LXX.

1687.

cautiouſly worded, they could not but be alarmed by the arbitrary treatment, to which their neighbours were expoſed. It is even remarkable, that the Engliſh declaration contained clauſes of a ſtrange import. The King there promiſed, that he would maintain his loving ſubjects in all their properties and poſſeſſions, as well of church and abbey lands as of any other. Men thought, that, if the full eſtabliſhment of popery was not at hand, this promiſe was quite ſuperfluous; and they concluded, that the King was ſo replete with joy on the proſpect of that glorious event, that he could not, even for a moment, refrain himſelf from expreſſing it.

State of Ireland.

But what afforded the moſt alarming proſpect, was the violent, and precipitant conduct of affairs in Ireland. Tyrconnel was now veſted with full authority; and carried over with him as chancellor one Fitton, a man who was taken from a jail, and who had been convicted of forgery and other crimes, but who compenſated for all his enormities by a headlong zeal for the Catholic religion. He was even heard to ſay from the bench, that the Proteſtants were all rogues, and that there was not one among forty thouſand who was not a traitor, a rebel, and a villain. The whole ſtrain of the adminiſtration was ſuitable to ſuch ſentiments. The Catholics were put in poſſeſſion of the council table, of the courts of judicature, of the bench of juſtices. In order to make them maſters of the Parliament, the ſame violence was exerciſed that had been practiſed in England. The charters of Dublin and of all the corporations were recalled; and new charters were granted, ſubjecting the corporations to the abſolute will of the Sovereign. The Proteſtant freemen were expelled, Catholics introduced, and the latter ſect, as they always were the majority in number, were now inveſted with the whole power of the kingdom. The act of ſettlement was the only obſtacle to their enjoying the whole property; and Tyr-

CHAP. LXX. 1687.

connel had formed a ſcheme for calling a Parliament, in order to reverſe that act, and empower the King to beſtow all the lands of Ireland on his catholic ſubjects. But in this ſcheme he met with oppoſition from the moderate Catholics in the King's council. Lord Bellaſis went even ſo far as to affirm with an oath, "that that fel-"low in Ireland was fool and madam enough to ruin ten "kingdoms." The decay of trade, from the deſertion of the Proteſtants, was repreſented; the ſinking of the revenue; the alarm communicated to England: And by theſe conſiderations the King's reſolutions were for ſome time ſuſpended; tho' it was eaſy to foreſee, from the uſual tenor of his conduct, which ſide would at laſt preponderate.

Embaſſy to Rome.

BUT the King was not contented with diſcovering in his own kingdoms the imprudence of his conduct: He was reſolved, that all Europe ſhould be witneſs of it. He publickly ſent the earl of Caſtelmaine ambaſſador extraordinary to Rome, in order to expreſs his obeiſance to the Pope, and to reconcile his kingdoms to the catholic communion. Never man, who came on ſo important an errand, met with ſo many neglects and even affronts, as Caſtelmaine. The Pope, inſtead of being pleaſed with this forward ſtep, concluded, that a ſcheme, conducted with ſuch indiſcretion, could never poſſibly be ſucceſsful. And as he was engaged in a violent quarrel with the French monarch, a quarrel which intereſted him much more than the converſion of England, he bore little regard to James, whom he believed too cloſely united with his capital enemy.

THE only proof of complaiſance, which the King received from his Holineſs, was his ſending a nuncio into England, in return for the embaſſy. By act of Parliament any communication with the Pope was declared high treaſon: Yet ſo little regard did the King pay to the laws, that he gave the nuncio a public and ſolemn reception

CHAP. LXX. 1687.

ception at Windſor. The duke of Somerſet, one of the lords of the bed-chamber, becauſe he refuſed to aſſiſt at this ceremony, was diſmiſſed from his employments. The nuncio reſided openly in London during all this reign. Four catholic biſhops were publickly conſecrated in the King's chapel, and ſent out, under the title of vicars apoſtolical, to exerciſe the epiſcopal function in their reſpective dioceſes. Their paſtoral letters, directed to the lay Catholics of England, were printed and diſperſed by the expreſs allowance and permiſſion of the King. The regular clergy of that communion appeared at Court in the habits of their order; and ſome of them were ſo indiſcreet as to boaſt, that, in a little time, they hoped to walk in proceſſion thro' the capital.

WHILE the King ſhocked in the moſt open manner all the principles and prejudices of his proteſtant ſubjects, he could not ſometimes but be ſenſible, that he ſtood in need of their aſſiſtance for the execution of his deſigns. He had himſelf, by virtue of his prerogative, ſuſpended the penal laws, and diſpenſed with the teſt; but he would gladly have obtained the ſanction of Parliament to theſe acts of power; and he knew, that, without this authority, his edicts alone would never afford ſufficient ſecurity to the Catholics. He had employed, therefore, with the members of Parliament many private conferences, which were then called *cheſetings*; and he uſed every expedient of reaſons, menaces, and promiſes to break their obſtinacy in this particular. Finding all his efforts fruitleſs, he had diſſolved the Parliament, and was reſolved to call a new one, from whom he expected more complaiſance and ſubmiſſion. By the practice of annuling the charters, the King was become maſter of all the corporations, and could at his pleaſure change every where the whole magiſtracy. The church party, therefore, by whom the Crown had been hitherto ſo remarkably ſupported, and to whom the King viſibly owed

owed his own ſucceſſion, were deprived of all authority; and Diſſenters firſt in London, and afterwards in every other town, were ſubſtituted in their place. Not contented with this violent and dangerous innovation, certain regulators were appointed to examine the qualifications of electors; and directions were given them to exclude all ſuch as adhered to the teſt and penal ſtatutes[n]. Queries to this purpoſe were openly propoſed in all places, in order to try the ſentiments of men, and enable the King to judge of the proceedings of the future Parliament. The power of the Crown was at this time ſo great; the revenue, managed by James's frugality, ſo conſiderable and independant; that if he had embraced any national party, he had been enſured of infallible ſucceſs, and might have carried his authority to what extent he pleaſed. But the Catholics, to whom he had entirely devoted himſelf, were not the hundredth part of the people. Even the proteſtant Nonconformiſts, whom he ſo much courted, were litttle more than the twentieth; and what was worſe, repoſed very little confidence in the unnatural alliance contracted with the Catholics, and in the principles of toleration, which, contrary to their uſual practice in all ages, ſeemed at preſent to be adopted by that ſect. The King therefore, findnig little hopes of ſucceſs, protracted the election of a Parliament, and proceeded ſtill in the exerciſe of his illegal and arbitrary authority.

CHAP. LXX. 1687.

THE whole power in Ireland had been committed to the Catholics. In Scotland, all the miniſters, whom the King chiefly truſted, were converts to that religion. Every great office in England, civil and military, was

[n] The elections in ſome places, particularly in York, were transferred from the people to the magiſtrates, who, by the new charter, were all named by the Crown. Sir John Rereſby's Memoirs, p. 272. This was in reality nothing different from the King's naming the members. The ſame act of authority had been employed in all the burroughs of Scotland.

gra-

CHAP. LXX.

1687.

gradually transferred from the Proteſtants. Rocheſter and Clarendon, the King's brothers-in-law, tho' they had been ever faithful to his intereſts, could not, by all their ſervices, attone for their adherence to the national religion; and had been diſmiſſed from their employments. The proſtitute Jefferies himſelf, tho' he had ſacrificed honour and juſtice and humanity to the Court; yet becauſe he refuſed alſo to give up his religion, was very faſt declining in favour and intereſt. Nothing now remained but to open the door in the church and univerſities to the intruſion of the Catholics. It was not long before the King made this violent effort; and by conſtraining the prelacy and eſtabliſhed church to ſeek protection in the principles of liberty, he at laſt left himſelf entirely without friends and adherents.

FATHER Francis, a Benedictine, was recommended by the King's mandate to the univerſity of Cambridge for the degree of maſter of arts; and as it was uſual for the univerſity to confer that degree on perſons eminent for learning, without regard to their religion; and as they had even admitted lately the ſecretary to the ambaſſador of Morocco; the King on that account thought himſelf the better intitled to compliance. But the univerſity conſidered, that there was a great difference between a compliment beſtowed on foreigners, and degrees which gave a title to vote in all the elections and decrees of the univerſity; and which, if conferred on the Catholics, would infallibly in time render that ſect entirely ſuperior. They therefore refuſed to obey the King's mandate, and were cited to appear before the court of eccleſiaſtical commiſſion. The vice chancellor was ſuſpended; but as the univerſity choſe a man of ſpirit to ſucceed him, the King thought proper for the preſent to drop his pretenſions.

THE attempt upon the univerſity of Oxford was proſecuted with more inflexible obſtinacy, and was attended

tended with more important consequences. This university had lately in their famous decree made a solemn profession of passive obedience; and the Court probably expected, that they would show their sincerity, when their turn came to practise that doctrine; which, tho', if carried to the utmost extent, it be contrary both to reason and to nature, is apt to meet with the most effectual opposition from the latter principle. The president of Magdalen college, one of the richest foundations in Europe, dying about this time, a mandate was sent in favour of Farmer, a new convert, but one, who, besides his being a Catholic, had not in other respects the qualities required by the statutes for enjoying that office. The fellows of the college made very submissive applications to the King for recalling his mandate; but before they received an answer, the day came, on which, by their statutes, they were required to proceed to an election. They therefore chose Dr. Hough, a man of virtue, as well as of the firmness and vigour requisite for maintaining his own rights and those of the university. In order to punish the college for this contumacy, as it was called, an inferior ecclesiastical commission was sent down, and the new president and the fellows were cited before that court. So little regard had been paid to any other consideration besides religion, that Farmer, on enquiry, was found guilty of the lowest and most scandalous vices; insomuch that even the ecclesiastical commissioners were ashamed to insist on his election. A new mandate, therefore, was issued in favour of Parker, lately created bishop of Oxford, a man of a prostitute character, but who, like Farmer, attoned for all his vices by his avowed willingness to embrace the catholic religion. The college represented, that all presidents had ever been appointed by election, and there were even few instances of the King's interposing by his recommendation in favour of any candidate; that having al-

CHAP. LXX.

1687. Attempt upon Magdalen college.

CHAP. LXX. 1687.

ready made a regular election of a president, they could not, during his life, deprive him of his office, and substitute any other in his place; that, even if there was a vacancy, Parker, by the statutes of their founder, could not be chosen; that they had all of them bound themselves by oath to observe these statutes, and never on any account to accept of a dispensation; and that the college had at all times so much distinguished itself by its loyalty, that nothing but the most invincible necessity could now oblige them to oppose his Majesty's inclinations. All these reasons availed them nothing. The president and all the fellows, except two who complied, were expelled the college; and Parker was put in possession of the office. This act of violence, of all those committed during the reign of James, is perhaps the most illegal and arbitrary. When the dispensing power was the most strenuously insisted on by court lawyers, it had still been allowed, that the statutes, which regard private property could not legally be infringed by that prerogative: Yet in this instance it appeared, that even these were not now secure from invasion. The privileges of a college are attacked: Men are illegally dispossessed of their property, for adhering to their duty, to their oaths, and to their religion: The fountains of the church are attempted to be poysoned; nor would it be long, it was concluded, ere all ecclesiastical, as well as civil preferments, would be bestowed on such as, negligent of honour, virtue, and sincerity, basely sacrificed their faith to the reigning superstition. Such were the general sentiments; and as the universities have an intimate connexion with the ecclesiastical establishments, and mightily interest all those who have there received their education, this arbitrary proceeding begot an universal discontent against the King's administration.

THE next measure of the Court was an insult still more open on the ecclesiastics, and rendered the breach be-

between the King and that powerful body fatal, as well as incurable. It is ſtrange, that James, when he felt, from the ſentiments of his own heart, what a mighty influence religious zeal had over him, ſhould yet be ſo infatuated as never once to ſuſpect, that it might poſſibly have a proportional authority over his ſubjects. Could he have profited from repeated experience, he had ſeen inſtances enough of their ſtrong averſion towards that communion, which, from a violent, imperious diſpoſition, he was determined, by every poſſible expedient, to introduce into his kingdoms. CHAP. LXX. 1687.

THE King publiſhed a ſecond declaration of indulgence, almoſt in the ſame terms with the former; and he ſubjoined an order, that, immediately after divine ſervice it ſhould be read by the clergy in all the churches. As they were known univerſally to diſapprove of the uſe made of the ſuſpending power, this clauſe, they thought, could be meant only as an inſult upon them; and they were ſenſible, that, by their compliance, they would expoſe themſelves, both to public contempt, on account of their tame behaviour, and to public hatred, by their indirectly patronizing ſo obnoxious a prerogative*. They were determined, therefore, almoſt univerſally to preſerve the regard of the people; their only protection, while the laws were become of ſo little validity, and while the Court was ſo deeply engaged in oppoſite intereſts. In order to encourage them in this reſolution, ſix prelates, to wit, Lloyde biſhop of St. Aſaph, Ken of Bath and Wells, Turner of Ely, Lake of Chicheſter, White of Peterborow, and Trelawney 1688.

* When Charles diſſolved his laſt Parliament, he ſet forth a declaration giving his reaſons for that meaſure, and this declaration the clergy had been ordered to read to the people after divine ſervice. Theſe orders were agreeable to their party prejudices, and they willingly ſubmitted to them. The contrary was now the caſe.

CHAP. LXX. 1688.

of Briſtol, met privately with the primate, and concerted the form of a petition to the King. They there repreſented in few words, that, tho' poſſeſſed of the higheſt ſenſe of loyalty, a virtue of which the church of England had given ſuch eminent teſtimonies; tho' deſirous of affording eaſe in a legal way to all Proteſtant Diſſenters; yet becauſe the declaration of indulgence was founded on a prerogative, formerly declared illegal by Parliament, they could not, in prudence, honour, or conſcience, ſo far make themſelves parties as the diſtribution of it all over the kingdom would be interpreted to amount to. They therefore beſought the King, that he would not inſiſt upon their reading that declaration [p].

THE King was incapable, not only of yielding to the greateſt oppoſition, but of allowing the ſlighteſt and moſt reſpectful contradiction to paſs unpuniſhed. He immediately embraced a reſolution (and his reſolutions, when once embraced, were inflexible) of puniſhing the biſhops, for a petition ſo popular in its matter, and ſo prudent and cautious in the expreſſion. As the petition

[p] The words of the petition were. That the great averſeneſs found in themſelves to their diſtributing and publiſhing in all their churches your Majeſty's late declaration for liberty of conſcience, proceeds neither from any want of duty and obedience to your Majeſty (our holy mother, the church of England, being both in her principles and her conſtant practice unqueſtionably loyal, and having to her great honour been more than once publicly acknowleged to be ſo by your gracious Majeſty) nor yet from any want of tenderneſs to Diſſenters, in relation to whom we are willing to come to ſuch a temper as ſhall be thought fit, when the matter ſhall be conſidered and ſettled in Parliament and Convocation. But among many other conſiderations, from this eſpecially, becauſe that declaration is founded upon ſuch a diſpenſing power as hath been often declared illegal in Parliament, and particularly in the years 1662 and 1672, and in the beginning of your Majeſty's reign, and is a matter of ſo great moment and conſequence to the whole nation both in church and ſtate, that your petitioners cannot in prudence, honour, or conſcience ſo far make themſelves parties to it as a diſtribution of it all over the nation and the ſolemn publication of it once and again, even in God's houſe, and in the time of divine ſervice, muſt amount to in common and reaſonable conſtruction.

was

was delivered him in private, he ſummoned them before the council; and there queſtioned them whether they would acknowledge it. The biſhops ſaw his intention, and ſeemed long deſirous to decline anſwering: But being puſhed by the chancellor, they at laſt owned the petition. On their refuſal to give bail, an order was immediately drawn for their commitment to the Tower; and the Crown lawyers received directions to proſecute them for the ſeditious libel, which, it was pretended, they had compoſed and uttered. CHAP. LXX. 1688.

Imprisonment,

THE people were already aware of the danger, to which the prelates were expoſed; and were raiſed to the higheſt pitch of anxiety and attention with regard to the iſſue of this extraordinary affair. But when they beheld theſe fathers of the church brought from court under the cuſtody of a guard, when they ſaw them embarked in veſſels on the river, and conveyed towards the Tower, all their affection for liberty, all their zeal for religion, blazed up at once; and they flew to behold this affecting and animating ſpectacle. The whole ſhore was covered with crowds of proſtrate ſpectators, who at once implored the bleſſing of thoſe holy paſtors, and addreſſed their petitions towards Heaven for protection during this extreme danger, to which their country and their religion ſtood expoſed. Even the ſoldiers, ſeized with the contagion of the ſame ſpirit, flung themſelves on their knees before the diſtreſſed prelates, and craved the benediction of thoſe criminals, whom they were appointed to guard. Some perſons ran into the water, that they might participate more nearly of thoſe bleſſings, which the prelates were diſtributing on all around them. The biſhops themſelves, during this triumphant ſuffering, augmented the general favour, by the moſt lowly ſubmiſſive deportment; and they ſtill exhorted the people to fear God, honour the King, and maintain their loyalty; expreſſions more animating than the moſt in-

CHAP. LXX.

1688.

of Briſtol, met privately with the primate, and concerted the form of a petition to the King. They there repreſented in few words, that, tho' poſſeſſed of the higheſt ſenſe of loyalty, a virtue of which the church of England had given ſuch eminent teſtimonies; tho' deſirous of affording eaſe in a legal way to all Proteſtant Diſſenters; yet becauſe the declaration of indulgence was founded on a prerogative, formerly declared illegal by Parliament, they could not, in prudence, honour, or conſcience, ſo far make themſelves parties as the diſtribution of it all over the kingdom would be interpreted to amount to. They therefore beſought the King, that he would not inſiſt upon their reading that declaration [p].

THE King was incapable, not only of yielding to the greateſt oppoſition, but of allowing the ſlighteſt and moſt reſpectful contradiction to paſs unpuniſhed. He immediately embraced a reſolution (and his reſolutions, when once embraced, were inflexible) of puniſhing the biſhops, for a petition ſo popular in its matter, and ſo prudent and cautious in the expreſſion. As the petition

[p] The words of the petition were. That the great averſeneſs found in themſelves to their diſtributing and publiſhing in all their churches your Majeſty's late declaration for liberty of conſcience, proceeds neither from any want of duty and obedience to your Majeſty (our holy mother, the church of England, being both in her principles and her conſtant practice unqueſtionably loyal, and having to her great honour been more than once publicly acknowleged to be ſo by your gracious Majeſty) nor yet from any want of tenderneſs to Diſſenters, in relation to whom we are willing to come to ſuch a temper as ſhall be thought fit, when the matter ſhall be conſidered and ſettled in Parliament and Convocation. But among many other conſiderations, from this eſpecially, becauſe that declaration is founded upon ſuch a diſpenſing power as hath been often declared illegal in Parliament, and particularly in the years 1662 and 1672, and in the beginning of your Majeſty's reign, and is a matter of ſo great moment and conſequence to the whole nation both in church and ſtate, that your petitioners cannot in prudence, honour, or conſcience ſo far make themſelves parties to it as a diſtribution of it all over the nation and the ſolemn publication of it once and again, even in God's houſe, and in the time of divine ſervice, muſt amount to in common and reaſonable conſtruction.

was

was delivered him in private, he ſummoned them before the council; and there queſtioned them whether they would acknowledge it. The biſhops ſaw his intention, and ſeemed long deſirous to decline anſwering: But being puſhed by the chancellor, they at laſt owned the petition. On their refuſal to give bail, an order was immediately drawn for their commitment to the Tower; and the Crown lawyers received directions to proſecute them for the ſeditious libel, which, it was pretended, they had compoſed and uttered. CHAP. LXX. 1688.

Imprisonment.

THE people were already aware of the danger, to which the prelates were expoſed; and were raiſed to the higheſt pitch of anxiety and attention with regard to the iſſue of this extraordinary affair. But when they beheld theſe fathers of the church brought from court under the cuſtody of a guard, when they ſaw them embarked in veſſels on the river, and conveyed towards the Tower, all their affection for liberty, all their zeal for religion, blazed up at once; and they flew to behold this affecting and animating ſpectacle. The whole ſhore was covered with crowds of proſtrate ſpectators, who at once implored the bleſſing of thoſe holy paſtors, and addreſſed their petitions towards Heaven for protection during this extreme danger, to which their country and their religion ſtood expoſed. Even the ſoldiers, ſeized with the contagion of the ſame ſpirit, flung themſelves on their knees before the diſtreſſed prelates; and craved the benediction of thoſe criminals, whom they were appointed to guard. Some perſons ran into the water, that they might participate more nearly of thoſe bleſſings, which the prelates were diſtributing on all around them. The biſhops themſelves, during this triumphant ſuffering, augmented the general favour, by the moſt lowly ſubmiſſive deportment; and they ſtill exhorted the people to fear God, honour the King, and maintain their loyalty; expreſſions more animating than the moſt in-

CHAP. LXX. 1688.

flammatory ſpeeches. And no ſooner had they entered the precincts of the Tower than they hurried to chapel, in order to return thanks for thoſe afflictions, which Heaven, in defence of its holy cauſe, had thought them worthy to endure.

Trial.

THEIR paſſage, when conducted to their trial, was, if poſſible, attended with greater crowds of anxious ſpectators. All men ſaw the dangerous criſis, to which affairs were reduced, and were ſenſible, that the iſſue could not poſſibly be put on a more favourable cauſe, than that in which the King had ſo imprudently engaged. Twenty-nine temporal peers (for the other prelates ſtood aloof) attended the priſoners to Weſtminſter Hall; and ſuch crowds of gentry followed the proceſſion, that ſcarce any room was left for the populace to enter. The lawyers for the biſhops were Sir Robert Sawyer, Sir Francis Pemberton, Pollexfen, Treby, and Sommers. No cauſe, even during the proſecution of the popiſh plot, was ever heard with ſo much zeal and attention. The popular torrent, which, of itſelf, ran fierce and ſtrong, was now farther irritated by the oppoſition of the government.

THE council for the biſhops pleaded, that the law allowed ſubjects, if they thought themſelves aggrieved in any particular, to addreſs themſelves by petition to the King, provided they kept within certain bounds, which the ſame law preſcribed them, and which in the preſent petition the prelates had rigidly obſerved: That an active obedience in caſes, which were contrary to conſcience, was never pretended to be due to government; and law was allowed to be the great meaſure of the compliance and ſubmiſſion of ſubjects: That when any perſon found commands to be impoſed upon him, which he could not obey, it was more reſpectful to offer to the Prince his reaſons for refuſal, than to remain in an obſtinate and refractory ſilence: That it was no breach of duty in ſub-

CHAP. LXX. 1688.

ſubjects, even tho' not expreſly called upon, to diſcover their ſenſe of public meaſures, in which every one had ſo intimate a concern: That the biſhops in the preſent caſe were called upon, and muſt either expreſs their approbation by compliance, or their diſapprobation by petition: That it could be no ſedition to deny the prerogative of ſuſpending the laws; becauſe there really was no ſuch prerogative, nor ever could be, in a legal and limited government: That even if this prerogative was real, it had yet been frequently diſputed before the whole nation, both in Weſtminſter-hall, and in both houſes of Parliament; and no one had ever dreamed of puniſhing the denial of it as criminal: That the prelates, inſtead of making an appeal to the people, had applied in private to his Majeſty, and had even delivered their petition ſo ſecretly, that except by the confeſſion, extorted from them before the council, it was found impoſſible to prove them the authors: And that tho' the petition was afterwards printed and diſperſed, it was not ſomuch as attempted to be proved, that they had the leaſt knowlege of that publication.

THESE arguments were convincing in themſelves, and were heard with a very favourable diſpoſition by the audience. Even ſome of the judges, tho' their ſeats were held during pleaſure, declared themſelves in favour of the priſoners. The jury however, from what cauſe is not certainly known, took ſeveral hours to deliberate, and kept, during ſo long a time, the people in the moſt anxious expectation. But when the wiſhed for verdict, *not guilty*, was at laſt pronounced, the intelligence was echoed thro' the hall, was conveyed to the crowds without, was carried into the city, and was propagated with infinite joy throughout the kingdom.

17th of June. and acquittal of the biſhops.

EVER ſince Monmouth's rebellion, the King had, every ſummer, encamped his army on Hounſlow heath, that he might both improve their diſcipline, and by ſo unuſual a ſpectacle over-awe the mutinous people. A

CHAP. LXX. 1688.

popiſh chapel was openly erected in the midſt of the camp, and great pains taken, tho' in vain, to bring over the ſoldiers to that communion. The few converts, whom the prieſts had made, were treated with ſuch contempt and ignominy, as deterred every one from following the example. Even the Iriſh officers, whom the King introduced into the army, ſerved rather, from the averſion borne them, to weaken his intereſt among them. It happened, that the very day, on which the biſhops' trial was finiſhed, the King had reviewed the troops, and had retired into lord Feverſham, the general's, tent; when he was ſurprized to hear a great uproar in the camp, attended with the moſt extravagant ſymptoms of tumultuary joy. He ſuddenly enquired the cauſe, and was told by Feverſham, "It was nothing but the rejoicing of the ſoldiers for the acquittal of the biſhops." "Do you call that nothing?" replied he, "but ſo much the worſe for them."

THE King was ſtill determined to ruſh forwards in the ſame courſe, where he was already, by his precipitate career, ſo fatally advanced. Tho' he knew, that every order of men, except a handful of Catholics, were enraged at his paſt meaſures, and ſtill more terrified with the future proſpect; tho' he ſaw that the ſame diſcontents had reached the army, his ſole reſſource during the general diſaffection: Yet was he incapable of changing his meaſures, or even of remitting his violence in the proſecution of them. He ſtruck out two of the judges, Powel and Holloway, who had appeared to favour the biſhops: He iſſued orders to proſecute all thoſe clergymen, who had not read his declaration; that is, the whole church of England, two hundred excepted: He ſent a mandate to the new fellows, whom he had obtruded on Magdalen-College, to elect for preſident, in the room of Parker, lately deceaſed, one Gifford, a doctor of the Sorbonne, and titular biſhop of Madura: And he is even ſaid to have nominated the ſame perſon

to

to the ſee of Oxford. So great an infatuation is perhaps an object of compaſſion rather than of anger: And is really ſurpriſing in a man, who, in other reſpects, was not deficient in ſenſe and accompliſhments.

A FEW days before the acquittal of the biſhops, an event happened, which, in the King's ſentiments, much overballanced all the mortifications, which he had received on that occaſion. The Queen was brought to bed of a ſon, who was baptized by the name of James. This bleſſing was impatiently longed for, not only by the King and Queen, but by all the zealous Catholics both abroad and at home. They ſaw, that the King was paſt middle age; and that on his death the ſucceſſion muſt devolve on the Prince and Princeſs of Orange, two zealous Proteſtants, who would ſoon replace every thing on the antient foundations. Vows therefore were offered at every ſhrine for a male ſucceſſor: Pilgrimages were undertaken, particularly one to Loretto, by the dutcheſs of Modena; and ſucceſs was chiefly attributed to that pious journey. But in proportion as this event was agreeable to the Catholics, it encreaſed the diſguſt of the Proteſtants, by depriving them of that agreeable, tho' ſomewhat diſtant proſpect, in which at preſent they flattered themſelves. Calumny even went ſo far as to aſcribe to the King the deſign of impoſing on the world a ſuppoſititious child, who might be educated in his principles, and after his death ſupport the catholic religion in his dominions. The nation almoſt univerſally believed him capable, from bigotry, of committing any crime; as they had ſeen, that, from like motives, he was guilty of every imprudence: And the affections of nature, they thought, would be eaſily ſacrificed to the ſuperior motives of propagating a catholic and orthodox faith. The preſent occaſion was not the firſt, when that calumny had been propagated. In the year 1682, the Queen, then Dutcheſs of Yorke, had been pregnant;

10th of June. Birth of the Prince of Wales.

CHAP. LXX. 1688.

popiſh chapel was openly erected in the midſt of the camp, and great pains taken, tho' in vain, to bring over the ſoldiers to that communion. The few converts, whom the prieſts had made, were treated with ſuch contempt and ignominy, as deterred every one from following the example. Even the Iriſh officers, whom the King introduced into the army, ſerved rather, from the averſion borne them, to weaken his intereſt among them. It happened, that the very day, on which the biſhops' trial was finiſhed, the King had reviewed the troops, and had retired into lord Feverſham, the general's, tent; when he was ſurprized to hear a great uproar in the camp, attended with the moſt extravagant ſymptoms of tumultuary joy. He ſuddenly enquired the cauſe, and was told by Feverſham, "It was nothing but the rejoicing of the ſoldiers for the acquittal of the biſhops." "Do you call that nothing?" replied he, "but ſo much "the worſe for them."

THE King was ſtill determined to ruſh forwards in the ſame courſe, where he was already, by his precipitate career, ſo fatally advanced. Tho' he knew, that every order of men, except a handful of Catholics, were enraged at his paſt meaſures, and ſtill more terrified with the future proſpect; tho' he ſaw that the ſame diſcontents had reached the army, his ſole reſſource during the general diſaffection: Yet was he incapable of changing his meaſures, or even of remitting his violence in the proſecution of them. He ſtruck out two of the judges, Powel and Holloway, who had appeared to favour the biſhops: He iſſued orders to proſecute all thoſe clergymen, who had not read his declaration; that is, the whole church of England, two hundred excepted: He ſent a mandate to the new fellows, whom he had obtruded on Magdalen-College, to elect for preſident, in the room of Parker, lately deceaſed, one Gifford, a doctor of the Sorbonne, and titular biſhop of Madura: And he is even ſaid to have nominated the ſame perſon

to

CHAP. LXX. 1688.

to the ſee of Oxford. So great an infatuation is perhaps an object of compaſſion rather than of anger: And is really ſurpriſing in a man, who, in other reſpects, was not deficient in ſenſe and accompliſhments.

A FEW days before the acquittal of the biſhops, an event happened, which, in the King's ſentiments, much overballanced all the mortifications, which he had received on that occaſion. The Queen was brought to bed of a ſon, who was baptized by the name of James. This bleſſing was impatiently longed for, not only by the King and Queen, but by all the zealous Catholics both abroad and at home. They ſaw, that the King was paſt middle age; and that on his death the ſucceſſion muſt devolve on the Prince and Princeſs of Orange, two zealous Proteſtants, who would ſoon replace every thing on the antient foundations. Vows therefore were offered at every ſhrine for a male ſucceſſor: Pilgrimages were undertaken, particularly one to Loretto, by the dutcheſs of Modena; and ſucceſs was chiefly attributed to that pious journey. But in proportion as this event was agreeable to the Catholics, it encreaſed the diſguſt of the Proteſtants, by depriving them of that agreeable, tho' ſomewhat diſtant proſpect, in which at preſent they flattered themſelves. Calumny even went ſo far as to aſcribe to the King the deſign of impoſing on the world a ſuppoſititious child, who might be educated in his principles, and after his death ſupport the catholic religion in his dominions. The nation almoſt univerſally believed him capable, from bigotry, of committing any crime; as they had ſeen, that, from like motives, he was guilty of every imprudence: And the affections of nature, they thought, would be eaſily ſacrificed to the ſuperior motives of propagating a catholic and orthodox faith. The preſent occaſion was not the firſt, when that calumny had been propagated. In the year 1682, the Queen, then Dutcheſs of Yorke, had been pregnant;

10th of June. Birth of the Prince of Wales.

CHAP. LXX.

nant; and rumours were ſpread, that an impoſture would, at that time, be put upon the nation: But happily, the infant proved a female, and thereby ſpared the party all the trouble of ſupporting their improbable fiction[q].

1688.

q This ſtory is taken notice of in a weekly paper, the Obſervator, publiſhed at that very time, 23d of Auguſt, 1688. Party zeal is capable of ſwallowing the moſt incredible ſtory; but it is ſurely ſingular, that the ſame calumny, when once baffled, ſhould yet be renewed with ſuch ſucceſs.

CHAP. LXXI.

Conduct of the Prince of Orange.——He forms a league againſt France,——refuſes to concur with the King,——reſolves to oppoſe the King.——is applied to by the Engliſh.——Coalition of parties.——Prince's preparations.——Offers of France to the King,——rejected.——Suppoſed league with France.——General diſcontents.——The King retracts his meaſures.——Prince's declaration.——The Prince lands in England.——General commotion.——Deſertion of the army,——and of Prince George,——and of the Princeſs Anne.——King's conſternation,——and flight.——General confuſion.——King ſeized at Feverſham.——Second evaſion.——King's character.——Convention ſummoned.——Settlement of Scotland.——Engliſh convention meets.——Views of the parties.——Free conference betwixt the Houſes.——Commons prevail.——Settlement of the Crown.——Manners and ſciences.

1688. WHILE every motive, civil and religious, concurred to alienate from the King every rank and denomination of men, it might be expected, that his throne would, without delay, fall to pieces by its own weight: But

CHAP. LXXI. 1688.

But ſuch is the influence of eſtabliſhed government; ſo averſe are men from beginning hazardous enterprizes; that had not the nation received ſuccour from abroad, affairs might long have remained in their preſent delicate ſituation, and the King might at laſt have prevailed in his raſh, and ill concerted projects.

Conduct of the Prince of Orange.

THE Prince of Orange, ever ſince his marriage with the Lady Mary, had maintained a very prudent conduct; agreeable to that ſound underſtanding, with which he was ſo eminently endowed. He made it a maxim to concern himſelf very little in Engliſh affairs, and never by any meaſure to diſguſt any of the factions, or give umbrage to the Prince, who filled the throne. His natural inclination, as well as his intereſt, led him to employ himſelf with aſſiduous induſtry in the affairs of the continent, and to oppoſe the grandeur of the French Monarch, againſt whom he had long, both from perſonal and political conſiderations, conceived the moſt violent animoſity. By this conduct, he gratified the prejudices of the whole Engliſh nation: But as he croſſed the inclinations of Charles, who ſought peace by compliance with France, he had much declined in the favour and affections of that monarch.

JAMES on his acceſſion found it ſo much his intereſt to live in good terms with the heir apparent, that he ſhowed the Prince ſome demonſtrations of friendſhip; and the Prince on his part was not wanting in every inſtance of duty and regard towards the King. On Monmouth's invaſion, he immediately diſpatched over ſix regiments of Britiſh troops, which were in the Dutch ſervice: and he offered to take the command of the King's forces againſt the rebels. However much he might diſapprove the maxims of the King's adminiſtration, he ever kept a total ſilence on that ſubject, and gave no countenance to thoſe diſcontents, which were propagated with ſuch induſtry throughout the nation.

IT

CHAP. LXXI.

1688.

IT was from the application of James himſelf, that the Prince firſt openly took any part in Engliſh affairs. Notwithſtanding the lofty ideas, which the King had entertained of his own prerogative, he found, that the edicts, emitted from it, ſtill wanted much of the authority of laws, and that the continuance of them might in the iſſue become dangerous, both to himſelf and to the Catholics, whom he deſired to favour. An act of Parliament alone could enſure the indulgence or toleration, which he had laboured to eſtabliſh; and he hoped, that, if the Prince would declare in favour of that ſcheme, the members, who had hitherto reſiſted all his own applications, would at laſt be prevailed with to adopt it. The conſent, therefore, of the Prince to the repeal of the penal ſtatutes and of the teſt was ſtrongly ſollicited by the King; and in order to engage him to agree to that meaſure, hopes were given[r], that England would ſecond him in all thoſe enterprizes, which his active and extenſive genius had with ſuch ſucceſs formed on the continent.

He forms a league againſt France.

THE Prince knew, that the Emperor and the King of Spain were enraged by the repeated injuries, which they had ſuffered from the ambition of Lewis, and ſtill more, by the frequent inſults, which his pride had made them undergo. He was apprized of the influence of theſe Monarchs over the Catholic Princes of the empire: He had himſelf obtained a great authority with the proteſtant Princes: And he formed a project of uniting Europe in one general league againſt the encroachments of France, which ſeemed ſo nearly to threaten the liberty and independance of all its neighbours.

No characters are more incompatible than thoſe of a conqueror and a perſecutor; and Lewis ſoon found, that, beſides his weakening France by the baniſhment of ſo many uſeful ſubjects, the refugees had enflamed all the proteſtant nations againſt him, and had raiſed him ene-

[r] Burnet, vol. i. p. 711. D'Avaux, 15th of April, 1688.

mies,

CHAP. LXXI. 1688.

mies, who, in defence of their religion as well as liberty, were obſtinately reſolved to oppoſe his progreſs. The city of Amſterdam and other towns in Holland, which had before fallen into a dependance on France, being terrified with the accounts, which they every moment received, of the furious perſecutions againſt the Hugonots, had now dropped all private factions, and had entered into an entire confidence with the Prince of Orange[s]. The proteſtant Princes of the empire had formed a ſeparate league at Magdebourg for the defence of their religion. The Engliſh were anew enraged at the blind bigotry of their Sovereign, and were diſpoſed to embrace the moſt deſperate reſolutions againſt him. From a view of the ſtate of Europe during this period, it appears, that Lewis, beſides ſullying an illuſtrious reign, had wantonly by this perſecution raiſed invincible barriers to his arms, which otherwiſe it had been very difficult, if not impoſſible, to reſiſt.

THE Prince of Orange knew how to avail himſelf of all theſe advantages. By his intrigues and influence a league was formed at Auſbourg, where the whole empire united in its defence againſt the French Monarch. Spain and Holland became parties in the alliance. The acceſſion of Savoy was afterwards obtained. Sweden and Denmark ſeemed to favour the ſame cauſe. But tho' theſe numerous ſtates compoſed the greater part of Europe, the league was ſtill deemed imperfect and unequal to its end; ſo long as England maintained that neutrality, in which ſhe had hitherto perſevered.

JAMES, tho' more prone to bigotry, was more ſenſible to his own and to national honour than his brother; and had he not been confined by the former motive, he would have maintained with more ſpirit the intereſt and independance of his kingdoms. When a proſpect, there-

[s] D'Avaux, 24th of July, 1681; 10th of June, 15th of October, 11th of November, 1688; vol. iv. p. 30.

CHAP. LXXI.

1688.

fore, appeared of promoting his religious ſchemes by oppoſing the progreſs of France, he was not averſe to that meaſure; and he gave his ſon-in-law room to hope, that, by concurring with his views in England, he might prevail with him to ſecond thoſe projects, which the Prince was ſo ambitious of promoting.

Refuſes to concur with the King.

A MORE tempting offer could not be made to a perſon of his enterprizing character: But the objections to that meaſure, upon deliberation, appeared to him inſuperable. The King, he obſerved, had incurred the moſt violent hatred of his own ſubjects: Great apprehenſions were entertained of his deſigns: The only reſſource, which the nation ſaw, was in the future ſucceſſion of the Prince and Princeſs: Should he concur in thoſe dreaded meaſures, he would draw on himſelf all the odium, under which the King laboured: The nation might even refuſe to bear the expence of alliances, which would in that caſe become ſo ſuſpicious: And he might himſelf incur danger of loſing a ſucceſſion, which was awaiting him, and which the egregious indiſcretion of the King ſeemed even to give him hopes of reaping before it ſhould devolve to him by the courſe of nature. The Prince, therefore, would go no farther than to promiſe his conſent to the repeal of the penal ſtatutes, by which the Nonconformiſts as well as Catholics were expoſed to puniſhment. The teſt he eſteemed a ſecurity abſolutely requiſite for the eſtabliſhed religion.

THE King did not remain ſatisfied with a ſingle trial. There was one Stuart, a Scots lawyer, who had been baniſhed for treaſonable practices; but who had afterwards obtained a pardon, and had been recalled. By the King's directions, Stuart wrote ſeveral letters to penſionary Fagel, with whom he had contracted an acquaintance in Holland; and beſides urging all the motives for an unlimited toleration, he deſired, that his reaſons ſhould, in the King's name, be communicated to the Prince

Prince and Princeſs of Orange. Fagel during a long time made no reply; but finding, that his ſilence was conſtrued into an aſſent, he at laſt expreſſed his own ſentiment and that of their Highneſſes. He ſaid, that it was their fixed opinion, that no man, merely becauſe he differed from the eſtabliſhed faith, ſhould ever, while he remained a peaceable ſubject, be expoſed to any puniſhment or even moleſtation: That the Prince and Princeſs of Orange gave heartily their conſent for repealing legally all the penal ſtatutes, as well thoſe enacted againſt the Catholics as againſt the Proteſtant Nonconformiſts; and would concur with the King in any meaſure for that purpoſe. That the teſt was not to be conſidered as a penalty inflicted on the profeſſors of any religion, but as a ſecurity provided for the eſtabliſhed worſhip. That it was no puniſhment on men to be excluded from public offices, and to live peaceably on their own revenues or induſtry. That even in the United Provinces, which were ſo often cited as models of toleration, tho' all ſects were admitted, yet civil offices were only enjoyed by the profeſſors of the eſtabliſhed religion. That military commands, indeed, were ſometimes beſtowed on Catholics; but as they were conferred with great precaution, and ſtill lay under the controul of the magiſtrate, they could give no juſt reaſon for umbrage. And that their Highneſſes, however deſirous of gratifying the King, and of endeavouring, by every means, to render his reign peaceable and happy, could not agree to any meaſure, which would expoſe their religion to ſuch imminent danger.

CHAP. LXXI. 1688.

When this letter was publiſhed, as it ſoon was, it inſpired great courage into the Proteſtants of all denominations, and ſerved to keep them united in their oppoſition to the encroachments of the Catholics. On the other hand, the King, who was not contented with a ſimple toleration for his own religion, but was reſolved, that it ſhould enjoy great credit, if not an abſolute ſu-

CHAP. LXXI.

1688.

periority, was extremely diſguſted, and took every occaſion to expreſs his diſpleaſure, as well againſt the Prince of Orange as the United Provinces. He gave the Algerine pyrates, who preyed on the Dutch, a reception in his harbours, and liberty to diſpoſe of their prizes. He revived ſome complaints of the Eaſt India company with regard to the affair of Bantam[u]. He required the ſix Britiſh regiments in the Dutch ſervice to be ſent over. He began to put his navy in a formidable condition. And from all his movements, the Hollanders entertained apprehenſions, that he ſought only an occaſion and pretence for making war upon them.

Reſolves to oppoſe the King.

THE Prince in his turn reſolved to puſh affairs with more vigour, and to preſerve all the Engliſh Proteſtants in his intereſts, as well as maintain them firm in their preſent union againſt the Catholics. He knew, that the men of education in England were, many of them, retained in their religion more by honour than by principle[x]; and that, tho' every one was aſhamed to be the firſt proſelyte, yet, if the example was once ſet by ſome eminent perſons, intereſt would every day make conſiderable converſions to a communion, which was ſo zealouſy encouraged by the Sovereign. Dyvkelt therefore was ſent over as envoy to England; and the Prince gave him inſtructions, beſides publickly remonſtrating with the King on his conduct both at home and abroad, to apply in his name, after a proper manner, to every ſect and denomination. To the church party he ſent aſſurances of favour and regard, and proteſted, that his education in Holland had no wiſe prejudiced him againſt epiſcopal government. The Nonconformiſts he exhorted not to be deceived by the fallacious careſſes of a popiſh Court, but to wait patiently, till, in the maturity of time, laws, enacted by Proteſtants, ſhould give them

[u] D'Avaux, 21ſt of January, 1687. [x] Burnet.

that

CHAP. LXXI.

1688.

that toleration, which, with ſo much reaſon, they had long claimed and demanded. Dykvelt executed his commiſſion with ſuch dexterity, that all orders of men caſt their eyes towards Holland, and expected thence a deliverance from thoſe dangers, with which their religion and liberty were ſo nearly threatened.

Is applied to by the Engliſh.

MANY of the moſt conſiderable perſons, both in church and ſtate, made ſecret applications to Dykvelt, and thro' him to the Prince of Orange. Admiral Herbert too, tho' a man of great expence, and ſeemingly of little religion, had thrown up his employments, and retired to the Hague, where he aſſured the Prince of the diſaffection of the ſeamen, by whom that admiral was extremely beloved. Admiral Ruſſel, couſin german to the unfortunate lord of that name, paſſed frequently between England and Holland, and kept the communication open with all the great men of the proteſtant party. Henry Sidney, brother to Algernon, and uncle to the earl of Sunderland, came over under pretence of drinking the waters at Spaw, and conveyed ſtill ſtronger aſſurances of an univerſal combination againſt the meaſures of the King. Lord Dumblaine, ſon to the earl of Danby, being maſter of a frigate, made ſeveral voyages to Holland, and carried from many of the nobility tenders of duty, and even conſiderable ſums of money[y], to the Prince of Orange.

THERE remained, however, ſome reaſons, which retained all parties in awe, and kept them from breaking out into immediate violence. The Prince, on the one hand, was afraid of hazarding, by his invaſion, an inheritance, which the laws enſured to the Princeſs; and the Engliſh Proteſtants, on the other hand, from the proſpect of her ſucceſſion, ſtill entertained hopes of obtaining at laſt a peaceable and a ſafe redreſs of all their grievances. But when the Prince of Wales was born,

[y] D'Avaux, 14th and 24th of September, 8th and 15th of October, 1688.

CHAP. LXXI.

1688.

both the Prince and the Engliſh nation were reduced to deſpair, and ſaw no reſſource but in a confederacy for their mutual intereſts. And thus the event which the King had ſo long made the object of his moſt ardent prayers, and from which he expected the firm eſtabliſhment of his throne, proved the immediate cauſe of his ruin and downfall.

ZUYLESTEIN, who had been ſent over to congratulate the King on the birth of his ſon, brought the Prince formal invitations from moſt of the great men in England, to aſſiſt them, by his arms, in the recovery of their laws and liberty. The biſhop of London, the earls of Danby, Nottingham, Devonſhire, Dorſet, the duke of Norfolk, the marqueſs of Hallifax, the lords Lovelace, Delamare, Paulet, Eland, Mr. Hambden, Powle, Leſter, beſides many eminent citizens of London; all theſe perſons, tho' of the moſt oppoſite parties, concurred in their applications to the Prince. The Whigs, ſituable to their antient principles of liberty, which had led them to attempt the excluſion bill, eaſily agreed to oppoſe a King, whoſe conduct had verified whatever his worſt enemies had prognoſticated of his ſucceſſion. The Tories and the church party, finding their paſt ſervices forgotten, their rights invaded, their religion threatened, agreed to drop for the preſent all over-ſtrained doctrines of ſubmiſſion, and attend to the great and powerful dictates of nature. The Nonconformiſts, dreading the careſſes of known and inveterate enemies, deemed the offers of toleration more ſecure from a Prince educated in thoſe principles, and accuſtomed to that practice. And thus all faction was for a time laid aſleep in England; and rival parties, forgetting their animoſity, had ſecretly concurred in a deſign of oppoſing their unhappy and miſguided Sovereign. The earl of Shrewſbury, who had acquired great popularity by deſerting, at this time, the Catholic religion, in

Coalition of parties.

CHAP. LXXI.

1688.

in which he had been educated, left his regiment, mortgaged his eſtate for forty thouſand pounds, and made a tender of his ſword and purſe to the Prince of Orange. Lord Wharton, notwithſtanding his age and infirmities, had taken a journey for the ſame purpoſe. Lord Mordaunt was at the Hague, and puſhed on the enterprize with that ardent and courageous ſpirit, for which he was ſo eminent. Even Sunderland, the King's favourite miniſter, is believed to have entered into a correſpondence with the Prince; and at the expence of his own honour and his maſter's intereſt, to have ſecretly embraced a cauſe, which he foreſaw, was likely ſoon to predominate [a].

THE Prince was eaſily determined to yield to the applications of the Engliſh, and to embrace the defence of a nation, which, during its preſent fears and diſtreſſes, regarded him as its ſole protector. The great object of his ambition was to be placed at the head of a confederate army, and by his valour to avenge the injuries, which himſelf, his country, and his allies had ſuſtained from the haughty Lewis. But while England remained under the preſent government, he deſpaired of ever forming a league, which would be able, with any probability of ſucceſs, to make oppoſition againſt that powerful Monarch. The tyes of affinity could not be ſuppoſed to have great influence over a perſon of the Prince's rank and temper; much more, as he knew, that they were at firſt unwillingly contracted by the King, and had never ſince been cultivated by any eſſential favours of good offices. Or ſhould any reproach remain upon him for violating the duties of private life; the glory of delivering oppreſſed nations would, he hoped, be able,

[a] D'Avaux was always of that opinion. See his Negotiations 6th and 20th of May, 18th, 27th of September, 22d of November, 1688. But it is pretended, that that lord always ſuggeſted moderate councils to the King; a ſure proof, if true, of his fidelity. See his defence.

CHAP. LXXI.

1688.

in the eyes of all reaſonable men, to make ample compenſation. He could not well expect, on the commencement of his enterprize, that it would lead him to mount the throne of England: But he undoubtely foreſaw, that its ſucceſs would eſtabliſh his authority in that Kingdom. And ſo egregious was James's temerity, that there was no advantage, ſo great or obvious, which that Prince's indiſcretion might not afford his enemies.

THE Prince of Orange, thro'out his whole life, was peculiarly happy in the ſituations, in which he was placed. He ſaved his own country from ruin, he reſtored the liberties of theſe kingdoms, he ſupported the general independency of Europe. And thus, tho' his virtue, it is confeſſed, be not the pureſt, which we meet with in hiſtory, it will be difficult to find any perſon, whoſe actions and conduct have contributed more eminently to the general intereſts of ſociety and of mankind.

Prince's preparations.

THE time, when the Prince entered on his enterprize, was very well choſen; as the people were then in the higheſt ferment, on account of the inſult, which the impriſonment and trial of the biſhops had put upon the church, and indeed upon all the Proteſtants of the nation. His method of conducting the preparations was no leſs wiſe and politic. Under other pretences he had beforehand made conſiderable augmentations to the Dutch fleet; and the ſhips were at that time lying in harbour. Some additional troops were alſo levied; and ſums of money, raiſed for other purpoſes, were diverted by the Prince to the uſe of this expedition. The States had given him their entire confidence; and partly from terror of the exorbitant power of France, partly from diſguſt at ſome reſtraints laid on their commerce in that kingdom, were ſenſible how neceſſary ſucceſs in this enterprize was become to their domeſtic happineſs and ſecurity. Many of the neighbouring Princes regarded

garded him as their guardian and protector, and were guided by him in all their councils. He held conferences with Caſtanaga, governor of the Spaniſh Netherlands, with the Electors of Bradenburgh and Saxony, with the Landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel, with the whole houſe of Lunenbourg. It was agreed, that theſe Princes ſhould replace the troops employed againſt England, and ſhould protect the United Provinces during the abſence of the Prince of Orange. Their forces were already on their march for that purpoſe: A conſiderable encampment of the Dutch army was formed near Nimeguen: Every place was in motion; and tho' the roots of this conſpiracy reached from one end of Europe to the other, ſo ſecret were the Prince's councils, ſo fortunate was the diſpoſition of affairs, that he ſtill could cover his preparations under other pretences; and little ſuſpicion was entertained of his real intentions. CHAP. LXXI. 1688.

The King of France, menaced by the league of Augſbourg, had reſolved to ſtrike the firſt blow againſt the allies; and having ſought a quarrel with the Emperor and the Elector Palatine, he had invaded Germany with a great army, and had laid ſiege to Philipſbourg. The Elector of Cologne, who was alſo Biſhop of Liege and Munſter, and whoſe territories almoſt entirely ſurrounded the United Provinces, had died about this time; and the candidates for that rich ſucceſſion were Prince Clement of Bavaria, ſupported by the houſe of Auſtria, and the cardinal of Furſtemberg, a prelate entirely dependant on France. The pope, who favoured the allies, was able to throw the ballance between the parties, and Prince Clement was choſen; a circmſtance which contributed extremely to the ſecurity of the States. But as the cardinal kept poſſeſſion of many of the fortreſſes, and had applied to France for ſuccours, the neighbouring territories were all in motion; and by this means the preparations of the Dutch and their allies

CHAP. LXXI. 1688.

in the eyes of all reaſonable men, to make ample compenſation. He could not well expect, on the commencement of his enterprize, that it would lead him to mount the throne of England: But he undoubtely foreſaw, that its ſucceſs would eſtabliſh his authority in that Kingdom. And ſo egregious was James's temerity, that there was no advantage, ſo great or obvious, which that Prince's indiſcretion might not afford his enemies.

THE Prince of Orange, thro'out his whole life, was peculiarly happy in the ſituations, in which he was placed. He ſaved his own country from ruin, he reſtored the liberties of theſe kingdoms, he ſupported the general independency of Europe. And thus, tho' his virtue, it is confeſſed, be not the pureſt, which we meet with in hiſtory, it will be difficult to find any perſon, whoſe actions and conduct have contributed more eminently to the general intereſts of ſociety and of mankind.

Prince's preparations.

THE time, when the Prince entered on his enterprize, was very well choſen; as the people were then in the higheſt ferment, on account of the inſult, which the impriſonment and trial of the biſhops had put upon the church, and indeed upon all the Proteſtants of the nation. His method of conducting the preparations was no leſs wiſe and politic. Under other pretences he had beforehand made conſiderable augmentations to the Dutch fleet; and the ſhips were at that time lying in harbour. Some additional troops were alſo levied; and ſums of money, raiſed for other purpoſes, were diverted by the Prince to the uſe of this expedition. The States had given him their entire confidence; and partly from terror of the exorbitant power of France, partly from diſguſt at ſome reſtraints laid on their commerce in that kingdom, were ſenſible how neceſſary ſucceſs in this enterprize was become to their domeſtic happineſs and ſecurity. Many of the neighbouring Princes regarded

CHAP. LXXI. 1688.

garded him as their guardian and protector, and were guided by him in all their councils. He held conferences with Caſtanaga, governor of the Spaniſh Netherlands, with the Electors of Bradenburgh and Saxony, with the Landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel, with the whole houſe of Lunenbourg. It was agreed, that theſe Princes ſhould replace the troops employed againſt England, and ſhould protect the United Provinces during the abſence of the Prince of Orange. Their forces were already on their march for that purpoſe: A conſiderable encampment of the Dutch army was formed near Nimeguen: Every place was in motion; and tho' the roots of this conſpiracy reached from one end of Europe to the other, ſo ſecret were the Prince's councils, ſo fortunate was the diſpoſition of affairs, that he ſtill could cover his preparations under other pretences; and little ſuſpicion was entertained of his real intentions.

THE King of France, menaced by the league of Augſbourg, had reſolved to ſtrike the firſt blow againſt the allies; and having ſought a quarrel with the Emperor and the Elector Palatine, he had invaded Germany with a great army, and had laid ſiege to Philipſbourg. The Elector of Cologne, who was alſo Biſhop of Liege and Munſter, and whoſe territories almoſt entirely ſurrounded the United Provinces, had died about this time; and the candidates for that rich ſucceſſion were Prince Clement of Bavaria, ſupported by the houſe of Auſtria, and the cardinal of Furſtemberg, a prelate entirely dependant on France. The pope, who favoured the allies, was able to throw the ballance between the parties, and Prince Clement was choſen; a circmſtance which contributed extremely to the ſecurity of the States. But as the cardinal kept poſſeſſion of many of the fortreſſes, and had applied to France for ſuccours, the neighbouring territories were all in motion; and by this means the preparations of the Dutch and their allies

CHAP. LXXI.

1688.

ſeemed intended merely for their own defence againſt the enterprizes of Lewis.

ALL the artifices, however, of the Prince could not entirely conceal his real intentions from the ſagacity of the French court. D'Avaux, Lewis's envoy at the Hague, had been able, by a compariſon of circumſtances, to trace the purpoſes of the preparations in Holland; and he inſtantly informed his maſter of the diſcovery. Lewis conveyed the intelligence to James; and accompanied the information with a very important offer. He was willing to join a ſquadron of French ſhips to the Engliſh fleet; and to ſend over any number of troops, which James ſhould judge requiſite for his ſecurity. When this propoſal was rejected, he again offered to raiſe the ſiege of Philipſbourg, to march his army into the Netherlands, and by the terror of his arms to detain the Dutch forces in their own country. This propoſal met with no better reception.

Offers of France to the King.

Rejected.

JAMES was not, as yet, entirely convinced, that his ſon in law intended an invaſion upon England. Fully perſwaded, himſelf, of the ſacredneſs of his own authority, he fancied, that a like belief had made deep impreſſion on his ſubjects; and notwithſtanding the ſtrong ſymptoms of diſcontent which broke out, ſuch an univerſal combination in rebellion appeared to him no wiſe credible. His army, in which he truſted, and which he had conſiderably augmented, would be eaſily able, he thought, to repel foreign force, and to ſuppreſs any ſedition among the populace. A ſmall number of French troops, joined to theſe, might tend only to breed diſcontent; and afford them a pretence for mutinying againſt foreigners, ſo much feared and hated by the nation. A great body of auxiliaries might indeed ſecure him both againſt an invaſion from Holland, and againſt the rebellion of his own ſubjects; but would be able afterwards to reduce him to total dependance, and render his authority

en-

entirely precarious. Even the French invaſion of the Low Countries might be attended with very dangerous conſquences; and would ſuffice, in theſe jealous times, to revive the old ſuſpicion of a combination againſt Holland, and againſt the proteſtant religion; a ſuſpicion, which had already produced ſuch diſcontents in England. Theſe were the views ſuggeſted by Sunderland, and it muſt be confeſſed, that the reaſons, on which they were founded, were ſufficiently plauſible; as indeed the ſituation, to which the King had reduced himſelf, was, to the laſt degree, delicate and perplexing.

STILL Lewis was unwilling to abandon a friend and ally, whoſe intereſt he regarded as cloſely connected with his own. By the ſuggeſtion of Skelton, the King's miniſter at Paris, orders were ſent to D'Avaux to remonſtrate with the States in Lewis's name againſt thoſe preparations, which they were making to invade England. The ſtrict amity, ſaid the French miniſter, which ſubſiſts between the two monarchs will make Lewis regard every attempt againſt his ally as an act of hoſtility againſt himſelf. This remonſtrance had a very bad effect, and put the States in a flame. What is this alliance, they aſked, between France and England, which has been ſo carefully concealed from us? Is it of the ſame nature with the former; meant for our deſtruction and for the extirpation of the proteſtant religion? If ſo, it is high time for us to provide for our own defence, and to anticipate thoſe projects, which are forming againſt us.

EVEN James was diſpleaſed with this officious ſtep taken by Lewis for his ſervice. He was not reduced, he ſaid, to the condition of the cardinal of Furſtemberg, and obliged to ſeek the protection of France. He recalled Skelton, and threw him into the Tower for his raſh conduct. He ſolemnly diſavowed D'Avaux's memorial; and proteſted, that no alliance ſubſiſted between him and Lewis, but what was public and known to all the world. The States, however, ſtill affected to appear incredulous

CHAP. LXXI.

1688.

on that article [b]; and the Engliſh, extremely prepoſſeſſed againſt their Sovereign, firmly believed, that a project was concerted with Lewis for their entire ſubjection. Portſmouth, it was ſaid, was to be put into the hands of that ambitious monarch: England was to be filled with French and Iriſh troops: And every man, who was not willing to embrace the Romiſh ſuperſtition, was by theſe bigotted Princes devoted to ſudden deſtruction.

THESE ſuggeſtions were every where ſpread abroad, and tended extremely to augment the diſcontents, of which both the fleet and army, as well as the people, betrayed every day the moſt evident ſymptoms. The fleet had begun to mutiny; becauſe Stricland, the admiral, a Roman Catholic, introduced the maſs aboard his ſhip, and diſmiſſed the proteſtant chaplain. It was with ſome difficulty they could be appeaſed; and they ſtill perſiſted in declaring, that they would not fight againſt the Dutch, whom they called friends and brethren; but would willingly engage the French, whom they regarded as national enemies. The King had intended to augment his army with Iriſh recruits, and he reſolved to try the experiment on the regiment of the Duke of Berwic, his natural ſon; but Beaumont, the lieutenant-colonel, refuſed to admit them; and to this oppoſition five captains ſteadily adhered. They were all caſhiered; and had not the diſcontents of the army on this occaſion become very apparent, it was reſolved to have tried and puniſhed thoſe officers for mutiny.

THE King made a trial of the diſpoſitions of his army, in a manner ſtill more undiſguiſed. Finding oppoſition from all the civil and eccleſiaſtical powers of the kingdom, he reſolved to appeal to the military, who, if unanimous, were able alone to ſerve all his purpoſes, and

[b] That there really was no new alliance formed betwixt France and England appears both from Sunderland's apology, and from D'Avaux's negotiations, lately publiſhed: See Vol. IV. p. 18. Eng. Tranſlation, 27th of September, 1687. 16th of March, 6th of May, 10th of Auguſt, 2d, 23d, and 24th of September, 5th and 7th of October, 11th of November, 1688.

en-

CHAP. LXXI. 1688.

enforce univerſal obedience. His intention was to engage all the regiments, one after another, to give their conſent to the repeal of the teſt and penal ſtatutes; and accordingly, the major of Litchfield's drew out the battallion before the King, and told them, that they were required either to enter into his Majeſty's views, in theſe particulars, or to lay down their arms. The King was ſurpriſed to find, that, two captains and a few popiſh ſoldiers excepted, the whole battallion immediately embraced the latter part of the alternative. For ſome time, he remained ſpeechleſs; but having recovered from his aſtoniſhment, he commanded them to take up their arms; adding with a ſullen, diſcontented air, "That for the "future, he would not do them the honour to aſk their "advice."

WHILE the King was diſmayed with theſe ſymptoms of general diſaffection, he received a letter from the marqueſs of Albeville, his miniſter at the Hague; which informed him with certainty that he was ſoon to look for a powerful invaſion from Holland, and that Penſionary Fagel had at laſt acknowledged, that the ſcope of all the Dutch preparations was to tranſport forces into England. Tho' James could reaſonably expect no other intelligence, he was aſtoniſhed at the news: He grew pale, and the letter dropped from his hand: His eyes were now opened, and he found himſelf on the brink of a frightful precipice, which his deluſions had hitherto concealed from him. His miniſters and councellors, equally aſtoniſhed with himſelf, ſaw no reſſource but in a ſudden and precipitant retraction of all thoſe fatal meaſures, by which he had created himſelf ſo many enemies, foreign and domeſtic. He paid court to the Dutch, and offered to enter into any alliance with them for common ſecurity: He replaced in all the counties the deputy-lieutenants and juſtices, who had been deprived of their commiſſions for their adherence to the teſt and the penal laws: He reſtored

23d of September.

The King retracts his meaſures.

CHAP. LXXI. 1688.

ſtored the charters of London and of all the corporations: He annulled the court of eccleſiaſtical commiſſion: He took off the biſhop of London's ſuſpenſion: He re-inſtated the expelled preſident and fellows of Magdalen college: And he was even reduced to careſs thoſe biſhops, whom he had ſo lately proſecuted and inſulted. All theſe meaſures were regarded as ſymptoms of fear, not of repentance. The biſhops, inſtead of promiſing ſuccour, or ſuggeſting comfort, recapitulated to him all the inſtances of his mal-adminiſtration, and adviſed him thenceforwards to follow more ſalutary council. And as intelligence arrived of a great diſaſter, which had befallen the Dutch fleet, it is commonly believed, that the King recalled, for ſome time, the conceſſions, which he had ordered to be made to Magdalen college: A very bad ſign of his ſincerity in his other conceſſions. Nay, ſo prevalent were his unfortunate prepoſſeſſions, that, amidſt all his preſent diſtreſſes, he could not forbear, at the baptiſm of the young Prince, from appointing the Pope to be one of the godfathers.

THE report, that a ſuppoſititious child was to be impoſed on the nation, had been widely ſpread, and greedily received, before the Prince of Wales's birth: But the King, who, without ſeeming to take notice of the matter, might eaſily have quaſhed that ridiculous rumour, had, from an ill-timed haughtineſs, totally neglected it. He diſdained, he ſaid, to ſatisfy thoſe, who could deem him capable of ſo baſe and villainous an action. Finding that the calumny ſtill gained ground, and had made deep impreſſion on his ſubjects, he was now obliged to ſubmit to the mortifying office of aſcertaining the reality of that birth. Tho' no particular attention had been beforehand given to enſure proof, the evidence, both of the Queen's pregnancy and delivery, was rendered indiſputable; and ſo much the more, as no argument or proof of any importance, nothing but popular rumour and ſurmize, could be thrown into the oppoſite ſcale.

CHAP. LXXI.

1688. Prince's declaration.

MEANWHILE, the Prince of Orange's declaration was diſperſed over the kingdom, and met with univerſal approbation. All the grievances of the nation were there enumerated: The diſpenſing and ſuſpending power; the court of eccleſiaſtical commiſſion; the filling all offices with Catholics, and the raiſing a jeſuit to be a privy-counſellor; the open encouragement given to popery, by building every where churches, colleges, ſeminaries for that ſect; the diſplacing of judges, if they refuſed to give ſentence according to orders received from Court; the annulling the charters of all the corporations, and the ſubjecting the election of members to arbitrary will and pleaſure; the treating petitions, even the moſt modeſt, and from perſons of the higheſt rank, as criminal and ſeditious; the committing the whole authority of Ireland, civil and military, into the hands of Papiſts; the aſſuming an abſolute power over the religion and laws of Scotland, and openly exacting in that kingdom an obedience without reſerve; and the violent preſumptions againſt the legitimacy of the Prince of Wales. In order to redreſs all theſe grievances, the Prince ſaid, that he intended to come over into England with an armed force, which might protect him from the King's evil counſellors: And that his ſole aim was to have a legal and free Parliament ſummoned, who might provide for the ſafety and liberty of the nation, as well as examine the proofs of the Prince of Wales's legitimacy. No one, he added, could entertain ſuch hard thoughts of him as to imagine, that he had formed other deſigns than to procure the full and laſting ſettlement of the religion, liberty, and property of the ſubject. The force, which he intended to bring with him, was totally diſproportioned to any views of conqueſt; and it were abſurd to ſuſpect, that ſo many perſons of high rank, both in church and ſtate, would have given him ſo many ſolemn invitations for ſuch a pernicious purpoſe. Tho' the Engliſh miniſters, terrified

CHAP. LXXI.

1688.

ſtored the charters of London and of all the corporations: He annulled the court of eccleſiaſtical commiſſion: He took off the biſhop of London's ſuſpenſion: He re-inſtated the expelled preſident and fellows of Magdalen college: And he was even reduced to careſs thoſe biſhops, whom he had ſo lately proſecuted and inſulted. All theſe meaſures were regarded as ſymptoms of fear, not of repentance. The biſhops, inſtead of promiſing ſuccour, or ſuggeſting comfort, recapitulated to him all the inſtances of his mal-adminiſtration, and adviſed him thenceforwards to follow more ſalutary council. And as intelligence arrived of a great diſaſter, which had befallen the Dutch fleet, it is commonly believed, that the King recalled, for ſome time, the conceſſions, which he had ordered to be made to Magdalen college: A very bad ſign of his ſincerity in his other conceſſions. Nay, ſo prevalent were his unfortunate prepoſſeſſions, that, amidſt all his preſent diſtreſſes, he could not forbear, at the baptiſm of the young Prince, from appointing the Pope to be one of the godfathers.

THE report, that a ſuppoſititious child was to be impoſed on the nation, had been widely ſpread, and greedily received, before the Prince of Wales's birth: But the King, who, without ſeeming to take notice of the matter, might eaſily have quaſhed that ridiculous rumour, had, from an ill-timed haughtineſs, totally neglected it. He diſdained, he ſaid, to ſatisfy thoſe, who could deem him capable of ſo baſe and villainous an action. Finding that the calumny ſtill gained ground, and had made deep impreſſion on his ſubjects, he was now obliged to ſubmit to the mortifying office of aſcertaining the reality of that birth. Tho' no particular attention had been beforehand given to enſure proof, the evidence, both of the Queen's pregnancy and delivery, was rendered indiſputable; and ſo much the more, as no argument or proof of any importance, nothing but popular rumour and ſurmize, could be thrown into the oppoſite ſcale.

CHAP. LXXI.

1688. Prince's declaration.

MEANWHILE, the Prince of Orange's declaration was diſperſed over the kingdom, and met with univerſal approbation. All the grievances of the nation were there enumerated: The diſpenſing and ſuſpending power; the court of eccleſiaſtical commiſſion; the filling all offices with Catholics, and the raiſing a jeſuit to be a privy-counſellor; the open encouragement given to popery, by building every where churches, colleges, ſeminaries for that ſect; the diſplacing of judges, if they refuſed to give ſentence according to orders received from Court; the annulling the charters of all the corporations, and the ſubjecting the election of members to arbitrary will and pleaſure; the treating petitions, even the moſt modeſt, and from perſons of the higheſt rank, as criminal and ſeditious; the committing the whole authority of Ireland, civil and military, into the hands of Papiſts; the aſſuming an abſolute power over the religion and laws of Scotland, and openly exacting in that kingdom an obedience without reſerve; and the violent preſumptions againſt the legitimacy of the Prince of Wales. In order to redreſs all theſe grievances, the Prince ſaid, that he intended to come over into England with an armed force, which might protect him from the King's evil counſellors: And that his ſole aim was to have a legal and free Parliament ſummoned, who might provide for the ſafety and liberty of the nation, as well as examine the proofs of the Prince of Wales's legitimacy. No one, he added, could entertain ſuch hard thoughts of him as to imagine, that he had formed other deſigns than to procure the full and laſting ſettlement of the religion, liberty, and property of the ſubject. The force, which he intended to bring with him, was totally diſproportioned to any views of conqueſt; and it were abſurd to ſuſpect, that ſo many perſons of high rank, both in church and ſtate, would have given him ſo many ſolemn invitations for ſuch a pernicious purpoſe. Tho' the Engliſh miniſters, terrified

CHAP. LXXI.

1688.

fied with his enterprize, had pretended to redreſs ſome of the grievances complained of; there ſtill remained the foundation of all grievances, that upon which they could in an inſtant be again erected, an arbitrary and deſpotic power in the Crown. And for this uſurpation there was no poſſible remedy, but by a full declaration of all the rights of the ſubject in a free Parliament.

So well concerted were the Prince's meaſures, that, in three days, above four hundred tranſports were hired; the army quickly fell down the rivers and canals from Nimeguen; the artillery, arms, ſtores, horſes were embarked; and the Prince ſet ſail from Helvoet-Sluice, with a fleet of near five hundred veſſels, and an army of above fourteen thouſand men. He firſt encountered a ſtorm, which drove him back: But his loſs being ſoon repaired, the fleet put to ſea under the command of admiral Herbert, and made ſail with a fair wind towards the weſt of England. The ſame wind detained the King's fleet in the river, and enabled the Dutch to paſs the Straits of Dover without moleſtation. Both ſhores were covered with multitudes of people, who, beſides admiring the grandeur of the ſpectacle, were held in anxious ſuſpence by the proſpect of an enterprize, the moſt important, which, during ſome ages, had been undertaken in Europe. The Prince had a proſperous voyage, and landed his army ſafely in Torbay on the fifth of November, the anniverſary of the gunpowder-treaſon.

21ſt of October.

The Dutch army marched firſt to Exeter; and the Prince's declaration was there publiſhed. That whole county was ſo terrified with the executions, which had enſued upon Monmouth's rebellion, that no body for ſeveral days joined the Prince. The biſhop of Exeter in a fright fled to London, and carried to Court intelligence of the invaſion. As a reward of his zeal, he received the archbiſhopric of York, which had long been kept vacant, with an intention, as was univerſally believed, of beſtowing

ing it on ſome Catholic. The firſt perſon, who joined the Prince, was major Burrington; and he was quickly followed by the gentry of the counties of Devon and Somerſet. Sir Edward Seymour made propoſals for an aſſociation, which every one ſigned. By degrees, the earl of Abington, Mr. Ruſſel, ſon to the earl of Bedford, Mr. Wharton, Godfrey, Howe came to Exeter. All England was in commotion. Lord Delamere took arms in Cheſhire, the earl of Danby ſeized York, the earl of Bath governor of Plymouth, declared for the Prince, the earl of Devonſhire made a like declaration in Derby. The nobility and gentry of Nottingham embraced the ſame cauſe; and every day there appeared ſome effect of of that univerſal combination, into which the nation had entered againſt the meaſures of the King. Even thoſe who took not the field againſt him, were able to embarraſs and confound his councils. A petition for a free Parliament was ſigned by twenty-four biſhops and peers of the greateſt diſtinction, and was preſented to the King. No one thought of oppoſition or reſiſtance againſt the invader.

CHAP. LXXI. 1688.

General commotion.

But the moſt dangerous ſymptom was the diſaffection, which, from the general ſpirit of the nation, not from any particular reaſon, had crept into the army. The officers ſeemed all diſpoſed to prefer the intereſts of their country and of their religion before thoſe principles of honour and fidelity, which are commonly eſteemed the moſt ſacred ties by men of that profeſſion. Lord Colcheſter, ſon to the earl of Rivers, was the firſt officer who deſerted to the prince; and he was attended by a few of his troops. Lord Lovelace made a like effort; but was intercepted by the militia under the duke of Beaufort, and taken priſoner: Lord Cornbury, ſon to the earl of Clarendon, was more ſucceſsful. He attempted to carry over three regiments of cavalry; and he actually brought a conſiderable part of them to the Prince's quarters. Se-

Deſertion of the army.

CHAP. LXXI. 1688.

fied with his enterprize, had pretended to redreſs ſome of the grievances complained of; there ſtill remained the foundation of all grievances, that upon which they could in an inſtant be again erected, an arbitrary and deſpotic power in the Crown. And for this uſurpation there was no poſſible remedy, but by a full declaration of all the rights of the ſubject in a free Parliament.

So well concerted were the Prince's meaſures, that, in three days, above four hundred tranſports were hired; the army quickly fell down the rivers and canals from Nimeguen; the artillery, arms, ſtores, horſes were embarked; and the Prince ſet ſail from Helvoet-Sluice, with a fleet of near five hundred veſſels, and an army of above fourteen thouſand men. He firſt encountered a ſtorm, which drove him back: But his loſs being ſoon repaired, the fleet put to ſea under the command of admiral Herbert, and made ſail with a fair wind towards the weſt of England. The ſame wind detained the King's fleet in the river, and enabled the Dutch to paſs the Straits of Dover without moleſtation. Both ſhores were covered with multitudes of people, who, beſides admiring the grandeur of the ſpectacle, were held in anxious ſuſpence by the proſpect of an enterprize, the moſt important, which, during ſome ages, had been undertaken in Europe. The Prince had a proſperous voyage, and landed his army ſafely in Torbay on the fifth of November, the anniverſary of the gunpowder-treaſon.

21ſt of October.

The Dutch army marched firſt to Exeter; and the Prince's declaration was there publiſhed. That whole county was ſo terrified with the executions, which had enſued upon Monmouth's rebellion, that no body for ſeveral days joined the Prince. The biſhop of Exeter in a fright fled to London, and carried to Court intelligence of the invaſion. As a reward of his zeal, he received the archbiſhopric of York, which had long been kept vacant, with an intention, as was univerſally believed, of beſtowing

CHAP. LXXI.

1688.

ing it on ſome Catholic. The firſt perſon, who joined the Prince, was major Burrington; and he was quickly followed by the gentry of the counties of Devon and Somerſet. Sir Edward Seymour made propoſals for an aſſociation, which every one ſigned. By degrees, the earl of Abington, Mr. Ruſſel, ſon to the earl of Bedford, Mr. Wharton, Godfrey, Howe came to Exeter. All England was in commotion. Lord Delamere took arms in Cheſhire, the earl of Danby ſeized York, the earl of Bath governor of Plymouth, declared for the Prince, the earl of Devonſhire made a like declaration in Derby. The nobility and gentry of Nottingham embraced the ſame cauſe; and every day there appeared ſome effect of of that univerſal combination, into which the nation had entered againſt the meaſures of the King. Even thoſe who took not the field againſt him, were able to embarraſs and confound his councils. A petition for a free Parliament was ſigned by twenty-four biſhops and peers of the greateſt diſtinction, and was preſented to the King. No one thought of oppoſition or reſiſtance againſt the invader.

General commotion.

But the moſt dangerous ſymptom was the diſaffection, which, from the general ſpirit of the nation, not from any particular reaſon, had crept into the army. The officers ſeemed all diſpoſed to prefer the intereſts of their country and of their religion before thoſe principles of honour and fidelity, which are commonly eſteemed the moſt ſacred ties by men of that profeſſion. Lord Colcheſter, ſon to the earl of Rivers, was the firſt officer who deſerted to the prince; and he was attended by a few of his troops. Lord Lovelace made a like effort; but was intercepted by the militia under the duke of Beaufort, and taken priſoner: Lord Cornbury, ſon to the earl of Clarendon, was more ſucceſsful. He attempted to carry over three regiments of cavalry; and he actually brought a conſiderable part of them to the Prince's quarters. Se-

Deſertion of the army.

CHAP. LXXI.

1688.

veral officers of distinction informed Feversham, the general, that they could not in conscience fight against the Prince of Orange.

Lord Churchhill had been raised from the rank of a page, and had been invested with a high command in the army, had been created a peer, and had owed his whole fortune to the King's bounty: Yet even this person could resolve, during the present extremity, to desert his unhappy master, who had ever reposed entire confidence in him. He carried with him the duke of Grafton, natural son to the late King, colonel Berkeley, and some troops of dragoons. This conduct was a signal sacrifice to public virtue of every duty in private life; and required, for ever after, the most upright, the most disinterested, and most public spirited behaviour to render it justifiable.

The King had arrived at Salisbury, the head quarters of his army, when he received this fatal news. That Prince, though a severe enemy, had ever appeared a warm, steady, and sincere friend; and he was extremely shocked with this, as well as with many other instances of ingratitude, to which he was now exposed. There remained none in whom he could confide. As the whole army had discovered symptoms of discontent, he concluded it full of treachery; and being deserted by those whom he had most favoured and obliged, he no longer expected that others would hazard their lives in his service. During this distraction and perplexity, he embraced a sudden resolution of drawing off his army, and retiring towards London: A measure, which could only serve to betray his fears, and provoke farther treachery.

25th of November.

But Churchhill had prepared a still more mortal blow for his distrest benefactor. His lady and he had an entire ascendant over the family of Prince George of Denmark; and the time now appeared seasonable for overwhelming the unhappy King, who was already staggering

CHAP. LXXI. 1688.

ing with the violent ſhocks, which he had received. Andover was the firſt ſtage of his Majeſty's retreat towards London; and there, prince George, together with the young duke of Ormond, Sir George Huet, and ſome other perſons of diſtinction, deſerted him in the night-time, and retired to the Prince's camp. No ſooner had this news reached London, than the princeſs Anne, pretending fear of the King's diſpleaſure, withdrew herſelf in the company of the biſhop of London and lady Churchhill. She fled to Nottingham; where the earl of Dorſet received her with great reſpect, and the gentry of the county quickly formed a troop for her protection.

and of Prince George.

and of the Princeſs Anne.

THE late King, in order to gratify the nation, had entruſted the education of his nieces entirely to Proteſtants; and as theſe princeſſes were deemed the chief reſſource of the eſtabliſhed religion after their father's defection, great care had been taken to inſtill into them, from their earlieſt infancy, the ſtrongeſt prejudices againſt popery. During the violence too of ſuch popular currents, as now prevailed in England, all private conſiderations are commonly loſt in the general paſſion; and the more principle any perſon poſſeſſes, the more apt is he, on ſuch occaſions, to neglect and abandon his domeſtic duties. Though theſe cauſes may account for the Princeſs's behaviour, they had no way prepared to King to expect ſo aſtoniſhing an event. He burſt into tears, when the firſt intelligence of it was conveyed to him. Undoubtedly he foreſaw in this incident the total expiration of his royal authority: But the nearer and more intimate concern of a parent laid hold of his heart; when he found himſelf abandoned in his uttermoſt diſtreſs by a child, and a virtuous child, whom he had ever regarded with the moſt tender affection. "God help me," cried he, in the extremity of his agony, "my own children have forſaken "me!" It is indeed ſingular, that a Prince, whoſe chief blame conſiſted in imprudences and miſguided principles,

King's conſternation.

CHAP. LXXI. 1688.

veral officers of distinction informed Feversham, the general, that they could not in conscience fight against the Prince of Orange.

Lord Churchhill had been raised from the rank of a page, and had been invested with a high command in the army, had been created a peer, and had owed his whole fortune to the King's bounty: Yet even this person could resolve, during the present extremity, to desert his unhappy master, who had ever reposed entire confidence in him. He carried with him the duke of Grafton, natural son to the late King, colonel Berkeley, and some troops of dragoons. This conduct was a signal sacrifice to public virtue of every duty in private life; and required, for ever after, the most upright, the most disinterested, and most public spirited behaviour to render it justifiable.

The King had arrived at Salisbury, the head quarters of his army, when he received this fatal news. That Prince, though a severe enemy, had ever appeared a warm, steady, and sincere friend; and he was extremely shocked with this, as well as with many other instances of ingratitude, to which he was now exposed. There remained none in whom he could confide. As the whole army had discovered symptoms of discontent, he concluded it full of treachery; and being deserted by those whom he had most favoured and obliged, he no longer expected that others would hazard their lives in his service. During this distraction and perplexity, he embraced a sudden resolution of drawing off his army, and retiring towards London: A measure, which could only serve to betray his fears, and provoke farther treachery.

25th of November.

But Churchhill had prepared a still more mortal blow for his truest benefactor. His lady and he had an entire ascendant over the family of Prince George of Denmark; and the time now appeared seasonable for overwhelming the unhappy King, who was already staggering

CHAP. LXXI.

1688.

ing with the violent ſhocks, which he had received. Andover was the firſt ſtage of his Majeſty's retreat towards London; and there, prince George, together with the young duke of Ormond, Sir George Huet, and ſome other perſons of diſtinction, deſerted him in the night-time, and retired to the Prince's camp. No ſooner had this news reached London, than the princeſs Anne, pretending fear of the King's diſpleaſure, withdrew herſelf in the company of the biſhop of London and lady Churchhill. She fled to Nottingham; where the earl of Dorſet received her with great reſpect, and the gentry of the county quickly formed a troop for her protection.

and of Prince George.

and of the Princeſs Anne.

THE late King, in order to gratify the nation, had entruſted the education of his nieces entirely to Proteſtants; and as theſe princeſſes were deemed the chief reſſource of the eſtabliſhed religion after their father's defection, great care had been taken to inſtill into them, from their earlieſt infancy, the ſtrongeſt prejudices againſt popery. During the violence too of ſuch popular currents, as now prevailed in England, all private conſiderations are commonly loſt in the general paſſion; and the more principle any perſon poſſeſſes, the more apt is he, on ſuch occaſions, to neglect and abandon his domeſtic duties. Though theſe cauſes may account for the Princeſs's behaviour, they had no way prepared to King to expect ſo aſtoniſhing an event. He burſt into tears, when the firſt intelligence of it was conveyed to him. Undoubtedly he foreſaw in this incident the total expiration of his royal authority: But the nearer and more intimate concern of a parent laid hold of his heart; when he found himſelf abandoned in his uttermoſt diſtreſs by a child, and a virtuous child, whom he had ever regarded with the moſt tender affection. "God help me," cried he, in the extremity of his agony, "my own children have forſaken "me!" It is indeed ſingular, that a Prince, whoſe chief blame conſiſted in imprudences and miſguided principles,

King's conſternation.

CHAP. LXXI. 1688.

should be exposed, from religious antipathy, to such treatment as even Nero, Domitian, or the most enormous tyrants, that have disgraced the records of history, never met with from their friends and family.

So violent were the prejudices, which at this time prevailed, that this unhappy father, who had been deserted by his favourite child, was believed, upon her disappearance, to have put her to death: And it was fortunate, that the truth was timely discovered; otherwise the populace, even the King's guards themselves, might have been engaged, in revenge, to commence a massacre of the priests and Catholics.

The King's fortune now exposed him to the contempt of his enemies; and his behaviour was not such as could procure him the esteem of his friends and adherents. Unable to resist the torrent, he preserved not presence of mind in yielding to it; but seemed in this emergence as much depressed with adversity, as he had before been vainly elated by prosperity. He called a council of all the peers and prelates who were in London; and followed their advice in issuing writs for a new Parliament, and in sending Halifax, Nottingham, and Godolphin, as commissioners to treat with the prince of Orange. But these were the last acts of royal authority which he exerted. He even hearkened to imprudent council, by which he was prompted to desert the throne, and to gratify his enemies beyond what their fondest hopes could have promised them.

The Queen, observing the fury of the people, and knowing how much she was the object of general hatred, was struck with the deepest terror, and began to apprehend a parliamentary impeachment from which she was told, the Queens of England were not exempted. The popish courtiers, and above all, the priests, were aware, that they would be the first sacrifice, and that their perpetual banishment, was the smallest penalty, which they must

1688.

must expect from national reſentment. They were therefore deſirous of carrying the King along with them; whoſe preſence, they knew, would ſtill be ſome reſource and protection to them in foreign countries, and whoſe reſtoration, if it ever happened, would again re-inſtate them in power and authority. The general defection of the Proteſtants made the King regard the Catholics, as his only ſubjects, on whoſe council he could rely; and the fatal cataſtrophe of his father afforded them a plauſible reaſon for making him apprehend a like fate. The infinite difference of circumſtances was not, during's men preſent diſtraction, ſufficiently weighed. Even after the people were inflamed by a long civil war, the execution of Charles the firſt could not be deemed a national deed: It was perpetrated by a fanatical army, puſhed on by a daring and enthuſiaſtic leader; and the whole kingdom had ever entertained, and did ſtill entertain, a moſt violent abhorrence againſt that enormity. The ſituation of public affairs, therefore, no more reſembled what they were forty years before, than the Prince of Orange, either in birth, character, fortune, or connexions, could be ſuppoſed a parallel to Cromwel.

The emiſſaries of France, and among the reſt, Barillon, the French ambaſſador, were buſy about the King; and they had entertained a very falſe notion, which they inſtilled into him, that nothing would more certainly retard the public ſettlement, and beget univerſal confuſion, than his deſertion of the kingdom. The Prince of Orange had with good reaſon embraced a contrary opinion; and he deemed it extremely difficult to find expedients for ſecuring the nation, ſo long as the King kept poſſeſſion of the crown. Actuated, therefore, by this public motive, and no leſs, we may well preſume, by private ambition, he was determined to uſe every expedient, which might intimidate the King, and make him deſert that throne,

CHAP. LXXI.

1688.

should be exposed, from religious antipathy, to such treatment as even Nero, Domitian, or the most enormous tyrants, that have disgraced the records of history, never met with from their friends and family.

So violent were the prejudices, which at this time prevailed, that this unhappy father, who had been deserted by his favourite child, was believed, upon her disappearance, to have put her to death: And it was fortunate, that the truth was timely discovered; otherwise the populace, even the King's guards themselves, might have been engaged, in revenge, to commence a massacre of the priests and Catholics.

THE King's fortune now exposed him to the contempt of his enemies; and his behaviour was not such as could procure him the esteem of his friends and adherents. Unable to resist the torrent, he preserved not presence of mind in yielding to it; but seemed in this emergence as much depressed with adversity, as he had before been vainly elated by prosperity. He called a council of all the peers and prelates who were in London; and followed their advice in issuing writs for a new Parliament, and in sending Halifax, Nottingham, and Godolphin, as commissioners to treat with the prince of Orange. But these were the last acts of royal authority which he exerted. He even hearkened to imprudent council, by which he was prompted to desert the throne, and to gratify his enemies beyond what their fondest hopes could have promised them.

THE Queen, observing the fury of the people, and knowing how much she was the object of general hatred, was struck with the deepest terror, and began to apprehend a parliamentary impeachment from which she was told, the Queens of England were not exempted. The popish courtiers, and above all, the priests, were aware, that they would be the first sacrifice, and that their perpetual banishment, was the smallest penalty, which they must

must expect from national resentment. They were therefore desirous of carrying the King along with them; whose presence, they knew, would still be some resource and protection to them in foreign countries, and whose restoration, if it ever happened, would again re-instate them in power and authority. The general defection of the Protestants made the King regard the Catholics, as his only subjects, on whose council he could rely; and the fatal catastrophe of his father afforded them a plausible reason for making him apprehend a like fate. The infinite difference of circumstances was not, during's men present distraction, sufficiently weighed. Even after the people were inflamed by a long civil war, the execution of Charles the first could not be deemed a national deed: It was perpetrated by a fanatical army, pushed on by a daring and enthusiastic leader; and the whole kingdom had ever entertained, and did still entertain, a most violent abhorrence against that enormity. The situation of public affairs, therefore, no more resembled what they were forty years before, than the Prince of Orange, either in birth, character, fortune, or connexions, could be supposed a parallel to Cromwel.

CHAP. LXXI. 1688.

The emissaries of France, and among the rest, Barillon, the French ambassador, were busy about the King; and they had entertained a very false notion, which they instilled into him, that nothing would more certainly retard the public settlement, and beget universal confusion, than his desertion of the kingdom. The Prince of Orange had with good reason embraced a contrary opinion; and he deemed it extremely difficult to find expedients for securing the nation, so long as the King kept possession of the crown. Actuated, therefore, by this public motive, and no less, we may well presume, by private ambition, he was determined to use every expedient, which might intimidate the King, and make him desert that throne,

CHAP. LXXI. 1688.

which he himſelf was alone enabled to fill. He declined a perſonal conference with the king's commiſſioners, and ſent the earls of Clarendon and Oxford to treat with them: The terms, which he propoſed, implied almoſt a preſent participation of the ſovereignty: And he ſtopped not a moment the march of his army towards London.

THE news which the King received from all quarters, helped to continue the panic, into which he was fallen, and which his enemies expected to improve to their advantage. Colonel Copel, deputy-governor of Hull, made himſelf maſter of that important fortreſs; and threw into priſon lord Langdale, the governor, a Catholic; together with lord Montgomery, a nobleman of the ſame religion. The town of Newcaſtle received the lord Lumly, and declared for the Prince of Orange and a free Parliament. The duke of Norfolk, lord lieutenant of the county of that name, engaged it in the ſame meaſure. The Prince's declaraion was read at Oxford by the duke of Ormond, and was received with great applauſe by that loyal Univerſity, who alſo made an offer of their plate to the Prince. Every day, ſome perſon of quality or diſtinction, and among the reſt, the duke of Somerſet, went over to the enemy. A very violent declaration was diſperſed in the Prince's name, but not with his participation; in which every one was commanded to ſeize and puniſh all Papiſts, who, contrary to law, pretended either to carry arms, or exerciſe any act of authority. It may not be unworthy of notice, that a merry ballad, called Lilliballero, being at this time publiſhed in deriſion of the Papiſts and the Iriſh, it was greedily received by the people, and was univerſally ſung by all ranks of men, even by the King's army, who were ſtrongly ſeized with the national ſpirit. This incident both diſcovered, and ſerved to encreaſe, the general diſcontent of the kingdom.

THE

CHAP. LXXI.

1688.

THE contagion of mutiny and diſobedience had alſo reached Scotland, whence the regular forces, contrary to the advice of Balcarras, the treaſurer, were withdrawn, in order to re-inforce the Engliſh army. The marqueſs of Athole, together with the viſcount Tarbat, and others, finding the opportunity favourable, began to form intrigues againſt Perth, the chancellor; and the Preſbyterians and other malecontents flocked from all quarters to Edinburgh. The chancellor, apprehenſive of the conſequences, found it expedient to withdraw; and the populace, as if that event were a ſignal for their inſurrection, immediately roſe in arms, and rifled the popiſh chapel in the king's palace. All the Catholics, even all the zealous Royaliſts, were obliged to conceal themſelves; and the privy council, inſtead of their former ſubmiſſive ſtrains of addreſs to the King, and violent edicts againſt their fellow-ſubjects, now made applications to the Prince of Orange, as the ſole reſtorer of law and liberty.

THE King every moment alarmed, more and more, with theſe proofs of a general diſaffection, not daring to repoſe truſt in any but thoſe who were expoſed to more danger than himſelf, agitated by indignation towards ingratitude, by diſdain of infidelity, impelled by his own fears and thoſe of others, precipitantly embraced the reſolution of withdrawing to France, and he ſent off beforehand the Queen and the infant Prince, under the conduct of count Lauzun, an old favourite of the French Monarch. He himſelf diſappeared in the night-time, attended only by Sir Edward Hales, a new convert; and made the beſt of his way to a ſhip, which waited for him near the mouth of the river. As if this meaſure had not been the moſt grateful to his enemies of any which he could adopt, he had carefully concealed his intention from all the world; and nothing could equal the ſurprize, which ſeized the city, the court, the kingdom, upon the

and flight. 12th of December.

CHAP. LXXI.

1688.

discovery of this strange event. Men beheld, all on a sudden, the reins of government thrown up by the hand which held them; and saw none, who had any right or even pretension, to take possession of them.

The more effectually to involve every thing in confusion, the King appointed not any one, who should, in his absence, exercise any part of the administration; he threw the great seal into the river; and he recalled all those writs, which had been issued for the elections of the new Parliament. It is often supposed, that the sole motive, which impelled him to this sudden desertion, was his reluctance to meet a free Parliament, and his resolution not to submit to those terms, which his subjects would deem requisite for the security of their liberties and their religion. But it must be considered, that his subjects had first deserted him, and entirely lost his confidence; that he might reasonably be supposed to entertain fears for his liberty, if not for his life; and that the conditions would not probably be moderate, which the nation, sensible of his inflexible temper, enraged with the violation of their laws and the danger of their religion, and foreseeing his resentment on account of their past opposition, would, in his present circumstances, exact from him.

By this temporary dissolution of government, the populace were now masters; and there was no disorder, which, during their present ferment, might not be dreaded from them. They rose in a tumult and destroyed all the mass-houses. They even attacked and rifled the houses of the Florentine envoy and Spanish ambassador, where many of the Catholics had lodged their most valuable effects. Jefferies, the chancellor, who had disguised himself, in order to fly the kingdom, was discovered by them, and so abused, that he died in a little time afterwards. Even the army, which should have suppressed those tumults, would, it was apprehended, serve rather

to

to encreaſe the general diſorder. Feverſham had no ſooner heard of the King's retreat, than he diſbanded the troops in the neighbourhood, and without either diſarming or paying them, let them looſe to prey upon the country.

In this extremity, the biſhops and peers, who were in town, being the only remaining authority of the ſtate (for the privy council, compoſed of the King's creatures, was totally diſregarded) thought proper to aſſemble, and to interpoſe for the preſervation of the community. They choſe the marqueſs of Halifax their ſpeaker: They gave directions to the mayor and aldermen for keeping the peace of the city: They iſſued orders, which were readily obeyed, to the fleet, the army, and all the garriſons: And they made applications to the Prince, whoſe enterprize they highly applauded, and whoſe ſucceſs they joyfully congratulated.

The Prince on his part was not wanting to the tyde of ſucceſs, which flowed in upon him, nor backward in aſſuming that authority, which the preſent exigency had put into his hands. Beſides the general popularity, attending his cauſe, a new incident made his approach to London ſtill more welcome. In the preſent trepidation of the people, a rumour aroſe, either from chance or deſign, that the diſbanded Iriſh had taken arms, and had commenced an univerſal maſſacre of all the Proteſtants in England. This ridiculous belief was ſpread all over the kingdom in one day; and begot every where the deepeſt conſternation. The alarum bells were rung; the beacons fired; men fancied that they ſaw at a diſtance the ſmoke of the burning cities, and heard the groans of thoſe who were ſlaughtered in their neighbourhood. It was ſurprizing, that the Catholics did not all periſh, in the rage which naturally ſucceeds ſuch popular panics.

While every one, either from principle, intereſt, or animoſity, turned their back on the unhappy King, who

CHAP. LXXI.

1688.

had abandoned his own cauſe, the unwelcome news arrived, that he had been ſeized by the populace at Feverſham, while he was making his eſcape in diſguiſe; that he had been very much abuſed, till he was known; but that the gentry had then interpoſed and protected him, tho' they ſtill refuſed to conſent to his eſcape. This intelligence threw all parties into confuſion. The Prince ſent Zuyleſtein with orders, that the king ſhould approach no nearer than Rocheſter; but the meſſage came too late. He was already arrived in London, where the populace, moved by compaſſion for his unhappy fate, and actuated by their own levity, had received him with ſhouts and acclamations.

King ſeized at Feverſham.

DURING the King's abode at Whitehall, little attention was payed him by the nobility or any perſons of diſtinction. They had, all of them, been previouſly diſguſted on account of his blind partiality to the Catholics; and they knew, that they were now become more criminal in his eyes by their late public applications to the Prince of Orange. He himſelf ſhewed not any ſymptoms of ſpirit, nor diſcovered any intention of reſuming the reins of government, which he had once thrown aſide. His authority was now plainly expired; and as he had exerciſed his power, while poſſeſſed of it, with very precipitant and haughty councils, he relinquiſhed it by a deſpair, equally precipitant and puſillanimous.

NOTHING remained for the now ruling powers but to deliberate how they ſhould diſpoſe of his perſon. Beſides, that the Prince may juſtly be ſuppoſed to have poſſeſſed more generoſity than to think of offering violence to an unhappy monarch, ſo nearly related to him, he knew, that nothing would ſo effectually promote his own views as the King's retreat into France, a country at all times ſo obnoxious to the Engliſh. It was determined, therefore, to puſh him into that meaſure, which, of himſelf, he ſeemed ſufficiently inclined to embrace. The

King

CHAP. LXXI.

1688.

King having ſent lord Feverſham on a civil meſſage to the Prince, deſiring a conference for an accommodation in order to the public ſettlement, that nobleman was put in arreſt, under pretence of his wanting a paſſport: The Dutch guards were ordered to take poſſeſſion of Whitehall, where the King then lodged, and to diſplace the Engliſh: And Halifax, Shrewſbury, and Delamere, brought a meſſage from the Prince, which they delivered to the King in bed after midnight, ordering him to leave his palace next morning, and to depart for Ham, a ſeat of the dutcheſs of Lauderdale's. He deſired permiſſion, which was eaſily granted, of retiring to Rocheſter, a town near the ſea-coaſt. It was perceived, that the artifice had taken effect; and that the king, terrified with this harſh treatment, had renewed his former reſolution of leaving the kingdom.

He lingered, however, ſome days at Rocheſter, under the protection of a Dutch guard, and ſeemed deſirous of an invitation ſtill to keep poſſeſſion of the throne. He was undoubtedly ſenſible, that, as he had, at firſt, truſted too much to his people's loyalty, and in confidence of their ſubmiſſion, had offered the higheſt violence to their principles and prejudices; ſo had he, at laſt, on finding his diſappointment, gone too far into the other extreme, and had haſtily ſuppoſed them void of all ſenſe of duty or allegiance. But obſerving, that the church, the nobility, the city, the country, all concurred in neglecting him, and leaving him to his own councils, he ſubmitted to his melancholy fate; and being urged by earneſt letters from the Queen, he privately embarked on board a frigate which waited for him, and he arrived ſafely at Ambleteuſe in Picardy, whence he haſtened to St. Germains. Lewis received him with the higheſt generoſity, ſympathy, and regard; a conduct, which, more than his moſt ſignal victories, contributes to the honour of that great Monarch.

Second evaſion. 23d of December.

CHAP. LXXI.

1688.

King's character.

THUS ended the reign of a Prince, whom, if we conſider his perſonal character rather than his public conduct, we may ſafely pronounce to have been more unfortunate than criminal. He had many of thoſe qualities which form a good citizen: Even ſome of thoſe, which, had they not been ſwallowed up in bigotry and arbitrary principles, ſerve to compoſe a good Sovereign. In domeſtic life, his conduct was irreproachable, and is intitled to our approbation. Severe, but open in his enmities, ſteady in his councils, diligent in his ſchemes, brave in his enterprizes, faithful, ſincere, and honourable in his dealings with all men: Such was the character, with which the duke of York mounted the throne of England. In that high ſtation, his frugality of public money was remarkable, his induſtry exemplary, his application to naval affairs ſucceſsful, his encouragement of trade judicious, his jealouſy of national honour laudable: What then was wanting to make him an excellent Sovereign? A due regard and affection to the religion and conſtitution of his country. Had he been poſſeſſed of this eſſential quality, even his middling talents, aided by ſo many virtues, would have rendered his reign honourable and happy. When it was wanting, every excellency, which he poſſeſſed, became dangerous and pernicious to his kingdoms.

THE ſincerity of this Prince (a virtue, on which he highly valued himſelf) has been much queſtioned in thoſe reiterated promiſes, which he made of preſerving the liberties and religion of the nation. It muſt be confeſſed, that his reign was one continued invaſion of both; yet is it known, that, to his laſt breath, he perſiſted in aſſerting, that he never meant to ſubvert the laws, or procure more than a toleration and an equality of privileges to his catholic ſubjects. This queſtion can only affect the perſonal character of the King, not our judgment of his public conduct. Tho' by a ſtretch of candour

dour we ſhould admit of his ſincerity in theſe profeſſions, the people were equally juſtifiable in their reſiſtance of him. So lofty was the idea, which he had entertained of his *legal* authority, that it left his ſubjects little or no right to liberty, but what was dependent on his ſovereign will and pleaſure. And ſuch was his zeal of proſelytiſm, that, whatever he might have intended, he plainly ſtopped not at toleration and equality: He confined all power, encouragement, and favour to the Catholics: Converts from intereſt would ſoon have multiplied upon him: If not the greateſt, at leaſt the beſt part of the people, he would have flattered himſelf, were brought over to his religion: And he would in a little time have thought it juſt, as well as pious, to beſtow on it all the public eſtabliſhments. Rigours and perſecutions againſt heretics would ſpeedily have followed; and thus liberty and the proteſtant religion would in the iſſue have been totally ſubverted; tho' we ſhould not ſuppoſe, that James, on the commencement of his reign, had ſeriouſly formed a plan for that purpoſe. And on the whole, allowing this King to have poſſeſſed good qualities and good intentions, his conduct ſerves only, on that very account, as a ſtronger proof, how dangerous it is to allow any Prince, infected with that ſuperſtition, to wear the crown of theſe kingdoms.

CHAP. LXXI. 1688.

After this manner, the courage and abilities of the Prince of Orange, ſeconded by ſurprizing fortune, had effected the deliverance of this iſland; and with very little effuſion of blood (for only one officer of the Dutch army and a few private ſoldiers fell in an accidental ſkirmiſh) had expelled from the throne a great Prince, ſupported by a formidable fleet and a numerous army. Still the more difficult taſk remained, and what perhaps the Prince regarded as not the leaſt important: The obtaining for himſelf that crown, which had fallen from the head of his father-in-law. Some lawyers, intangled in the

CHAP. LXXI.

1688.

the subtleties and forms of their profession, could think of no expedient; but that the Prince should claim the crown by right of conquest; should assume immediately the title of Sovereign; and should call a Parliament, which, being thus legally summoned by a King in possession, could ratify whatever had been transacted before they assembled. But this measure, being destructive of all principles of liberty, the only principles on which his future throne could be established, was prudently rejected by the Prince, who, finding himself possessed of the goodwill of the nation, resolved to leave them entirely to their own guidance and direction. The peers and bishops, to the number of near ninety, made an address, desiring him to summon a convention by circular letters; to assume, in the mean time, the management of all public affairs; and to concert measures for the security of Ireland. At the same time, they refused reading a letter, which the King had left in order to apologize for his late desertion, by the violence which had been put upon him. This step was a sufficient indication of their intentions with regard to that unhappy Monarch.

THE Prince seemed still unwilling to act upon an authority, which might be deemed so imperfect: He was desirous of obtaining a more express declaration of the public consent. A very judicious expedient was fallen on for that purpose. All the members, who had sat in the House of Commons during any Parliament of Charles the second (the only Parliaments whose election was regarded as free) were invited to meet; and to them were added the mayor, aldermen, and fifty of the common council of the city. This was the most proper representative of the people, which could be summoned during the present emergence. They unanimously voted the same address with the Lords: And the Prince, being thus supported by all the legal authority, which could possibly be obtained in this critical juncture, wrote circular

lar letters to the counties and corporations of England; and his orders were univerſally complied with. A moſt profound tranquility prevailed throughout the kingdom; and the prince's adminiſtration was ſubmitted to, as if he had ſucceeded in the moſt regular manner to the vacant throne. The fleet received his orders: The army, without murmur or oppoſition, allowed him to new-model them. And the city ſupplied him with a loan of two hundred thouſand pounds.

CHAP. LXXI. 1688.

Convention ſummoned.

THE conduct of the Prince with regard to Scotland, was founded on the ſame prudent and moderate maxims. Finding, that there were many Scotſmen of rank at that time in London, he ſummoned them together, laid before them his intentions, and aſked their advice in the preſent emergency. This aſſembly, conſiſting of thirty noblemen and about fourſcore gentlemen, choſe duke Hamilton for preſident; a man, who, being of a temporizing character, was determined to pay court to the preſent authority. His eldeſt ſon, the earl of Arran, profeſſed an adherence to King James; an uſual policy in Scotland, where the father and ſon, during civil commotions, are often obſerved to take oppoſite ſides: in order to ſecure at all adventures the family from forfeiture. Arran propoſed to invite back the King upon conditions; but as he was vehemently oppoſed in this motion by Sir Patric Hume, and ſeconded by nobody, the aſſembly made an offer to the Prince of the preſent adminiſtration, which he willingly accepted. To anticipate a little in our narration; a convention, by circular letters from the Prince, was ſummoned at Edinburgh on the twenty-ſecond of March; where it was ſoon viſible, that the intereſt of the malecontents would entirely prevail. The more zealous Royaliſts, regarding this aſſembly as illegal, had forborn to appear at elections; and the other party were returned from moſt places. The revolution was not, in Scotland as in England, effected by the coa-

1689. 7th of January. Settlement of Scotland.

lition

CHAP. LXII. 1688.

the subtleties and forms of their profession, could think of no expedient; but that the Prince should claim the crown by right of conquest; should assume immediately the title of Sovereign; and should call a Parliament, which, being thus legally summoned by a King in possession, could ratify whatever had been transacted before they assembled. But this measure, being destructive of all principles of liberty, the only principles on which his future throne could be established, was prudently rejected by the Prince, who, finding himself possessed of the goodwill of the nation, resolved to leave them entirely to their own guidance and direction. The peers and bishops, to the number of near ninety, made an address, desiring him to summon a convention by circular letters; to assume, in the mean time, the management of all public affairs; and to concert measures for the security of Ireland. At the same time, they refused reading a letter, which the King had left in order to apologize for his late desertion, by the violence which had been put upon him. This step was a sufficient indication of their intentions with regard to that unhappy Monarch.

THE Prince seemed still unwilling to act upon an authority, which might be deemed so imperfect: He was desirous of obtaining a more express declaration of the public consent. A very judicious expedient was fallen on for that purpose. All the members, who had sat in the House of Commons during any Parliament of Charles the second (the only Parliaments whose election was regarded as free) were invited to meet; and to them were added the mayor, aldermen, and fifty of the common council of the city. This was the most proper representative of the people, which could be summoned during the present emergence. They unanimously voted the same address with the Lords: And the Prince, being thus supported by all the legal authority, which could possibly be obtained in this critical juncture, wrote circular

lar letters to the counties and corporations of England; and his orders were universally complied with. A most profound tranquility prevailed throughout the kingdom; and the prince's administration was submitted to, as if he had succeeded in the most regular manner to the vacant throne. The fleet received his orders: The army, without murmur or opposition, allowed him to new-model them. And the city supplied him with a loan of two hundred thousand pounds.

CHAP. LXXI.

1688.

Convention summoned.

THE conduct of the Prince with regard to Scotland, was founded on the same prudent and moderate maxims. Finding, that there were many Scotsmen of rank at that time in London, he summoned them together, laid before them his intentions, and asked their advice in the present emergency. This assembly, consisting of thirty noblemen and about fourscore gentlemen, chose duke Hamilton for president; a man, who, being of a temporizing character, was determined to pay court to the present authority. His eldest son, the earl of Arran, professed an adherence to King James; an usual policy in Scotland, where the father and son, during civil commotions, are often observed to take opposite sides: in order to secure at all adventures the family from forfeiture. Arran proposed to invite back the King upon conditions; but as he was vehemently opposed in this motion by Sir Patric Hume, and seconded by nobody, the assembly made an offer to the Prince of the present administration, which he willingly accepted. To anticipate a little in our narration; a convention, by circular letters from the Prince, was summoned at Edinburgh on the twenty-second of March; where it was soon visible, that the interest of the malecontents would entirely prevail. The more zealous Royalists, regarding this assembly as illegal, had forborn to appear at elections; and the other party were returned from most places. The revolution was not, in Scotland as in England, effected by the coa-

1689. 7th of January. Settlement of Scotland.

lition

CHAP. LXII. 1689.

lition of Whig and Tory: The former party alone had over-powered the government, and were too much enraged by the paſt injuries, which they had ſuffered, to admit of any compoſition with their former maſters. So ſoon as the purpoſe of the convention was diſcovered, the earl of Balcarras and viſcount Dundee, the leaders of the Tories, withdrew from Edinburgh; and the convention having paſſed a vote, that King James, by his mal-adminiſtration, and his abuſe of power, had *forfeited* all title to the crown, they made a tender of the royal dignity to the Prince and Princeſs of Orange.

22d of January. English convention meets.

THE Engliſh convention was aſſembled; and it immediately appeared, that the Houſe of Commons, both from the prevailing humour of the people, and from the influence of preſent authority, were moſtly choſen from among the whig party. After thanks were unanimouſly given by both Houſes to the Prince of Orange for the deliverance, which he had brought them, a memorable vote was in a few days paſſed by a great majority of the Commons, and ſent up to the Houſe of Peers for their concurrence. It was contained in theſe words. "That "King James the ſecond, having endeavoured to ſubvert "the conſtitution of the kingdom, by breaking the ori-"ginal contract betwixt King and people; and having, "by the advice of Jeſuits and other wicked perſons, "violated the fundamental laws, and withdrawn himſelf "out of the kingdom, has abdicated the government, "and that the throne is thereby vacant." This vote, when carried to the upper Houſe, met with great oppoſition; of which it is here neceſſary for us to explain the reaſon.

THE Tories and the High-church-men, finding themſelves at once menaced with a ſubverſion of their laws and of their religion, had zealouſly promoted the national revolt, and had on this occaſion departed from thoſe principles of non-reſiſtance, of which, while the King favoured them, they had formerly made ſuch loud profeſ-

ſions.

CHAP. LXXI. 1689.

ſions. Their preſent apprehenſions had prevailed over their political tenets; and the unfortunate James, who had too much relied on thoſe general declarations, which never will be reduced to practice, found in the iſſue that both parties were ſecretly united in oppoſition to him. But no ſooner was the danger paſſed, and the general fear ſomewhat allayed, than party prejudices reſumed, in ſome degree, their former authority; and the Tories were aſhamed of that victory, which their antagoniſts, during the late tranſactions, had obtained over them. They were inclined, therefore, to ſteer a middle courſe; and, tho' generally determined to oppoſe the King's return, they reſolved not to conſent to the dethroning him, or altering the line of ſucceſſion. A regent with kingly power was the expedient, which they propoſed; and a late inſtance in Portugal ſeemed to give ſome authority and precedent to that plan of government.

Views of the parties.

In favour of this ſcheme the Tories urged, that, by the uniform tenor of the Engliſh laws, the right of the crown was ever regarded as ſacred, and could, on no account, and by no mal-adminiſtration, be forfeited by the Sovereign: That to dethrone a King and to elect his ſucceſſor, was a practice quite unknown to the conſtitution, and had a tendency to render kingly power entirely dependant and precarious: That where the Prince, from his tender years, from lunacy, or from other natural infirmity, was incapacitated to hold the reins of government, both the laws and former practice agreed in appointing a regent, who, during the interval, was inveſted with the whole power of the adminiſtration: That the inveterate and dangerous prejudices of King James had rendered him as unfit to ſway the Engliſh ſcepter, as if he had fallen to lunacy; and it was therefore natural for the people to have recourſe to the ſame remedy: That the election of one King was a precedent for the election of another; and the government, by that means, would

either

CHAP. LXXI. 1689.

either degenerate into a republic, or what was worſe, into a turbulent and ſeditious Monarchy: That the caſe was ſtill more dangerous, if there remained a Prince, who claimed the crown by right of ſucceſſion, and diſputed, on ſo plauſible a ground, the title of the preſent Sovereign: That tho' the doctrine of non-reſiſtance might not, in every poſſible circumſtance, be abſolutely true, yet was the belief of it extremely expedient; and to eſtabliſh a government, which ſhould have the contrary principle for its baſis, was to lay the foundation of perpetual revolutions and convulſions: That the appointment of a regent was indeed expoſed to many inconveniencies; but ſo long as the line of ſucceſſion was preſerved entire, there was ſtill a proſpect of putting an end ſome time or other, to the public diſorders: And that ſcarce any inſtance occurred in hiſtory, eſpecially in the Engliſh hiſtory, where a diſputed title had not in the iſſue, been attended with much greater ills, than all thoſe, which the people had ſought to ſhun, by departing from the lineal ſucceſſor.

The leaders of the whig-party, on the other hand, aſſerted, that, if there was any ill in the precedent, that ill would reſult as much from the eſtabliſhing a regent, as from the dethroning one King, and appointing his ſucceſſor; nor would the one expedient, if wantonly and raſhly embraced by the people, be leſs the ſource of public convulſions than the other: That if the laws gave no expreſs permiſſion to depoſe the Sovereign, neither did they authorize the reſiſting his authority, or ſeparating the power from the title: That a regent was unknown, except where the Prince, by reaſon of his tender age or his infirmities, was incapable of a will; and in that caſe, his will was ſuppoſed to be involved in that of the regent: That it would be the height of abſurdity to try a man for acting upon a commiſſion, received from a Prince, whom we ourſelves acknowledge

to

CHAP. LXXII. 1689.

to be the lawful Sovereign; and no jury would decide so contrary both to law and to common ſenſe, as to condemn ſuch a criminal: That even the proſpect of being delivered from this monſtrous inconvenience was, in the preſent ſituation of things, more diſtant than that of putting an end to a diſputed ſucceſſion: That allowing the young Prince to be the legitimate heir, he had been carried abroad; he would be educated in principles deſtructive of the conſtitution and eſtabliſhed religion; and he would probably leave a ſon, liable to the ſame inſuperable objection: That if the whole line were cut off by law, the people would in time forget or neglect their claim; an advantage, which could not be hoped for, while the adminiſtration was conducted in their name, and while they were ſtill acknowledged to poſſeſs the legal title: And that a nation thus perpetually governed by regents or protectors approached much nearer to a republic than one ſubject to Monarchs, whoſe hereditary regular ſucceſſion, as well as preſent authority, was fixed and appointed by the people.

THIS queſtion was agitated with great zeal by the oppoſite parties in the Houſe of Peers. The chief ſpeakers among the Tories were Clarendon, Rocheſter, and Nottingham; among the Whigs, Halifax and Danby. The queſtion was carried for a King by two voices only, fifty-one againſt forty-nine. All the prelates, except two, the biſhops of London and Briſtol, voted for a regent. The primate, a diſintereſted but puſillanimous man, kept at a diſtance, both from the Prince's court and from Parliament.

THE Houſe of Peers proceeded next to examine piecemeal the vote, ſent up to them by the Commons. They debated, "Whether there was an original contract be-"tween King and people," and the affirmative was carried by fifty-three againſt forty-ſix; a proof that the Tories were already loſing ground. The next queſtion was,

CHAP. LXXI. 1689.

either degenerate into a republic, or what was worſe, into a turbulent and ſeditious Monarchy: That the caſe was ſtill more dangerous, if there remained a Prince, who claimed the crown by right of ſucceſſion, and diſputed, on ſo plauſible a ground, the title of the preſent Sovereign: That tho' the doctrine of non-reſiſtance might not, in every poſſible circumſtance, be abſolutely true, yet was the belief of it extremely expedient; and to eſtabliſh a government, which ſhould have the contrary principle for its baſis, was to lay the foundation of perpetual revolutions and convulſions: That the appointment of a regent was indeed expoſed to many inconveniencies; but ſo long as the line of ſucceſſion was preſerved entire, there was ſtill a proſpect of putting an end ſome time or other, to the public diſorders: And that ſcarce any inſtance occurred in hiſtory, eſpecially in the Engliſh hiſtory, where a diſputed title had not in the iſſue, been attended with much greater ills, than all thoſe, which the people had ſought to ſhun, by departing from the lineal ſucceſſor.

The leaders of the whig-party, on the other hand, aſſerted, that, if there was any ill in the precedent, that ill would reſult as much from the eſtabliſhing a regent, as from the dethroning one King, and appointing his ſucceſſor; nor would the one expedient, if wantonly and raſhly embraced by the people, be leſs the ſource of public convulſions than the other: That if the laws gave no expreſs permiſſion to depoſe the Sovereign, neither did they authorize the reſiſting his authority, or ſeparating the power from the title: That a regent was unknown, except where the Prince, by reaſon of his tender age or his infirmities, was incapable of a will; and in that caſe, his will was ſuppoſed to be involved in that of the regent: That it would be the height of abſurdity to try a man for acting upon a commiſſion, received from a Prince, whom we ourſelves acknowledge

to

CHAP. LXXI. 1689.

to be the lawful Sovereign; and no jury would decide so contrary both to law and to common ſenſe, as to condemn ſuch a criminal: That even the proſpect of being delivered from this monſtrous inconvenience was, in the preſent ſituation of things, more diſtant than that of putting an end to a diſputed ſucceſſion: That allowing the young Prince to be the legitimate heir, he had been carried abroad; he would be educated in principles deſtructive of the conſtitution and eſtabliſhed religion; and he would probably leave a ſon, liable to the ſame inſuperable objection: That if the whole line were cut off by law, the people would in time forget or neglect their claim; an advantage, which could not be hoped for, while the adminiſtration was conducted in their name, and while they were ſtill acknowledged to poſſeſs the legal title: And that a nation thus perpetually governed by regents or protectors approached much nearer to a republic than one ſubject to Monarchs, whoſe hereditary regular ſucceſſion, as well as preſent authority, was fixed and appointed by the people.

This queſtion was agitated with great zeal by the oppoſite parties in the Houſe of Peers. The chief ſpeakers among the Tories were Clarendon, Rocheſter, and Nottingham; among the Whigs, Halifax and Danby. The queſtion was carried for a King by two voices only, fifty-one againſt forty-nine. All the prelates, except two, the biſhops of London and Briſtol, voted for a regent. The primate, a diſintereſted but puſillanimous man, kept at a diſtance, both from the Prince's court and from Parliament.

The Houſe of Peers proceeded next to examine piecemeal the vote, ſent up to them by the Commons. They debated, "Whether there was an original contract be-"tween King and people," and the affirmative was carried by fifty-three againſt forty-ſix; a proof that the Tories were already loſing ground. The next queſtion was,

CHAP. LXXI.

1689.

was, "Whether King James had broke that original contract?" and after a slight opposition, the affirmative prevailed. The Lords proceeded to take into consideration the word, *abdicated*; and it was carried that *deserted* was more proper. The concluding question was, "Whether King James, having broke the original contract and *deserted* the government, the throne was thereby vacant?" This question was debated with more heat and contention than any of the former; and upon a division, the Tories prevailed by eleven voices, and it was carried to omit the last article with regard to the vacancy of the throne. The vote was sent back to the Commons with these amendments.

The earl of Danby had embraced the project of bestowing the Crown solely upon the Princess of Orange, and of admitting her as hereditary legal successor to King James: Passing by the infant Prince as illegitimate or suppositious. His change of party in the last question gave the Tories so considerable a majority in the number of voices.

Free conferences betwixt the Houses.

The Commons still insisted on their vote, and sent up reasons, why the Lords should depart from their amendments. The Lords were not convinced; and it was necessary to have a free conference, in order to settle this controversy. Never national debate surely was more important, nor managed by more able speakers; yet is one suprized to find the topics, insisted on by both sides, so very frivolous; more resembling the verbal disputes of the schools than the solid reasonings of statesmen and legislators. In public transactions of such consequence, the true motives, which produce any measure, are seldom avowed. The Whigs, now the ruling party, having united with the Tories, in order to bring about the revolution, had so much deference for their new allies, as not to insist, that the Crown should be declared *forfeited*, on account of the King's mal-administration:

1689.

Such a declaration, they thought, would imply too expreſs a cenſure of the old tory principles, and too open a preference of their own. They agreed therefore to confound together the King's abuſing his power and his withdrawing from the kingdom; and they called the whole an *abdication*; as if he had given a virtual, tho' not a verbal, conſent to his dethronement. The Tories took advantage of this obvious impropriety, which had been occaſioned merely by the complaiſance or prudence of the Whigs; and they inſiſted upon the word, *deſertion*, as much more ſignificant and intelligible. It was retorted on them, that, however that expreſſion might be juſtly applied to the King's withdrawing himſelf, it could not, with any propriety, be extended to his violation of the fundamental laws. And thus both parties, while they warped their principles from regard to their antagoniſts, and from prudential conſiderations, loſt the praiſe of conſiſtence and uniformity.

The managers for the Lords next inſiſted, that even allowing the King's abuſe of power to be equivalent to an abdication, or in other words, to a civil death, it could operate no otherwiſe than his voluntary reſignation or his natural death; and could only make way for the next ſucceſſor. It was a maxim of Engliſh law, *that the throne was never vacant*; but inſtantly upon the deceaſe of one King was filled with his legal heir, who was entitled to all the authority of his predeceſſor. And however young or unfit for government the ſucceſſor, however unfortunate in his ſituation, tho' he were even a captive in the hands of public enemies; yet no juſt reaſon, they thought, could be aſſigned, why, without any default of his own, he ſhould loſe a crown, to which, by birth, he was fully intitled. The managers of the Commons might have oppoſed this reaſoning by many ſpecious and even ſolid arguments. They might have ſaid, that the great ſecurity for allegiance being merely opinion,

CHAP. LXXI.

1689.

any ſcheme of ſettlement ſhould be adopted, in which, it was moſt probable, the people would acquieſce and perſevere. That tho' upon the natural death of one King, whoſe adminiſtration had been agreeable to the laws, many and great inconveniencies would be endured rather than exclude his lineal ſucceſſor; yet the caſe was not the ſame, when the people had been obliged, by their revolt, to dethrone a Prince, whoſe illegal meaſures had, in every circumſtance, violated the conſtitution. That in theſe extraordinary revolutions, the government returned to its firſt principles, and the community acquired a right of providing for the public intereſt by expedients, which, on other occaſions, might be deemed violent and irregular. That the recent uſe of one extraordinary remedy familiarized the people to the practice of another, and more reconciled their minds to ſuch licences than if the government had run on in its uſual tenor. And that King James, having carried abroad his ſon, as well as withdrawn himſelf, had given ſuch juſt provocation to the kingdom, had voluntarily involved it in ſuch difficulties, that the intereſts of his family were juſtly ſacrificed to the public ſettlement and tranquillity. Tho' theſe topics ſeem reaſonable, they were intirely forborne by the whig managers; both becauſe they implied an acknowledgment of the infant Prince's legitimacy, which, it was agreed, to keep in obſcurity, and becauſe they contained too expreſs a condemnation of tory principles. They were contented to maintain the vote of the Commons by ſhifts and evaſions; and both ſides parted at laſt without coming to any agreement.

But it was impoſſible for the public to remain long in the preſent ſituation. The perſeverance, therefore, of the Lower Houſe obliged the Lords to comply; and by the deſertion of ſome Peers to the Whig party, the vote of the Commons, without any alteration, paſſed by a ſmall majority in the Upper Houſe, and received the

ſanction

1689.

ſanction of every part of the legiſlature, which then ſubſiſted.

It happens unluckily for thoſe, who maintain an original contract between the magiſtrate and people, that great revolutions of government, and new ſettlements of civil conſtitutions, are commonly conducted with ſuch violence, tumult and diſorder, that the public voice can ſcarce ever be heard; and the opinions of the citizens are at that time leſs attended to than even in the common courſe of adminiſtration. The preſent tranſactions in England, it muſt be confeſſed, are a very ſingular exception to this obſervation. The new elections had been carried on with great tranquillity and freedom: The Prince had ordered the troops to depart from all the towns, where the voters aſſembled: A tumultuary petition to the two Houſes having been promoted, he took care, tho' the petition was calculated for his own advantage, effectually to ſuppreſs it: He entered into no intrigues, either with the electors or the members: He kept himſelf in a total ſilence, as if he had been no wiſe concerned in theſe tranſactions: And ſo far from forming cabals with the leaders of parties, he diſdained even to beſtow careſſes on thoſe, whoſe aſſiſtance might be uſeful to him. This conduct was highly meritorious, and diſcovered great moderation and magnanimity; even tho' the Prince unfortunately, thro' the whole courſe of his life, and on every occaſion, was noted for an addreſs ſo cold, dry, and diſtant, that it was very difficult for him, on account of any intereſt, to ſoften or familiarize it.

At laſt, the Prince deigned to break ſilence, and to expreſs, tho' in a private manner, his ſentiments on the preſent ſituation of affairs. He called together Halifax, Shrewſbury, Danby, and a few more; and he told them, that having been invited over to reſtore their liberty, he had engaged in this enterprize, and had at laſt happily effected his purpoſe: That it belonged to the Parliament,

CHAP. LXXI.

1689.

now chosen and assembled with freedom, to concert measures for the public settlement; and he pretended not to interpose in their determinations. That he heard of several schemes proposed for establishing the government; Some insisted on a regent; others were desirous of bestowing the Crown on the Princess: It was their concern alone to choose that plan of administration which was most agreeable or advantageous to them. That if they chose to settle a regent, he had no objection: He only thought it incumbent on him to inform them, that he was determined not to be the regent, nor ever to engage in a scheme, which, he knew, would be exposed to such insuperable difficulties. That no man could have a juster or deeper sense of the Princess's merit than he was impressed with; but he would rather remain a private person than enjoy a crown, which must depend on the will or life of another. And that they must therefore make account, if they were inclined to either of these two plans of settlement, that it would be totally out of his power to assist them in carrying it into execution: His affairs abroad were too important to be abandoned for so precarious a dignity, or even to allow him so much leizure as would be requisite to introduce order into their disjointed government.

These views of the prince were seconded by the Princess herself, who, as she possessed many virtues, was a most obsequious wife to a husband, who, in the judgment of the generality of her sex, would have appeared so little attractive and amiable. All considerations were neglected, when they came in competition with what she deemed her duty to the Prince. When Danby and others of her partizans wrote her an account of their schemes and proceedings, she expressed great displeasure; and even transmitted their letters to her husband, as a sacrifice to conjugal fidelity. The Princess Anne also concurred in the same plan for the public settlement;

and

and being promiſed an ample revenue, was contented to be poſtponed in the ſucceſſion to the crown. And as the title of her infant brother, in the preſent eſtabliſhment, was entirely neglected, ſhe might, on the whole, eſteem herſelf, in point of intereſt, a great gainer by this revolution. 1689.

Settlement of the crown.

ALL parties, therefore, being agreed, the Convention paſſed a bill, where they ſettled the Crown on the Prince and Princeſs of Orange, the ſole Adminiſtration to remain in the Prince: The Princeſs of Denmark to ſucceed after the death of the Prince and Princeſs of Orange; her poſterity after thoſe of the Princeſs, but before thoſe of the Prince by any other wife. The Convention annexed to this ſettlement of the crown a declaration of rights, where all the points, which had, of late years, been diſputed between King and people, were finally determined; and the powers of royal prerogative were more narrowly circumſcribed and more exactly defined, than in any former period of the Engliſh government.

* * * * * * * *

Manners, arts, and ſciences,

THUS we have ſeen, thro' the courſe of four reigns, a continued ſtruggle maintained between the crown and the people: Privilege and Prerogative were ever at variance: And both parties, beſide the preſent object of diſpute, had many latent claims, which, on a favourable occaſion, they produced againſt their adverſaries. Governments too ſteady and uniform, as they are ſeldom free, ſo are they, in the judgment of ſome, attended with another ſenſible inconvenience: They abate the active powers of men; depreſs courage, invention, and genius; and pro-

CHAP. LXXI.

1689.

duce an univerſal lethargy in the people. Tho' this opinion may be juſt, the fluctuation and conteſt, it muſt be allowed, of the Engliſh government were, during theſe reigns, much too violent both for the repoſe and ſafety of the people. Foreign affairs, at that time, were either entirely neglected, or managed to pernicious purpoſes: And in the domeſtic adminiſtration there was felt a continued fever, either ſecret or manifeſt; ſometimes the moſt furious convulſions and diſorders. The revolution forms a new epoch in the conſtitution; and was attended with conſequences much more advantageous to the people, than the barely freeing them from a bad adminiſtration. By deciding many important queſtions in favour of liberty, and ſtill more, by that great precedent of depoſing one King, and eſtabliſhing a new family, it gave ſuch an aſcendant to popular principles, as has put the nature of the Engliſh conſtitution beyond all controverſy. And it may ſafely be affirmed, without any danger of exaggeration, that we in this iſland have ever ſince enjoyed, if not the beſt ſyſtem of government, at leaſt the moſt entire ſyſtem of liberty, that ever was known amongſt mankind.

To decry with ſuch violence, as is affected by ſome, the whole line of Stuart; to maintain, that their adminiſtration was one continued encroachment on the *inconteſtible* rights of the people; is not giving due honour to that great event, which not only put a period to their hereditary ſucceſſion, but made a new ſettlement of the whole conſtitution. The inconveniencies, ſuffered by the people under the two firſt reigns of that family (for in the main they were proſperous) proceeded in a great meaſure from the unavoidable ſituation of affairs; and ſcarce any thing could have prevented thoſe events, but ſuch vigour of genius in the Sovereign, attended with ſuch good fortune, as might have enabled him entirely to overpower the liberties of his people. While the Parliamen-

1689.

ments, in these reigns, were taking advantage of the necessities of the Prince, and attempting every session to abolish, or circumscribe, or define, some prerogative of the Crown, and innovate in the usual tenor of government: Must it not be expected, that the Prince would defend an authority, which, for above a century, that is, during the whole regular course of the former English government, had been exercised without dispute or controversy? And tho' Charles the second, in 1672, may with reason be deemed the aggressor, nor is it possible to justify his conduct; yet were there some motives surely, which could engage a Prince, so soft and indolent, and at the same time, so judicious, to attempt such hazardous enterprizes. He felt, that public affairs had reached a situation, at which they could not possibly remain, without some farther innovation. Frequent Parliaments were become almost entirely necessary to the conduct of public business; yet these assemblies were still, in the judgment of the Royalists, much inferior in dignity to the Sovereign, whom they seemed better calculated to council than controul. The Crown still possessed considerable power of opposing Parliaments; and had not as yet acquired the means of influencing them. Hence a continued jealousy between these parts of the constitution: Hence the inclination mutually to take advantage of each other's necessities: Hence the impossibility under which the King lay of finding ministers, who could at once be serviceable and faithful to him. If he followed his own choice in appointing his servants, without regard to their parliamentary interest, a refractory session was instantly to be expected: If he chose them from among the leaders of popular assemblies, they either lost their influence by adhering to the Crown, or they betrayed the Crown, in order to preserve their influence with the people. Neither Hambden, whom Charles the first was willing to

CHAP. LXXI.

1689.

gain at any price; nor Shaftesbury, whom Charles the second, after the popish plot, attempted to engage in his councils, would renounce their popularity for the precarious, and, as they esteemed it, deceitful favour of the Prince. The root of their authority they still thought to lye in the Parliament; and as the power of that assembly was not yet uncontrouleable, they still resolved to augment it, tho' at the expence of the royal prerogatives.

'Tis no wonder, that these events, by the representations of faction, have long been extremely clouded and obscured. No man has yet arose, who has been enabled to pay an entire regard to truth, and has dared to expose her, without covering or disguise, to the eyes of the prejudiced public. Even that party amongst us, who boast of the highest regard to liberty, have not possessed sufficient liberty of thought in this particular; nor have been able to decide impartially of their own merit compared with that of their antagonists. More noble undoubtedly in their ends, and more beneficial to mankind; they must also be allowed to have been often less justifiable in the means, and in many of their transactions to have payed more regard to political than to moral considerations. Being obliged to court the populace, they found it necessary to comply with their rage and folly; and have even, on many occasions, by propagating fictions, by promoting violence, served to infatuate, as well as corrupt that people, to whom they made a tender of liberty and justice. Charles the first was a tyrant, a Papist, and a contriver of the Irish massacre: The church of England was relapsing fast into idolatry: Puritanism was the only true religion, and the covenant the favourite object of heavenly regard. Thro' these delusions the party proceeded, and, what may seem more wonderful, still to the encrease of law and liberty; 'till they reached the imposture of the popish plot, a fiction which

which exceeds the ordinary bounds of vulgar credulity. But however ſingular theſe events may appear, there is really nothing altogether new in any period of modern hiſtory: And it is remarkable, that tribunitian arts, tho' ſometimes uſeful in a free conſtitution, have often been ſuch as men of ſtrict probity and honour could not bring themſelves either to practice or approve. The other faction, who, ſince the revolution, have been obliged to court the populace, ſometimes found it requiſite to employ like artifices.

CHAP. LXXI. 1689.

THE whig party, for a courſe of near ſeventy years, have, almoſt without interruption, enjoyed the whole authority of the government; and no honours nor offices could be obtained but by their countenance and protection. But this event, which has been advantageous to the ſtate, has been deſtructive to the truth of hiſtory, and has eſtabliſhed many groſs falſhoods, which it is unaccountable how any civilized nation could have embraced with regard to its domeſtic occurrences. Compoſitions ths moſt deſpicable, both for ſtyle and matter, have been extolled, and propagated, and read; as if they had equalled the moſt celebrated remains of antiquity. And becauſe the ruling party had obtained an advantage over their antagoniſts in the philoſophical diſputes concerning ſome of their general principles, they thence aſſumed a right to impoſe on the public their account of all particular tranſactions, and to repreſent the other party as governed entirely by the loweſt and moſt vulgar prejudices. But extremes of all kinds are to be avoided; and tho' no one will ever pleaſe either faction by moderate opinions, it is there we are moſt likely to meet with truth and cetainty.

WE ſhall ſubjoin to this general view of the Engliſh government, ſome account of the ſtate of the finances, arms, trade, manners, arts, between the reſtoration and revolution.

THE

CHAP. LXXI.

1689.

gain at any price; nor Shaftesbury, whom Charles the second, after the popish plot, attempted to engage in his councils, would renounce their popularity for the precarious, and, as they esteemed it, deceitful favour of the Prince. The root of their authority they still thought to lye in the Parliament; and as the power of that assembly was not yet uncontrouleable, they still resolved to augment it, tho' at the expence of the royal prerogatives.

'Tis no wonder, that these events, by the representations of faction, have long been extremely clouded and obscured. No man has yet arose, who has been enabled to pay an entire regard to truth, and has dared to expose her, without covering or disguise, to the eyes of the prejudiced public. Even that party amongst us, who boast of the highest regard to liberty, have not possessed sufficient liberty of thought in this particular; nor have been able to decide impartially of their own merit compared with that of their antagonists. More noble undoubtedly in their ends, and more beneficial to mankind; they must also be allowed to have been often less justifiable in the means, and in many of their transactions to have payed more regard to political than to moral considerations. Being obliged to court the populace, they found it necessary to comply with their rage and folly; and have even, on many occasions, by propagating fictions, by promoting violence, served to infatuate, as well as corrupt that people, to whom they made a tender of liberty and justice. Charles the first was a tyrant, a Papist, and a contriver of the Irish massacre: The church of England was relapsing fast into idolatry: Puritanism was the only true religion, and the covenant the favourite object of heavenly regard. Thro' these delusions the party proceeded, and, what may seem more wonderful, still to the encrease of law and liberty; 'till they reached the imposture of the popish plot, a fiction which

which exceeds the ordinary bounds of vulgar credulity. But however ſingular theſe events may appear, there is really nothing altogether new in any period of modern hiſtory: And it is remarkable, that tribunitian arts, tho' ſometimes uſeful in a free conſtitution, have often been ſuch as men of ſtrict probity and honour could not bring themſelves either to practice or approve. The other faction, who, ſince the revolution, have been obliged to court the populace, ſometimes found it requiſite to employ like artifices.

CHAP. LXXI. 1689.

THE whig party, for a courſe of near ſeventy years, have, almoſt without interruption, enjoyed the whole authority of the government; and no honours nor offices could be obtained but by their countenance and protection. But this event, which has been advantageous to the ſtate, has been deſtructive to the truth of hiſtory, and has eſtabliſhed many groſs falſhoods, which it is unaccountable how any civilized nation could have embraced with regard to its domeſtic occurrences. Compoſitions ths moſt deſpicable, both for ſtyle and matter, have been extolled, and propagated, and read; as if they had equalled the moſt celebrated remains of antiquity. And becauſe the ruling party had obtained an advantage over their antagoniſts in the philoſophical diſputes concerning ſome of their general principles, they thence aſſumed a right to impoſe on the public their account of all particular tranſactions, and to repreſent the other party as governed entirely by the loweſt and moſt vulgar prejudices. But extremes of all kinds are to be avoided; and tho' no one will ever pleaſe either faction by moderate opinions, it is there we are moſt likely to meet with truth and cetainty.

WE ſhall ſubjoin to this general view of the Engliſh government, ſome account of the ſtate of the finances, arms, trade, manners, arts, between the reſtoration and revolution.

THE

CHAP. LXXI. 1669.

THE revenue of Charles the ſecond, as ſettled by the long Parliament, was put upon a very bad footing. It was too ſmall, if they intended to make him independant in the common courſe of his adminiſtration: It was too large, and ſettled during too long a period, if they reſolved to keep him in entire dependance. The large debts of the republic, which were thrown upon that Prince, the neceſſity of ſupplying the naval and military ſtores, which were entirely exhauſted[a]; that of repairing and furniſhing his palaces: All theſe cauſes involved the King in great difficulties immediately after his reſtoration; and the Parliament were not ſufficiently liberal in ſupplying him. Perhaps too he had contracted ſome debts abroad; and his bounty to the diſtreſſed cavaliers, tho' it did not correſpond either to their ſervices or expectations, could not fail, in ſome degree, to exhauſt his treaſures. The extraordinary ſums, granted the King during the firſt years, did not ſuffice for theſe extraordinary charges; and the exciſe and cuſtoms, the only conſtant revenue, amounted not to nine hundred thouſand pounds a year, and fell very much ſhort of the ordinary charges of the government. The addition of hearth-money in 1662, and of the other two branches in 1669 and 1670, brought up the revenue to one million three hundred fifty-eight thouſand pounds, as we learn from lord treaſurer Danby's account: But the ſame authority informs us, that the yearly expence of the government was at that time one million three hundred eighty ſeven thouſand ſeven hundred and ſeventy pounds[b], without mentioning contingencies, which are always very conſiderable, even under the moſt prudent

[a] Lord Clarendon's ſpeech to the Parliament, Oct. 9, 1665.

[b] Ralph's Hiſtory, vol. i. p. 288. We learn from that lord's Memoirs, p. 12. that the receipts of the Exchequer, during ſix years, from 1673 to 1679, was about eight millions two hundred thouſand pounds, or one million three hundred ſixty-ſix thouſand pounds a year. See likewiſe, p. 169.

admi-

CHAP. LXXI. 1689.

adminiſtration. Thoſe branches of revenue, granted in 1669 and 1670, expired in 1680, and were never renewed by the Parliament: They were computed to be above two hundred thouſand pounds a year. It muſt be allowed, becauſe aſſerted by all cotemporary authors of both parties, and even confeſſed by himſelf, that King Charles was ſomewhat profuſe and negligent. But it is likewiſe certain, that a very rigid frugality was requiſite to ſupport the government under ſuch difficulties. There is a familiar rule in all buſineſs, that every man ſhould be payed, in proportion to the truſt repoſed in him, and to the power, which he enjoys; and the nation ſoon found reaſon, from Charles's dangerous connexions with France, to repent their tranſgreſſion of that prudential maxim.

If we eſtimate the ordinary revenue of Charles the ſecond at one million two hundred thouſand pounds a year during his whole reign, the computation will rather exceed than fall under the true value. The Convention Parliament, after all the ſums, which they had granted the King towards the payment of old debts, threw, the laſt day of their meeting, a debt upon him, amounting to one million ſeven hundred forty-three thouſand two hundred ſixty-three pounds [d]. All the extraordinary ſums, which were afterwards voted him by Parliament, amounted to eleven millions four hundred forty-three thouſand four hundred and ſeven pounds; which divided by twenty-four, the number of years, which that King reigned, make four hundred ſeventy-ſix thouſand eight hundred and eight pounds a year. During that time, he had two violent wars to ſuſtain with the Dutch; and in 1678, he made expenſive preparations for a war with France. In the firſt Dutch war, both France and Denmark were allies to the United Provinces, and the naval armaments in England were very great; ſo that it is im-

[d] Journals, 29th of December, 1660.

poſſible

CHAP. XXII. 1689.

possible he could have secreted any part, at least any considerable part, of the sums, which were then voted him by Parliament.

To these sums we must add about one million two hundred thousand pounds, which had been detained from the bankers on shutting up the Exchequer in 1672. The King payed six per cent. for this money during all the rest of his reign. It is remarkable, that, notwithstanding this violent breach of faith, the King, two years after, borrowed money at eight per cent; the same rate of interest, which he had payed before that event[f]. A proof, that public credit, instead of being of so delicate a nature, as we are apt to imagine, is, in reality, so hardy and robust, that it is very difficult to destroy it.

The revenue of James was raised by the Parliament to about one million eight hundred fifty thousand pounds[g]; and his income as Duke of York being added, made the whole amount to two millions a year; a sum well proportioned to the public necessities, but enjoyed by him in too independant a manner. The national debt at the revolution amounted to one million fifty-four thousand nine hundred twenty-five pounds[h].

The militia fell much to decay during these two reigns, partly by the policy of the Kings, who had entertained a diffidence of their subjects, partly by that ill judged law, which limited the King's power of mustering and arraying them. In the beginning, however, of Charles's reign, the militia were still deemed formidable. De Wit having proposed to the French King an invasion of England during the first Dutch war, that Monarch replied, that such an attempt would be entirely fruitless, and would tend only to unite the English. In a few days, said he, after our landing, there will be fifty thousand men at least upon us[i].

[e] Danby's Memoirs, p. 7. [f] Id. p. 65 [g] Journ. 1st of March, 1689. [h] Journ. 20th of March, 1689. [i] D'Estrades, 20th of October, 1666.

CHARLES in the beginning of his reign had in pay near five thousand men, of guards and garrisons. At the end of his reign, he augmented this number to near eight thousand. James on Monmouth's rebellion had on foot about fifteen thousand men; and when the Prince of Orange invaded him, there were no fewer than thirty thousand regular troops in England. CHAP. LXXII. 1685.

THE English navy, during the greatest part of Charles's reign, made a great figure, for number of ships, valour of the men, and conduct of the commanders. Even in 1678, the fleet consisted of eighty-three ships [k]; besides thirty, which were at that time on the stocks. On the King's accession he found only sixty-three vessels of all sizes [l]. During the latter part of Charles's reign, the navy fell considerably to decay, by reason of the narrowness of the King's revenue: But James, soon after his accession, restored it to its former power and glory; and before he left the throne, carried it much farther. The administration of the admiralty under Pepys, is still regarded as a model for order and oeconomy. The fleet at the revolution consisted of one hundred seventy-three vessels of all sizes; and required forty-two thousand seamen to man it [m]. That King, when Duke of York, had been the first inventor of sea-signals. The military genius, during these two reigns, had not totally decayed among the young nobility. Dorset, Mulgrave, Rochester, not to mention Ossory, served on board the fleet, and were present in the most furious engagements against the Dutch.

THE commerce and riches of England did never, during any period, increase so fast as from the restoration to the revolution. The two Dutch wars, by disturbing the trade of that republic, promoted the navigation of this island; and after Charles had made a separate peace

k Pepys's Memoirs, p. 2. l Memoirs of English affairs, chiefly naval. m Lives of the Admirals, vol. ii. p. 476.

with

CHAP. LXXI.

1689.

with the States, his ſubjects enjoyed unmoleſted the trade of Europe. The only diſturbance, which they met with, was from a few French privateers, who infeſted the channel; and Charles interpoſed not in behalf of his ſubjects with ſufficient ſpirit and vigour. The recovery or conqueſt of New York and the Jerſeys was a very conſiderable acceſſion to the ſtrength and ſecurity of the Engliſh colonies; and, together with the ſettlement of Penſilvania and Carolina, which was effected during this reign, extended prodigiouſly the Engliſh empire in America. The perſecutions of the Diſſenters, or more properly ſpeaking, the reſtraints impoſed upon them, contributed to augment and people theſe colonies. Dr. Davenant affirms [n], that the ſhipping of England doubled during theſe twenty-eight years. Several new manufactures were eſtabliſhed; in iron, braſs, ſilk, hats, glaſs, &c. One Brewer, leaving the Low Countries, when they were threatened with a French conqueſt, brought the art of dying woollen cloth into England, and by that improvement ſaved the nation great ſums of money. The encreaſe of coynage during theſe two reigns was ten millions two hundred ſixty-one thouſand pounds. A board of trade was erected in 1670; and the earl of Sandwich was made preſident. Charles revived and ſupported the charter of the Eaſt-India company; a meaſure whoſe utility is ſomewhat doubtful: He granted a charter to the Hudſon's Bay company; a meaſure evidently hurtful.

THE French King, about the beginning of Charles's reign, laid ſome impoſitions on Engliſh commodities: And the Engliſh, partly diſpleaſed with this innovation, partly moved by their animoſity againſt France, retaliated, by laying ſuch reſtraints on the commerce with that kingdom as amounted almoſt to a prohibition. They

[n] Diſcourſe on the public revenues, part ii. p. 29, 33, 36.

formed

formed calculations, by which they perſwaded themſelves, that they were loſers a million and half or near two millions a year by the French trade. But no good effects were found to reſult from theſe reſtraints; and in King James's reign they were taken off by the Parliament. CHAP. LXXI. 1689.

At the ſame time that the burroughs of England were deprived of their privileges, the like attempt was made on the colonies. King James recalled their charters, by which their liberties were ſecured; and he ſent over governors inveſted with abſolute power. The arbitrary principles of that Monarch appeared in every part of his adminiſtration.

The people, during theſe two reigns, were, in a great meaſure, cured of that wild fanaticiſm, by which they had formerly been ſo much agitated. Whatever new vices they might acquire, it may be queſtioned, whether, by this change, they were, in the main, much loſers in point of morals. By the example of the King and the cavaliers, licentiouſneſs and debauchery became very prevalent in the nation. The pleaſures of the table were much purſued. Love was treated more as an appetite than a paſſion. The one ſex began to abate of the national character of chaſtity, without being able to inſpire the other with ſentiment or delicacy.

The abuſes in the former age, ariſing from overſtrained pretenſions of piety, had much propagated the ſpirit of irreligion*; and many of the ingenious men of this

* This ſophiſm, of arguing from the abuſe of any thing againſt the uſe of it, is one of the groſſeſt, and at the ſame time, the moſt common, to which men are ſubject. The hiſtory, of all ages, and none more than that of the period, which is our ſubject, offers us examples of the abuſe of religion; and we have not been ſparing to remark them: But whoever would thence draw an inference to the diſadvantage of religion in general, would argue very raſhly and erroneouſly. The proper office of religion is to reform men's lives, to purify their hearts, to inforce all moral duties, and to ſecure obedience to the laws and civil magiſtrate. While it purſues theſe ſalutary purpoſes, its operations, tho' infinitely valuable, are ſecret and ſilent,

CHAP. LXXI. 1689.

this period lie under the imputation of Deism. Besides wits and scholars by profession, Shaftesbury, Halifax, lent, and seldom come under the cognizance of history. That adulterate species of it alone, which inflames faction, animates sedition, and prompts rebellion, distinguishes itself on the open theatre of the world, and is the great source of revolutions and public convulsions. The historian, therefore, has scarce occasion to mention any other kind of religion; and he may retain the highest regard for true piety, even while he exposes all the abuses of the false. He may even think, that he cannot better show his attachment to the former than by detecting the latter, and laying open its absurdities and pernicious tendency.

It is no proof of irreligion in an historian, that he remarks some fault or imperfection in each sect of religion, which he has occasion to mention. Every institution, however divine, which is adopted by men, must partake of the weakness and infirmities of our nature; and will be apt, unless carefully guarded, to degenerate into one extreme or the other. What species of devotion so pure, noble, and worthy the Supreme Being, as that which is most spiritual, simple, unadorned, and which partakes nothing either of the senses or imagination? Yet is it found by experience, that this mode of worship does very naturally, among the vulgar, mount up into extravagance and fanaticism. Even many of the first reformers are exposed to this reproach; and their zeal, tho', in the event, it proved extremely useful, partook strongly of the enthusiastic genius; Two of the judges in the reign of Charles the second, scrupled not to advance this opinion even from the bench. Some mixture of ceremony, pomp, and ornament may seem to correct the abuse; yet will it be found very difficult to prevent such a form of religion from sinking sometimes into superstition. The church of England itself, which is perhaps the best medium among these extremes, will be allowed, at least during the age of archbishop Laud, to have been somewhat infected with a superstition, resembling the popish; and to have payed a higher regard to some positive institutions, than the nature of the things, strictly speaking, would permit. It is the business of an historian to remark these abuses of all kinds; but it belongs also to a prudent reader to confine the representations, which he meets with, to that age alone of which the author treats. What absurdity, for instance, to suppose, that the Presbyterians, Independants, Anabaptists, and other sectaries of the present age, partake of all the extravagancies, which we remark in those, who bore these appellations in the last century? The inference indeed seems juster; where sects have been noted for fanaticism during one period, to conclude, that they will be very moderate and reasonable in the subsequent. For as it is the nature of fanaticism to abolish all slavish submission to priestly power; it follows, that as soon as the first ferment is abated, men are naturally in such sects left to the free use of their reason, and shake off the fetters of custom and authority.

Buck-

Buckingham, Mulgrave, Sunderland, Eſſex, Rocheſter, Sidney, Temple are ſuppoſed to have adopted theſe principles.

CHAP. LXXI. 1689.

THE ſame factions, which formerly diſtracted the nation, were revived, and exerted themſelves in the moſt ungenerous and unmanly enterprizes againſt each other. King Charles, being in his whole deportment a model of eaſy and gentlemanly behaviour, improved the politeneſs of the nation; as much as faction, which of all things is moſt deſtructive to politeneſs, could poſſibly permit. His courtiers were long diſtinguiſhable in England by their obliging and agreeable manners.

AMIDST the thick cloud of bigotry and ignorance, which overſpread the nation, during the Commonwealth and Protectorſhip, there were a few ſedate philoſophers, who in the retirement of Oxford, cultivated their reaſon, and eſtabliſhed conferences for the mutual communication of their diſcoveries in phyſics and geometry. Wilkins, a clergyman, who had married Cromwel's ſiſter, and was afterwards created biſhop of Cheſter, promoted theſe philoſophical converſations. Immediately after the reſtoration, theſe men procured a patent, and having enlarged their number, were denominated the *Royal Society*. But this patent was all they obtained from the King. Tho' Charles was a great lover of the ſciences, particularly chymiſtry and mechanics, he animated them by his example alone, not by his bounty. His craving courtiers and miſtreſſes, by whom he was perpetually ſurrounded, engroſſed all his expence, and left him neither money nor attention for literary merit. His contemporary, Lewis, who fell ſhort of the King's genius and knowledge in this particular, much exceeded him in liberality. Beſides penſions conferred on learned men throughout all Europe, his academies were directed by rules and ſupported by ſallaries: A generoſity, which does great honour to his memory; and in the eyes of all

CHAP. LXII. 1689.

this period lie under the imputation of Deism. Besides wits and scholars by profession, Shaftesbury, Halifax, lent, and seldom come under the cognizance of history. That adulterate species of it alone, which inflames faction, animates sedition, and prompts rebellion, distinguishes itself on the open theatre of the world, and is the great source of revolutions and public convulsions. The historian, therefore, has scarce occasion to mention any other kind of religion; and he may retain the highest regard for true piety, even while he exposes all the abuses of the false. He may even think, that he cannot better show his attachment to the former than by detecting the latter, and laying open its absurdities and pernicious tendency.

It is no proof of irreligion in an historian, that he remarks some fault or imperfection in each sect of religion, which he has occasion to mention. Every institution, however divine, which is adopted by men, must partake of the weakness and infirmities of our nature; and will be apt, unless carefully guarded, to degenerate into one extreme or the other. What species of devotion so pure, noble, and worthy the Supreme Being, as that which is most spiritual, simple, unadorned, and which partakes nothing either of the senses or imagination? Yet is it found by experience, that this mode of worship does very naturally, among the vulgar, mount up into extravagance and fanaticism. Even many of the first reformers are exposed to this reproach; and their zeal, tho', in the event, it proved extremely useful, partook strongly of the enthusiastic genius. Two of the judges in the reign of Charles the second, scrupled not to advance this opinion even from the bench. Some mixture of ceremony, pomp, and ornament may seem to correct the abuse; yet will it be found very difficult to prevent such a form of religion from sinking sometimes into superstition. The church of England itself, which is perhaps the best medium among these extremes, will be allowed, at least during the age of archbishop Laud, to have been somewhat infected with a superstition, resembling the popish; and to have payed a higher regard to some positive institutions, than the nature of the things, strictly speaking, would permit. It is the business of an historian to remark these abuses of all kinds; but it belongs also to a prudent reader to confine the representations, which he meets with, to that age alone of which the author treats. What absurdity, for instance, to suppose, that the Presbyterians, Independants, Anabaptists, and other sectaries of the present age, partake of all the extravagancies, which we remark in those, who bore these appellations in the last century? The inference indeed seems juster; where sects have been noted for fanaticism during one period, to conclude, that they will be very moderate and reasonable in the subsequent. For as it is the nature of fanaticism to abolish all slavish submission to priestly power; it follows, that as soon as the first ferment is abated, men are naturally in such sects left to the free use of their reason, and shake off the fetters of custom and authority.

Buck-

Buckingham, Mulgrave, Sunderland, Eſſex, Rocheſter, Sidney, Temple are ſuppoſed to have adopted theſe principles.

CHAP. LXXI. 1689.

THE ſame factions, which formerly diſtracted the nation, were revived, and exerted themſelves in the moſt ungenerous and unmanly enterprizes againſt each other. King Charles, being in his whole deportment a model of eaſy and gentlemanly behaviour, improved the politeneſs of the nation; as much as faction, which of all things is moſt deſtructive to politeneſs, could poſſibly permit. His courtiers were long diſtinguiſhable in England by their obliging and agreeable manners.

AMIDST the thick cloud of bigotry and ignorance, which overſpread the nation, during the Commonwealth and Protectorſhip, there were a few ſedate philoſophers, who in the retirement of Oxford, cultivated their reaſon, and eſtabliſhed conferences for the mutual communication of their diſcoveries in phyſics and geometry. Wilkins, a clergyman, who had married Cromwel's ſiſter, and was afterwards created biſhop of Cheſter, promoted theſe philoſophical converſations. Immediately after the reſtoration, theſe men procured a patent, and having enlarged their number, were denominated the *Royal Society*. But this patent was all they obtained from the King. Tho' Charles was a great lover of the ſciences, particularly chymiſtry and mechanics, he animated them by his example alone, not by his bounty. His craving courtiers and miſtreſſes, by whom he was perpetually ſurrounded, engroſſed all his expence, and left him neither money nor attention for literary merit. His contemporary, Lewis, who fell ſhort of the King's genius and knowledge in this particular, much exceeded him in liberality. Beſides penſions conferred on learned men throughout all Europe, his academies were directed by rules and ſupported by ſallaries: A generoſity, which does great honour to his memory; and in the eyes of all

CHAP. LXXI. 1689.

the ingenuous part of mankind, will be eſteemed an atonement for many of the errors of his reign. We may be ſurprized, that this example ſhould not be more followed by Princes; ſince it is certain, that that bounty, ſo extenſive, ſo beneficial, and ſo much celebrated, coſt not that Monarch ſo great a ſum as is often conferred on one ſingle, uſeleſs, overgrown favourite or courtier.

But tho' the French academy of ſciences was directed, encouraged, and ſupported by the Sovereign, there aroſe in England ſome men of ſuperior genius, who were more than ſufficient to caſt the ballance, and who drew on themſelves and on their native country the regard and attention of all Europe. Beſides Wilkins, Wren, Wallis, eminent mathematicians, Hooke, an accurate obſerver by microſcopes, and Sydenham, the reſtorer of true phyſic; there flouriſhed during this period a Boyle and a Newton; men who trode, with cautious, and therefore the more ſecure ſteps, the only road, which leads to true philoſophy.

Boyle improved the pneumatic engine, invented by Otto Guericke, and was thereby enabled to make ſeveral new and curious experiments on the air as well as on other bodies: His chymiſtry is much admired by thoſe acquainted with that art: his hydroſtatics contain a greater mixture of reaſoning and invention with experiment than any other of his works; but his reaſoning is ſtill remote from that boldneſs and temerity, which had led aſtray ſo many philoſophers. Boyle was a great partizan of the mechanical philoſophy; a theory, which, by diſcovering ſome of the ſecrets of nature, and allowing us to imagine the reſt, is ſo agreeable to the natural vanity and curioſity of men.

In Newton this iſland may boaſt of having produced the greateſt and rareſt genius that ever aroſe for the ornament and inſtruction of the ſpecies. Cautious, in admitting no principles but ſuch as were founded on experiment;

ſiment; but reſolute to adopt every ſuch principle, however new or unuſual: From modeſty, ignorant of his ſuperiority above the reſt of mankind; and thence, leſs careful to accommodate his reaſonings to common apprehenſions: More anxious to merit than acquire fame: He was from theſe cauſes long unknown to the world; but his reputation at laſt broke out with a luſtre, which ſcarce any writer, during his own life-time, had ever before attained. While Newton ſeemed to draw off the veil from ſome of the myſteries of nature, he ſhewed at the ſame time the imperfections of the mechanical philoſophy; and thereby reſtored her ultimate ſecrets to that obſcurity, in which they ever did and ever will remain.

THIS age was far from being ſo favourable to polite literature as to the ſciences. Charles, tho' fond of wit, tho' poſſeſſed himſelf of a conſiderable ſhare of it, tho' his taſte of converſation ſeems to have been ſound and juſt, ſerved rather to corrupt than improve the poetry and eloquence of his time. When the theatres were opened at the reſtoration, and freedom was again given to pleaſantry and ingenuity; men, after ſo long an abſtinence, fed on theſe delicacies with leſs taſte than avidity, and the coarſeſt and moſt irregular ſpecies of wit was received by the court as well as by the people. The productions at that time repreſented on the theatre were ſuch monſters of extravagance and folly; ſo utterly devoid of all reaſon or even common ſenſe; that they would be the diſgrace of Engliſh literature, had not the nation made attonement for its former admiration of them, by the total oblivion to which they are now condemned. The duke of Buckingham's Rehearſal, which expoſed theſe wild productions, ſeems to be a piece of ridicule carried to exceſs; yet in reality the copy ſcarce equals ſome of the abſurdities, which we meet with in the originals.

CHAP. LXXI. 1689.

THIS ſevere ſatyre, together with the good ſenſe of the nation, corrected, after ſome time, the extravagancies of the faſhionable wit; but the productions of literature ſtill wanted much of that correctneſs and delicacy, which we ſo much admire in the antients, and in the French writers, their judicious imitators. It was indeed during this period chiefly, that that nation left the Engliſh behind them in the productions of poetry, eloquence, hiſtory, and other branches of polite letters; and acquired a ſuperiority, which the efforts of Engliſh writers, during the ſubſequent age, did more ſucceſsfully conteſt with them. The arts and ſciences were imported from Italy into this iſland as early as in France; and made at firſt more ſurprizing advances. Spencer, Shakeſpear, Bacon, Johnſon, were much ſuperior to their cotemporaries, who flouriſhed in that kingdom. Milton, Waller, Denham, Cowley, Harvey were at leaſt equal to their cotemporaries. The reign of Charles the ſecond, which ſome prepoſterouſly repreſent as our auguſtan age, retarded the progreſs of polite literature in this iſland; and it was then found, that the immeaſurable licentiouſneſs, which was indulged or rather applauded at court, was more deſtructive to the refined arts than even the cant, nonſenſe, and enthuſiaſm of the preceeding period.

MOST of the celebrated writers of this age remain monuments of genius, perverted by indecency and bad taſte; but none more than Dryden, both by reaſon of the greatneſs of his talents and the groſs abuſe which he made of them. His plays, excepting a few ſcenes, are utterly disfigured by vice or folly or both. His tranſlations appear too much the offspring of haſte and hunger: Even his fables are ill choſen tales, conveyed in an incorrect, tho' ſpirited verſification. Yet amidſt this great number of looſe productions, the refuſe of our language, there are found ſome ſmall pieces, his Ode to St. Cecilia, the greateſt

greateſt part of Abſalom and Achitophel, and a few more, which diſcover ſo great genius, ſuch a richneſs of expreſſion, ſuch pomp and variety of numbers, that they leave us equally full of regret and indignation, on account of the inferiority or rather great abſurdity of his other writings. CHAP. LXXI. 1689.

The very name of Rocheſter is offenſive to modeſt ears; yet does his poetry diſcover ſuch energy of ſtyle and ſuch poignancy of ſatyre, as give ground to imagine what ſo fine a genius, had he fallen in a more happy age and had followed better models, was capable of producing. The antient ſatyriſts often uſed great liberty in their expreſſions; but their freedom no more reſembles the licence of Rocheſter, than the nakedneſs of an Indian does that of a common proſtitute.

WYCHERLEY was ambitious of the reputation of wit and libertiniſm; and he attained it: He was probably capable of reaching the fame of true comedy, and inſtructive ridicule. Otway had a genius finely turned to the pathetic: but he neither obſerves ſtrictly the rules of the drama, nor the rules, ſtill more eſſential, of propriety and decorum. By one ſingle piece the duke of Buckingham did both great ſervice to his age and honour to himſelf. The earls of Mulgrave, Dorſet, and Roſcommon wrote in a good taſte; but their productions are either feeble or careleſs. The marqueſs of Halifax diſcovers a refined genius; and nothing but leizure and an inferior ſtation ſeem wanting to have procured him great eminence in literature.

OF all the conſiderable writers of this age, Sir William Temple is almoſt the only one, who kept himſelf altogether unpolluted by that inundation of vice and licentiouſneſs, which overwhelmed the nation. The ſtyle of this author, tho' extremely negligent, and even mixed with foreign idioms, is agreeable and intereſting. That mix-

CHAP. LXXI. 1689.

ture of vanity, which appears, in his works, is rather a recommendation to them. By means of it, we enter into acquaintance with the character of the author, full of honour and humanity; and fancy that we are engaged, not in the peruſal of a book, but in converſation with a companion.

THO' Hudibras was publiſhed, and probably compoſed, during Charles the ſecond's reign, Butler may juſtly, as well as Milton, be thought to belong to the foregoing period. No compoſition abounds ſo much as Hudibras in ſtrokes of juſt and inimitable wit; yet are there many performances, which give as great or greater entertainment on the whole peruſal. The alluſions are often dark and far-fetched; and tho' ſcarce any author was ever able to expreſs his thoughts in ſo few words, he often employs too many thoughts on one ſubject, and thereby becomes prolix after an unuſual manner. It is ſurprizing how much erudition Butler has introduced with ſo good a grace into a work of pleaſantry and humour; Hudibras is perhaps one of the moſt learned compoſitions, that is to be found in any language. The advantage, which the royal cauſe received from this poem, in expoſing the fanaticiſm and falſe pretences of the former parliamentary party, was prodigious. The king himſelf had ſo good a taſte as to be highly pleaſed with the merit of the work, and had even got a great part of it by heart: Yet was he either ſo careleſs in his temper, or ſo little endowed with the virtue of liberality, or more properly ſpeaking, of gratitude, that he allowed the author, who was a man of virtue and probity, to live in obſcurity, and die in want. Dryden is an inſtance of a negligence of the ſame kind. His Abſalom ſenſibly contributed to the victory, which the Tories obtained over the Whigs after the excluſion-parliaments: Yet could not this merit, aided by his great genius, procure him

him an eſtabliſhment, which might exempt him from the neceſſity of writing for bread. Otway, tho' a profeſt Royaliſt, could not even procure bread by his writings; and he had the ſingular fate of dying literally of hunger. Theſe incidents throw a great ſtain on the memory of Charles, who had diſcernment, loved genius, was liberal of money, but attained not the praiſe of true generoſity.

CHAP. LXXI. 1689.

THE END.

CHAP. LXXI. 1689.

ture of vanity, which appears, in his works, is rather a recommendation to them. By means of it, we enter into acquaintance with the character of the author, full of honour and humanity; and fancy that we are engaged, not in the peruſal of a book, but in converſation with a companion.

THO' Hudibras was publiſhed, and probably compoſed, during Charles the ſecond's reign, Butler may juſtly, as well as Milton, be thought to belong to the foregoing period. No compoſition abounds ſo much as Hudibras in ſtrokes of juſt and inimitable wit; yet are there many performances, which give as great or greater entertainment on the whole peruſal. The alluſions are often dark and far-fetched; and tho' ſcarce any author was ever able to expreſs his thoughts in ſo few words, he often employs too many thoughts on one ſubject, and thereby becomes prolix after an unuſual manner. It is ſurprizing how much erudition Butler has introduced with ſo good a grace into a work of pleaſantry and humour; Hudibras is perhaps one of the moſt learned compoſitions, that is to be found in any language. The advantage, which the royal cauſe received from this poem, in expoſing the fanaticiſm and falſe pretences of the former parliamentary party, was prodigious. The king himſelf had ſo good a taſte as to be highly pleaſed with the merit of the work, and had even got a great part of it by heart: Yet was he either ſo careleſs in his temper, or ſo little endowed with the virtue of liberality, or more properly ſpeaking, of gratitude, that he allowed the author, who was a man of virtue and probity, to live in obſcurity, and die in want. Dryden is an inſtance of a negligence of the ſame kind. His Abſalom ſenſibly contributed to the victory, which the Tories obtained over the Whigs after the excluſion-parliaments: Yet could not this merit, aided by his great genius, procure him

him an eſtabliſhment, which might exempt him from the neceſſity of writing for bread. Otway, tho' a profeſt Royaliſt, could not even procure bread by his writings; and he had the ſingular fate of dying literally of hunger. Theſe incidents throw a great ſtain on the memory of Charles, who had diſcernment, loved genius, was liberal of money, but attained not the praiſe of true generoſity.

CHAP. LXXI. 1689.

THE END.

INDEX.

20 JY 63

The numerical letters direct to the volume, and the figures to the page.

BRITISH MUSEUM

INDEX.

N. B. The numerical letters direct to the volume, and the figures to the page.

A.

ABBY-LANDS—the property of them confirmed to the King by parliament, iv. 217.

Abbot, archbiſhop, ſuſpended, vi. 163. his death, 239.

Abbots—ſeverely treated by H. VIII. iv. 217. are denied a ſeat in the houſe of peers, 223.

Abhorrers and petitioners, what, and how they commenced, viii. 123.

——— Abhorrers impriſoned, and why, viii. 127, 128.

Acca, daughter of Ælla King of the Deïri, her marriage, i. 26.

Acre, a fortreſs beſieged by the Kings of France and England, ii. 14. taken by them, 15.

Adelfrid, marries Acca, daughter of Ælla King of the Deïri, i. 26. becomes firſt King of Northumberland, ib. his diſquieted life, 42. and violent death, 43.

Adela, daughter of the Conqueror, her iſſue, i. 374.

Adrian, Emperor, builds a ſtrong rampart in Britain, i. 10.

——— choſen Pope, iv. 43. his conduct to the reformers, ib. he grants Ireland to Henry II. i. 457. is thoroughly reconciled to him, 463. confirms the grant of Ireland, ib.

Ælla, a Saxon chieftain, brings over an army to Britain, i. 26. his ſettlement in Suſſex, ib. he dies, 54. his poſterity holds his kingdom till it is ſubjected to Weſſex, ib.

——— another Saxon chieftain, becomes king of Deïri, i. 26. the hiſtory of his kingdom, ib.

Agitators, form a military parliament, vii. 93. terrify the King, 111. are called Levellers, 112. are forbid to meet, ib. diſſipated by Oliver Cromwel, 117. their pernicious principles, 161. they are finally diſperſed, 173.

Agricola, Julius, made governor of Britain, i. 9. conquers it all but Caledonia, 10.

Aix-la-Chapelle, a treaty of peace concluded there, vii. 447.

Alaſco, John, brings a congregation of reformed into England, iv. 373. who are encouraged, ib.

INDEX.

20 JY 63

The numerical letters direct to the volume, and the figures to the page.

BRITISH MUSEUM

INDEX.

N. B. The numerical letters direct to the volume, and the figures to the page.

A.

ABBY-LANDS—the property of them confirmed to the King by parliament, iv. 217.

Abbot, archbiſhop, ſuſpended, vi. 163. his death, 239.

Abbots—ſeverely treated by H. VIII. iv. 217. are denied a ſeat in the houſe of peers, 223.

Abhorrers and petitioners, what, and how they commenced, viii. 123.

——— Abhorrers impriſoned, and why, viii. 127, 128.

Acca, daughter of Ælla King of the Deïri, her marriage, i. 26.

Acre, a fortreſs beſieged by the Kings of France and England, ii. 14. taken by them, 15.

Adelfrid, marries Acca, daughter of Ælla King of the Deïri, i. 26. becomes firſt King of Northumberland, ib. his diſquieted life, 42. and violent death, 43.

Adela, daughter of the Conqueror, her iſſue, i. 374.

Adrian, Emperor, builds a ſtrong rampart in Britain, i. 10.

——— choſen Pope, iv. 43. his conduct to the reformers, ib. he grants Ireland to Henry II. i. 457. is thoroughly reconciled to him, 463. confirms the grant of Ireland, ib.

Ælla, a Saxon chieftain, brings over an army to Britain, i. 26. his ſettlement in Suſſex, ib. he dies, 54. his poſterity holds his kingdom till it is ſubjected to Weſſex, ib.

——— another Saxon chieftain, becomes king of Deïri, i. 26. the hiſtory of his kingdom, ib.

Agitators, form a military parliament, vii. 93. terrify the King, 111. are called Levellers, 112. are forbid to meet, ib. diſſipated by Oliver Cromwel, 117. their pernicious principles, 161. they are finally diſperſed, 173.

Agricola, Julius, made governor of Britain, i. 9. conquers it all but Caledonia, 10.

Aix-la-Chapelle, a treaty of peace concluded there, vii. 447.

Alaſco, John, brings a congregation of reformed into England, iv. 373. who are encouraged, ib.

Albany, duke, choſen regent of Scotland, iv. 5. his ingratitude to Lord Hume, 7. he reſides in France ſome years, 8. confuſions in Scotland during his abſence, 9. ſoon after his return, he declares war againſt England, 45. is forced to return to France, 46. returns to Scotland, and makes another fruitleſs attempt on England, 48. goes again to France, from whence he never returns, 49.

Albemarle, earl, an account of his rebellion againſt H. III. ii. 155, 156.

——— duke, his character, vii. 359. he diſcovers Argyle's letters, 376. made an admiral, engages the Dutch fleet, 419. is beaten, 420. ſuccoured by Prince Rupert, 421. purſues the Dutch, 422.

Aldred, archbiſhop of York, crowns William the Conqueror, i. 251. dies of grief, 274, 275.

Ale, its price in the reign of H. III. ii. 229.

Alexander, pontiff of Rome, encourages the Norman invaſion, i. 200. his expectations from its ſucceſs, 273. he ſends a legate into England, ib. his legate's proceedings, 274.

Alexander and Victor, Popes, they occaſion a ſchiſm in the Church, i. 408. how regarded by the Kings of France and England, ib. the firſt is allowed to exerciſe his authority in England, 409. He annuls the conſtitutions of Clarendon, 423. grants to Henry II. a legatine commiſſion, with an exception, which renders it uſeleſs, 424. the reception which Henry's embaſſy met with from him, 432. how he honoured Becket, ib. he grants to Becket the legatine commiſſion, 436. ſends two legates to Pavia, where Henry reſides, ib. grants him a diſpenſation for the marriage of his third ſon Geoffrey, with the heireſs of Brittany, 437. endeavours a reconciliation with the King, 438, 439. his adminiſtration in Rome, 450. he is reconciled to the King, ib. canonizes Becket, 451.

Alexis, Commienus, Emperor of the Greeks, his policy, i. 331.

Alford, battle of, vii. 51.

Alfred, natural brother to Egfrid, ſucceeds him in the united kingdom of Northumberland and Mercia, i. 46. he dies, ib.

Alfred is anointed by Leo III. i. 80. defeated by the Danes, 81. while he is treating with the Danes in England, another party of them lands, 83. his adventures under the habit of a peaſant, 84. he ſummons his ſubjects to a ſecret rendezvous, 86. his ſucceſs againſt the Danes, 86, 87. he obtains of them to declare their converſion to Chriſtianity, ib. arms and regiſters his people, 89. rebuilds London and other ruined cities, ib. his care of the navy, ib. he diſtreſſes Haſtings a Dane, 90. his ſucceſs againſt the Danes, 91, 92. and clemency, 92. his ſucceſs againſt both pyratical and ſettled Danes, 93. his character, 94, 95. ſeveral of his wiſe laws, 96. his courts of juſtice, and their ſubordination, 97, 98. his excellent body of laws, 99. ſuppoſed to be the foundation of the common law, ib. the expedients uſed by him to encourage learning, 100. the methods he took to convey moral leſſons, 102. his liberality to learned men, and ſkilled mecha-

mechanics, 103. the elegancies of life, how brought to him, ib. his children, 104. a remarkable law of his relative to murder, 236.

Alfred, a conſiderable nobleman, his oath, in preſence of the pope, i. 108. its amazing effect, ib.

Alfred, eldeſt ſon of Ethelred, is murdered by Earl Godwin, i. 167. His brother Edward eſcapes, ib.

Alfrick, his treachery, i. 140. he is truſted again, 141. his ſecond treachery, 151.

Algiers, peace with it, vii. 261.

Aliſon, his trial, vi. 241.

Alnwick, battle of, i. 477.

Altar, why removed by the reformers, v. 159.

Alva, Duke of, joins in a confederacy to extirpate the reformed, v. 96. is ſent with an army into the Low Countries, 199. his arbitrary and violent proceedings there, ib. in reſentment of an affront from Queen Elizabeth, he ſeizes and confiſcates the effects of the Engliſh merchants, 200. his tyranny becomes unſupportable, ib. he opens an intercourſe with the Queen of Scots, 201. agrees to a ſcheme for invading England, 202. his tyranny forces the provinces of Holland and Zealand to revolt, 219. he ſummons the Prince of Orange to appear before his tribunal, 220. confiſcates his poſſeſſions in the Low-Countries for contumacy, ib. but being finally repulſed, he leaves the Low-Countries with an execrable character, 221.

Amboyna, maſſacre there, v. 125.

Amerciaments and fines, how numerous in antient times, ii. 132.

America, viſited by Sir Francis Drake, v. 238. again, by the ſame gentleman, 279.

Amiens, a meeting of the ſtates of England and France there, ii. 204. —— a treaty there, iii. 134.

Anabaptiſts, many of them burnt for hereſy, iv. 210.

Angles, firſt named, i. 22.

Anglia, Eaſt, or Eaſt-Anglia. A kingdom eſtabliſhed in Britain, i. 25. united with Mercia, 49.

Anglo-Saxons, they are united under the name of England, i. 61, 62. a kingdom of that name is erected by them in Britain, 68. —— Norman government, its nature, ii. 122. the king's power there, 124. the ſource of the Norman law, 125. its regulations with reſpect to appeals, ib. the king's conſtant revenues, 127. his other revenues, 128. his power in time of war, ib. his power reſpecting eſcheats, 129. reſpecting fines, forfeitures, and amerciaments, 132. his power relative to juſtice, 133. commerce or induſtry, of any ſort, 134. has various profits, 135. his protection, how obtained, ib. his uſual practices, when great inheritances are diſputed, 136, 137. the authority of his edicts, 139.

Angus, Earl, marries the Queen-dowager and regent of Scotland, iv. 5.

Angus, another, with his brother, joins the Engliſh army againſt the Scots, iv. 247. on his return to Scotland, he oppoſes Cardinal Beaton, 252. and ſaves a Scots army, 268.

Anjou, Duke, commands the Catholicks againſt the Hugonots in France, v. 192. defeats them at Jarnac, ib. a propoſal of marriage is made between him and Lady Elizabeth, princeſs of England, See *Henry*. he makes ſuit to Queen Elizabeth by his ambaſſadors, 243, 244. in perſon, ſecretly, 245. he is ſupplied by France with money, for protection of the ſtates in the Netherlands, 246. by England for the ſame purpoſe, 247, 248. he is choſen governor of the Netherlands by the States, 248. his renewed ſuit is oppoſed by the Queen's friends, 249. it is rejected by the Queen, 251. his death, ib.

Anlaff, rebels againſt Athelſtan, i. 109. flies into Scotland, ib. his ſtratagem to ſee his enemy's camp, 111. eſcapes again into Scotland, 112.

Anne, of Cleves, married to Henry VIII. iv. 220. is diſliked by him, 221. divorced from him, 228. her indifference on that occaſion, ib.

Anne, Princeſs of England, married to Prince George of Denmark, viii. 199. on the Prince of Orange's landing, ſhe flies from court to Nottingham, 287. where the gentry form a troop for her protection, ib.

Anſelm, a monk, promoted to the ſee of Canterbury, i. 323. his ſermons againſt modes, 324. he quarrels with the King, ibid. his temporalities are ſeized, 325. he refuſes to do homage to Henry I. for his temporalities, 340. yet is courted by him, 342. their differences occaſion a meſſage to Rome, 349. the quarrel between the king and primate encreaſes to ſuch a degree, that the primate leaves the kingdom, 352. on his return, he is careſſed by the king, ibid. yet the quarrel continues, 353. it is compromiſed, 355.

Antwerp, great diſorders committed there by the Proteſtants, v. 198.

Apparel, laws regulating it, firſt known in England, ii. 513.

Appeals, how to be brought, by King Alfred's laws, i. 98, 99. an alteration of the order in which they were to be exhibited, ii. 228.

——— to the Pope, are prohibited, iv. 122. again permitted, 428.

Appeals, (of the nature of accuſations) prohibited to be proſecuted in parliament, iii. 52.

Archangel, a paſſage to it diſcovered, v. 497.

Archy, the King's fool, a remarkable joke of his, vi. 250. is puniſhed for it, ib.

Argyle, Earl, attends the Queen Regent, when oppoſing the reformers, v. 27. adviſes her to an accommodation with them, 29. leaves her, and joins the reformers, 31.

——— his character, vi. 272. he embraces the covenant, ib. flies from his army, vii. 49. makes his court to the King, 199. is ſentenced to die, 376. executed, ib.

Ariſtocracy, how interwoven with the Engliſh conſtitution, iii. 320.

Armada, invincible, fitted out in Spain, v. 343. Its ſailors, compared with thoſe of England, 345. its admirals die, when it is ready to ſail, 350. and others being appointed, it ſails, and meeting with a ſtorm, returns, ib. it ſails again, 351. arrives in the channel, 352. is put into confuſion by a ſtratagem of the Engliſh admiral, 354. returns homewards, 355. is overtaken by a ſtorm, ib.

Armagnacks. See *Orleans*.

Arminianiſm, its hiſtory, v. 571. its ſtate in the reign of Charles I. vi. 211.

Armorica, ſhelters the diſtreſſed Britains, i. 21. who ſettle there, ib.

Armſtrong, Sir Thomas, his trial, viii. 194.

Army, its ſtate, while military tenures prevailed, ii. 273. how its then form came gradually into diſuſe, ib. how paid in Edward III's reign, 512. in Henry I's reign, iii. 127. its ſtate under James I. vi. 118. from the reſtoration to the revolution, viii. 317.

—— parliamentary, fights at Edge-hill, vi. 441. is beaten at Stratton, 452. fights at Lanſdown, 453. is beaten at Roundway down, 454. fights at Newbury, 467. at Marſton-moor, vii. 11. again at Newbury, 16. its generals quarrel among themſelves, 17. its ſtate before the new model, 22. it is new modelled, 52. its officers preach, 53. it routs the royal army at Naſeby, 56. ruins its remains at Cheſter, 61. mutinies againſt the parliament, 87. ſets up a military parliament, 89. ſeizes the King at Holm-bay, 90. brings him to the head-quarters, 91. chuſes Oliver Cromwell commander in chief, 92. impeaches eleven members of the houſe of commons, 98. receives the excluded ſpeakers, 103. ſubdues the parliament, 105. reſtores the diſplaced ſpeakers, ib. brings the King to Hampton-court, 106. mutinies againſt its officers, 112. it is pacified by Oliver Cromwell, 113. beats the Scots army under Hamilton, 131. exacts loans, 132. quells inſurrections, ib. purges the houſe of commons, 135. produces the King before his judges, 141. attends his execution, 147. its ſtate at the commencement of the republick, 163. it enters Scotland, headed by Oliver Cromwell, 195. beats the Scots at Dunbar, 197. routs them at Worceſter, 203. is diſbanded, 369.

—— royal, in England. *See* Charles, Prince of Wales, ſon of James I.

—— royal, in Scotland, defeats the covenanters at Perth, vii. 47. near Aberdeen, 48. at Inverary, 49. takes Dundee, 50. withdraws to the mountains, ib. vanquiſhes at Inverneſs, 51. and at Alford, ib. marches ſouthwards, ib. beats the covenanters at Kilſyth, 63. is routed at Philiphaugh, and flies to the mountains, 64. lays down its arms, 77. reaſſembled, it keeps in the mountains, 200. is ſubdued by Monk, 214.

—— Scotch, in England, defeats the Engliſh at Newburn upon Tyne, vi. 295. levies contributions till it is paid by the Engliſh parliament,

liament, 318. disbanded, 359. re-enters England, vii. 7. joins Fairfax, 8. in conjunction, with him, beats the royalists at Marston-moor, 11. takes York, 13. receives the King at Newark, 75. delivers him up to the parliament's army, 82. leaves England, ib. re-enters it, under the marquis of Hamilton, 131. is routed, ib. re-enters England with King Charles II. at their head, 202. is routed at Worcester, 203.

Arran, Earl, disappointed of the regency of Scotland, by cardinal Beaton, iv. 251. cabals against him, and is made regent, 252. loses his credit by indolence, 259. his pusillanimity, 268. he prepares to oppose English invaders, 323. the disposition of his army, 324. he is defeated, 326. flies with the Queen-dowager to Sterling, 327. receives succours from France, 333. gets a pension from that court, and the title of Duke of Chatelraut, 335. is prevailed on to resign the regency to the Queen-dowager, 469.

——— son of the former, arrives in Scotland from France, v. 32.

Arras, congress there, iii. 168. treaty there, 169.

Array, commission of, first granted, iii. 125. commission of, granted by King Charles I. vi. 423.

Arthur, a posthumous son of Geoffrey, third son of Henry II. is invested in the duchy of Brittany under the guardianship of his grandfather, i. 488.

———, prince of Wales, son of Henry VII. married to Catherine of Arragon, iii. 406. he soon afterwards dies, ib. See *Catherine*.

Articles, lords of, abolished in Scotland, vi. 362. restored, vii. 374.

———, six, of religion, established by the parliament in the reign of Henry VIII. iv. 212. a detail of them, ib. great numbers imprisoned by reason of not assenting to these articles, 218. and set at liberty by Cromwell's means, ib. The law executed with great rigour on dissenters from these articles, 230. mitigated, 263.

Artois, Robert, or Robert D'Artois, his shameful crime, ii. 405. his arrival in England occasions a war between France and England, 406. he is sent to the relief of the countess of Mountfort, 433. dies of a wound, ib.

Arundel, Earl, is condemned by the house of peers, iii. 34. executed, ibid.

Ascham, the commonwealth's envoy at Madrid, murdered, vii. 258.

Ascue, Anne, her cruel sufferings for denying the real presence, iv. 278, 279.

Ashley, Lord, one of the cabal, vii. 469. his character, ib.

Aske, Mr. heads an insurrection against Henry VIII. iv. 186. is taken, condemned, and executed, 190.

Assassins, their prince, his name and authority, ii. 19. he causes Conrade, marquis of Montferrat, to be assassinated, 20.

Assembly, general, in Scotland, its proceedings, v. 252, 253. another, vi. 269. another, 271. another, 474. another, vii. 120. its proceedings, 121.

Assembly of divines at Westminster, vii. 31.
Athelstan, eldest son of Egbert, obtains of his father a part of his dominions, i. 71. and dies in his lifetime, 74.
——— natural son and successor of Edward the Elder, his liberality to the church, i. 109. he expels his brothers, ib. subdues Scotland, 110. his death, 112. his laws, 224.
Athelwold, his passion for Elfrida, i. 131. its effects, 132.
Athenians, their politeness, vii. 59.
Attainder, a severe law about it, iv. 216.
Aubigny, count, created earl of Lennox. See *Lennox*.
Audley, Lord, heads an insurrection against Henry VII. iii. 393. his party is defeated, 395. and he is taken and executed, ib.
———, Sir Thomas, the seals are put into his hands, iv. 120. he presides as lord high steward at the trial of the marquis of Exeter and his accomplices, 203.
Augsburgh, a league there, viii. 269.
Auguſtine, a monk, arrives in Britain, i. 34. his correspondence with pope Gregory, 36. his orders from Rome. 37.
Auguſtine friars, their church granted to German Lutherans, iv. 373, 374.
Auras, battle of, ii. 488.
Austria, duke of, Leopold, arrests Richard I. ii. 24. imprisons and loads him with irons, ib. produces him before the diet of Ratisbon, in order to his being tried there at the suit of the French King, 27. is struck with remorse for his injustice to that prince, 33. in his last will orders the unpaid part of the ransom to be remitted, and the hostages to be set at liberty, ib.
Auvergne, a general council of Christendom convened there, i. 316.
Aviſa, daughter of the earl of Gloucester, an heiress, is married to prince John, ii. 2. divorced from him, 44.
Ayscue, Sir George, reduces the Dutch American colonies, vii. 212. fights De Ruyter, 222.
Azincourt, battle of, iii. 105, 106. compared with those of Cressy and Poitiers, 108, 109.

B.

BABINGTON's conspiracy, v. 289. how discovered, 291. it is assented to by Queen Mary, 293. the conspirators are seized and executed, 295.
Bacon, Sir Nicolas, made lord keeper on the accession of Queen Elizabeth, v. 5. one of the commissioners in the conferences concerning Queen Mary, 142. in quality of lord keeper he tells the parliament in the Queen's name, that they are forbid to meddle in affairs of state, 179.
——— Sir Francis, son of the former, displays the undutiful expressions contained in Essex's letters, v. 430. draws up a narrative of the

earl's examination in council, 432. reads it to the Queen, ib. his ſevere ſpeech on his trial, 445, 446. his anecdote concerning torture, 478. his humanity, ib. his fall after being made chancellor, vi. 52. his ſentence, 53. his character, 133, 134.

Badelſmore, lord, puniſhed for inſolence and brutal cruelty, ii. 358. tried and executed, 360.

Badily, defeated, vii. 122.

Badon, battle there, i. 25.

Baillie of Jerviſwood, his trial, viii. 198. ſentence and execution, ib.

Bainham, James, tortured and burnt for hereſy, iv. 144.

Baldwin, earl of Flanders, kindly receives Toſti, elder brother of Harold, i. 191. encourages the Norman invaders, 199. protects King Henry's nephew, William, 359. is ſlain, ib.

Baliol, Edward, ſon and heir of John, late King of Scotland, is brought from France to England, ii. 394. The progreſs of his invaſion of Scotland, 396. he is crowned at Scone, 397. loſes his kingdom by a quick revolution, 398. is once more acknowledged King by a Scots parliament, 400. again expelled, 401.

Ball, John, a ſeditious preacher, his character, iii. 7. he ſcatters the ſparks of ſedition, ib. 8.

Ballard, John, inſtigated to aſſaſſinate Queen Elizabeth, v. 289. See *Babington*.

Bannockburn, battle of, ii. 351.

Barebones Praiſe-God, his parliament, vii. 235. his hiſtory, 237. the acts of parliament, ib. it reſigns its authority, 240.

Bari, a general council of Chriſtendom aſſembled there, i. 325. its proceedings 326.

Barnardiſton, Sir Samuel, fined, viii. 195.

Barons, their courts, how conſtituted, ii. 111. their legal power therein, ib. 112. the regard they paid, and why, to the ſciences, 113. they are, and why, conſtituent members of feudal parliament, 116. an account of the component members of a barony, 117. the ſtate of a great baron, 139, 140. his oppreſſive power, 140. their ſentiments of government, 148. their anſwer to Henry III. when ſummoned to parliament, 164. their attendance in parliament armed, ib. they complain of their King's attachment to foreigners, 165. and of his partial preference of them, 166. and of their proud behaviour, 168. twenty-four are empowered in parliament to reform the ſtate, 187. their proceedings, ib. 188. they cauſe the King's half-brothers to be baniſhed, 188. their tyrannical acts, 189. they loſe their popularity, 191. they publiſh a new code of ordinances, 192. Their breach of truſt becomes apparent, 195. the adminiſtration is wreſted by the King out of their hands, 198. they acquieſce after one effort, ib. headed by Leiceſter they commence hoſtilities, 201. ſubmit to the arbitration of the French King, 204. reject his award, 205. are unſucceſsful in war againſt the King, 207. give

him battle at Lewes, 208. take the King and his brother priſoners, 209, 210. after the victory they renew their ſubmiſſion to the French King, 210. are tyrannized over by their leader, the earl of Leiceſter, 211. the proceedings of the rebel barons aſſembled in parliament, 212, 213. another rebel parliament, to which two knights of the ſhire, and two deputies from each borough are ſummoned, 215. the arbitrary proceedings of this parliament, 216. the revolting barons are ſubdued by the prince at Eveſham, 221. how the ſeats of barons in parliament were held after this battle, 277. are diſcontented at Gavaſton's power, 339. come armed to parliament, 341. they baniſh Gavaſton in parliament, and exact an oath of him never to return, ib. a junto of barons is, in another armed parliament, aſſigned to enact ordinances for the good of the ſtate, 343. they raiſe an army, 346. cauſe Gavaſton's head to be ſtruck off, though a priſoner by capitulation, 347. they are pardoned, ib. the power of the barons declines, and why, iii. 64. their antient ſtate, how gradually changed, 318, 319. their power, how ſubverted, v. 506.

Baronets, titles of, ſold, vi. 10.

Baronies, great, how divided, ii. 276. their influence in the ſtate, ib. 277.

Barnes, Dr. burnt for hereſy, iv. 230. his reſolution on that occaſion, ib. 231.

Barnet, battle of, iii. 260.

Barton. See *Kent*.

Barton, a Scotſman, turns pirate, iii. 451. goes out on a cruiſe againſt the Engliſh, ib. is killed, ib.

Baſilides, John, Czar, how and why favourable to Engliſh merchants, v. 497, 498.

Baſtardy, law of, ii. 228.

Baſtwick, Dr. tried, vi. 244. his ſentence reverſed, 315.

Battle, trial by it, how general, i. 482.

Battles, at Aberdeen, vii. 47. Alford, 51. Alnwick, i. 477. Auras, ii. 488. Azincour, iii. 105, 106. Badon, i. 25. Bannockburn, ii. 351. Barnet, iii. 260. Baugé, battle of, iii. 120. Blackheath, iii. 395. Bloreheath, iii. 211. Boſworth, iii. 308, 309. Bothwell-bridge, viii. 113. Bovines, ii. 79. Bradockdown, vi. 451. Charmouth, i. 70. Cherington, vii. 8. Conſarbick, viii. 18. Crecy, ii. 444. Cropey-bridge, vii. 15. Dunbar, vii. 197. Dunes, 287. Edgehill, vi. 441. Erne-river, ii. 396. Eveſham, 219, 220. Floudon, iii. 465. Guinegate, 461. Haſtings, i. 208, 209. Hexham, iii. 233. Homeldon, 73. Horncaſtle, vi. 470. Jarnac, v. 192. Inverneſs, vii. 49. Kilſyth, vii. 63. Lanſdown, vi. 453. Leipſick, 220. Lewes, ii. 208. Lutzen, vi. 220. Marſtonmoor, vii. 11. Methuen, ii. 328. Newburn upon Tyne, vi. 295. Newbury, firſt battle of, vi. 467. ſecond there, vii. 16. Otterburn, iii. 27. Pavia, iv. 62. Perth, vii. 47. Philiphaugh, vii. 64. Pinkey, iv. 325. Poictiers, ii. 469. Prague, vi. 43.

vi. 43. Preſton, vii. 131. Seneffe, viii. 8. St. Albans, firſt battle of, iii. 208. ſecond there, 218. St. Omer, viii. 26. Touton, iii. 226. Verneuil, iii. 138. Wakefield, iii. 217. Warſau, vii. 254. Worceſter, vii. 203.

Baugé, battle of, iii. 120.

Bayonne, a league formed there to extirpate the Hugonots of France, v. 191.

Beaton, cardinal, head of the catholicks in Scotland, iv. 251. is ſaid to have forged a will of James V. appointing him and ſome others regents, ib. he is deprived of the regency by the Earl of Arran, and committed to cuſtody, 252. procures his liberty, and cabals againſt Arran, ib. 253. applies to France for aſſiſtance, 254. his violent perſecution of Wiſhart, 318. who foretells his downfall, ib. the cardinal is murdered in his caſtle, 319. his aſſaſſins protected by Henry VIII. hold out the caſtle for ſome time, 320. but are at laſt forced to ſurrender, 321.

Beauchamp of Holt, Lord, condemned by the houſe of peers, iii. 23. he was the firſt peer that was promoted to a ſeat in the houſe of lords by patent, 65.

Becket, St. See *Thomas a Becket*.

Bedford, Duke, ſon of Henry IV. iii. 89. appointed regent of France by his brother on his death-bed, 122. by the parliament, appointed guardian of the kingdom, 130. his character, ib. he marries a princeſs of the houſe of Burgundy, 133. makes an alliance at Amiens with the dukes of Burgundy and Brittany, 134. he gains great advantages over the French, 136. further ſucceſſes, 137. defeats the French and Scots forces at Verneuil, 138. compoſes differences between the duke of Gloceſter and the biſhop of Wincheſter, 141. obliges the duke of Brittany to renounce his new alliance with France, iii. 144. is obliged to raiſe the ſiege of Lagni, 166. loſes the alliance of the Duke of Burgundy, 168. his death and character, 170.

Bedloe's narrative, viii. 78. its effects, 79. his death, 129.

Beer, an exciſe on it firſt granted, vii. 3.

Bell, Robert, a member of the houſe of commons, his motion againſt monopolies, v. 184. he is ſeverely reprimanded for it by the council, 186.

Benedictine monks, a deſcription and hiſtory of them, i. 116. they are expelled out of their monaſteries, 184. ſeveral ſynods are called concerning them, 136.

Benevolences, or loans, firſt levied, iii. 65. juſtified by a ſtatute, iii. 386. how demanded in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, v. 480. in the reign of James I. vi. 85. how enforced in the reign of Charles I. 169. refuſers to comply are impriſoned by order of council, ib. a trial enſues, ib. the judgment of the court, 166. the effect of theſe proceedings

ceedings on the nation, ib. condemned by the houſe of commons, 185. but ſoon practiſed by them, and by their army, vii. 132.

Berengaria, a princeſs of the houſe of Navarre, is married to Richard I. at Cyprus. ii. 12. ſhe attends him to the holy-land, 13.

Berkſtead, his trial, vii. 389.

Bernard, St. preaches a new cruſade, i. 392. divers Engliſh noblemen engage in it, ib.

Berner, Sir James, is condemned to death by the houſe of peers, iii. 23.

Bernicia, the antient name of Northumberland, i. 26.

Bertha, Queen of Kent, her zeal for chriſtianity, i. 32.

Bigod, earl marſhal, ſecretly meets with the high conſtable and other barons, to conſult for the good of the ſtate, ii. 185. has a great hand in making the proviſions of Oxford, 186. joins Prince Edward in ſupport of the royal cauſe, 204. on the loſs of the battle of Lewes, he flies beyond the ſeas, 209. on his return a violent contention happens between the king, earl marſhal, and the conſtable, 300. the earl marſhal and high conſtable frame a remonſtrance, mentioning divers breaches of the Great Charter, 301. they obtain the great charter, and another called the Leſſer Charter, to be confirmed by the parliament, and by the king, then in Flanders, 303. upon the king's return, they obtain a ſolemn confirmation of theſe charters in parliament, with other ſecurities, ib.

Bible, a tranſlation of it made by Tindal, promotes the reformation, iv. 142. many of them are burnt in Cheapſide, 143. a new tranſlation of it is propoſed by the convocation, 163. arguments, for and againſt tranſlating it, 164. the tranſlation is finiſhed, and printed in three years, 165. is ordered to be cautiouſly uſed, 192. permitted in every family, 218. propoſals for amending the tranſlation, 243. the uſe of it is reſtrained, 244.

Bilney, Thomas, a prieſt, embraces the reformation, iv. 144. his fortitude in ſuffering, 145.

Biſhops, a conſtituent part of a feudal parliament, ii. 116. how oppreſſed by the court of Rome, 177. the king is allowed to create them by letters patent, iv. 329. complain of want of power, 366. a reſolution is taken to deprive thoſe that are catholics, 368. many of them are deprived, 371. the power of biſhops is increaſed by the parliament, 382. they decline to be preſent at the coronation of Queen Elizabeth, v. 8. regulations, relative to them, are made, 11. on Queen Elizabeth's acceſſion, moſt of them are degraded for non-compliance, 15. their votes in the houſe of peers are aboliſhed, vi. 413. reſtored, vii. 380.

Biſhops, twelve, their proteſtation, vi. 400. they are impeached, ib.

——— ſix, committed by the privy council, viii. 261. tried in the King's Bench, 262. acquitted, 263.

Blackheath, battle of, iii. 395.

Blake, admiral, purſues Prince Rupert, vii. 211. fights Tromp, 220. takes and diſperſes the herring buſſes, 221. fights De Ruyter near the Goodwin ſands, 222. beats Tromp in the channel, 223. ſeizes a ſquadron of French ſhips, 256. terrifies the Duke of Tuſcany, 261. compels the Dey of Algiers to make peace, ib. takes two Spaniſh galleons, 264. burns a Spaniſh fleet, 265. his death and character, ib. 266.

Blood, his conſpiracy againſt Ormond, vii. 480. his attempt to ſteal the regalia, 481. he is pardoned, 482. and becomes a favourite, ib.

Bloreheath, battle of, iii. 211.

Boadicea, Queen of the Iceni, hiſtory of her, i. 8.

Bockland, what, i. 245.

Bohemia, its blind king appears in the army of the French king, at the battle of Crecy, ii. 447. his behaviour, and fate, in the battle, 450. the honour thence accruing to the Prince of Wales, ib. its ſtate before, and when the elector Palatine of the Rhine became king, vi. 42. his acceſſion, 71. the kingdom is ſubdued by the Emperor, 44.

Bohun, high conſtable, he ſecretly meets with divers barons, to conſult for the ſafety of the kingdom, ii. 185. His confederates obtain the proviſions of Oxford to be made, 187. he joins Prince Edward in the royal cauſe, 204. a violent altercation happens between the king and him, and the earl marſhal, 300. he embraces Lancaſter's party againſt Gavaſton, 345.

Boleyn, Anne, her hiſtory, and introduction to the court of England, iv. 86. the king ſets his affections on her, 87. ſhe undermines Wolſey, 101. is created Marchioneſs of Pembroke, and privately married to the king, 121. becomes ſoon pregnant, ib. her marriage is confirmed by the archbiſhop of Canterbury, 123. her coronation and delivery, ib. 124. ſhe loſes the king's favour, 166. an account of her accuſers, and of the crimes with which ſhe is charged, 167. ſhe is ſent to the Tower, 169. her conceſſions and forlorn ſtate, ib. her affecting letter to the king, 170. her trial and condemnation, 173, 174. her execution, and mean burial, 175, 176. ſhe is attainted, together with her accomplices, 177. and her daughter is declared illegitimate, ib.

Bolton Caſtle, Queen Mary is confined there, v. 137. carried from thence to Fotheringay caſtle, 296.

Bombay, acquired by England, vii. 388.

Bonner, biſhop, deprived of his ſee, and committed for denying the real preſence, iv. 348. reſtored on the acceſſion of Queen Mary, 401. employed to aſſiſt Gardiner in perſecuting the proteſtants, 443. his zeal and cruelty in that employment, ib. he degrades Cranmer at Oxford, with joy and exultation, 459. is ſlighted by Queen Elizabeth, at her acceſſion, and deſpiſed by all men, v. 3.

Boniface VIII. his character, ii. 295. his bull, ib. its effects in England,

land, 296. he abſolves Edward from his oaths to obſerve the charters, 303. writes to him in behalf of the Scots, 318. his interpoſition for the Scots proves unſucceſsful, ib. 319. he obtains the firſt fruits in England, diſpenſes with Gavaſton's oath, to abjure the realm for ever, 342.

Booth, Sir George, his inſurrection quelled, vii. 310.

Boſworth-field, battle of, iii. 308, 309. its effect, 322.

Bothwell, Earl, becomes a favourite of Queen Mary of Scotland, v. 101. procures liberty to the baniſhed lords to return, 102. his character, 107. the ſuſpicions he falls under, on account of his great intereſt with the Queen, 108. and differences with Earl Murray, ib. he is ſuppoſed to be concerned in the murder of Darnly, 110. accuſed by the Earl of Lennox, tried and acquitted, 111. an aſſociation is formed to protect him, 112. Recommended, and why, by the nobility to Queen Mary as a fit huſband, 113. he ſeizes the Queen, and carries her to Dunbar, where he is ſaid to have raviſhed her, 114. obtains a pardon for all former crimes, ib. and a ſpeedy divorce from his wife in two different courts, 115. conducts the Queen to Edinburgh, where the bans of marriage with her are publiſhed, 116. is married to the Queen by a proteſtant biſhop, 118. attempts to get the young prince into his power, 121. worſted by the forces of the confederated nobility, 122. he flies to the Orkneys, ib. his profligate life, and miſerable death in Denmark, ib.

——— another, a nobleman, deſcended from a natural ſon of King James V. how, and wherefore patronized by Queen Elizabeth, v. 387.

——— bridge, battle of, viii. 113.

Bouchain, taken by the French king, viii. 21.

Boulogne, Count of Euſtace, murders a townſman of Dover, i. 176. engages under the banner of William, Duke of Normandy, 202. foments an inſurrection againſt him, 258. joins in an inſurrection againſt Robert, Duke of Normandy, 307.

——— Count of, Matthew, commences hoſtilities againſt Henry II. i. 470. is mortally wounded, ib.

——— a city, beſieged and taken by Henry VIII. iv. 267. the French attempting to retake it, are repulſed, 358. it is reſtored to France for a ſum of money, 368.

Bovines, battle of, ii. 79.

Boyd, Lord, one of Queen Mary's commiſſioners, appointed to confer with thoſe of Queen Elizabeth, v. 137.

Brabançons, what, i. 468. the original of a new ſort of armies, ib.

Bradockdown, battle of, vi. 451.

Brandenburgh, elector of, takes party with the ſtates, vii. 510. commands the German troops, and is chaſed from Colonar by Turenne, viii. 9. beats the Swedes, then allies of France, 19. and is included in the treaty of Nimeguen, 44.

Blake, admiral, purſues Prince Rupert, vii. 211. fights Tromp, 220. takes and diſperſes the herring buſſes, 221. fights De Ruyter near the Goodwin ſands, 222. beats Tromp in the channel, 223. ſeizes a ſquadron of French ſhips, 256. terrifies the Duke of Tuſcany, 261. compels the Dey of Algiers to make peace, ib. takes two Spaniſh galleons, 264. burns a Spaniſh fleet, 265. his death and character, ib. 266.

Blood, his conſpiracy againſt Ormond, vii. 480. his attempt to ſteal the regalia, 481. he is pardoned, 482. and becomes a favourite, ib.

Bloreheath, battle of, iii. 211.

Boadicea, Queen of the Iceni, hiſtory of her, i. 8.

Bockland, what, i. 245.

Bohemia, its blind king appears in the army of the French king, at the battle of Crecy, ii. 447. his behaviour, and fate, in the battle, 450. the honour thence accruing to the Prince of Wales, ib. its its ſtate before, and when the elector Palatine of the Rhine became king, vi. 42. his acceſſion, 71. the kingdom is ſubdued by the Emperor, 44.

Bohun, high conſtable, he ſecretly meets with divers barons, to conſult for the ſafety of the kingdom, ii. 185. His confederates obtain the proviſions of Oxford to be made, 187. he joins Prince Edward in the royal cauſe, 204. a violent altercation happens between the king and him, and the earl marſhal, 300. he embraces Lancaſter's party againſt Gavaſton, 345.

Boleyn, Anne, her hiſtory, and introduction to the court of England, iv. 86. the king ſets his affections on her, 87. ſhe undermines Wolſey, 101. is created Marchioneſs of Pembroke, and privately married to the king, 121. becomes ſoon pregnant, ib. her marriage is confirmed by the archbiſhop of Canterbury, 123. her coronation and delivery, ib. 124. ſhe loſes the king's favour, 166. an account of her accuſers, and of the crimes with which ſhe is charged, 167. ſhe is ſent to the Tower, 169. her conceſſions and forlorn ſtate, ib. her affecting letter to the king, 170. her trial and condemnation, 173, 174. her execution, and mean burial, 175, 176. ſhe is attainted, together with her accomplices, 177. and her daughter is declared illegitimate, ib.

Bolton Caſtle, Queen Mary is confined there, v. 137. carried from thence to Fotheringay caſtle, 296.

Bombay, acquired by England, vii. 388.

Bonner, biſhop, deprived of his ſee, and committed for denying the real preſence, iv. 348. reſtored on the acceſſion of Queen Mary, 401. employed to aſſiſt Gardiner in perſecuting the proteſtants, 443. his zeal and cruelty in that employment, ib. he degrades Cranmer at Oxford, with joy and exultation, 459. is ſlighted by Queen Elizabeth, at her acceſſion, and deſpiſed by all men, v. 3.

Boniface VIII. his character, ii. 295. his bull, ib. its effects in England,

land, 296. he abſolves Edward from his oaths to obſerve the charters, 303. writes to him in behalf of the Scots, 318. his interpoſition for the Scots proves unſucceſsful, ib. 319. he obtains the firſt fruits in England, diſpenſes with Gavaſton's oath, to abjure the realm for ever, 342.

Booth, Sir George, his inſurrection quelled, vii. 310.

Boſworth-field, battle of, iii. 308, 309. its effect, 322.

Bothwell, Earl, becomes a favourite of Queen Mary of Scotland, v. 101. procures liberty to the baniſhed lords to return, 102. his character, 107. the ſuſpicions he falls under, on account of his great intereſt with the Queen, 108. and differences with Earl Murray, ib. he is ſuppoſed to be concerned in the murder of Darnly, 110. accuſed by the Earl of Lennox, tried and acquitted, 111. an aſſociation is formed to protect him, 112. Recommended, and why, by the nobility to Queen Mary as a fit huſband, 113. he ſeizes the Queen, and carries her to Dunbar, where he is ſaid to have raviſhed her, 114. obtains a pardon for all former crimes, ib. and a ſpeedy divorce from his wife in two different courts, 115. conducts the Queen to Edinburgh, where the bans of marriage with her are publiſhed, 116. is married to the Queen by a proteſtant biſhop, 118. attempts to get the young prince into his power, 121. worſted by the forces of the confederated nobility, 122. he flies to the Orkneys, ib. his profligate life, and miſerable death in Denmark, ib.

——— another, a nobleman, deſcended from a natural ſon of King James V. how, and wherefore patronized by Queen Elizabeth, v. 387.

——— bridge, battle of, viii. 113.

Bouchain, taken by the French king, viii. 21.

Boulogne, Count of Euſtace, murders a townſman of Dover, i. 176. engages under the banner of William, Duke of Normandy, 202. foments an inſurrection againſt him, 258. joins in an inſurrection againſt Robert, Duke of Normandy, 307.

——— Count of, Matthew, commences hoſtilities againſt Henry II. i. 470. is mortally wounded, ib.

——— a city, beſieged and taken by Henry VIII. iv. 267. the French attempting to retake it, are repulſed, 358. it is reſtored to France for a ſum of money, 368.

Bovines, battle of, ii. 79.

Boyd, Lord, one of Queen Mary's commiſſioners, appointed to confer with thoſe of Queen Elizabeth, v. 137.

Brabançons, what, i. 468. the original of a new ſort of armies, ib.

Bradockdown, battle of, vi. 451.

Brandenburgh, elector of, takes party with the ſtates, vii. 510. commands the German troops, and is chaſed from Colonar by Turenne, viii. 9. beats the Swedes, then allies of France, 19. and is included in the treaty of Nimeguen, 44.

Bread, aſſize of, firſt ſettled, ii. 229.
Breda, treaty there, vii. 431.
Breban, law, aboliſhed in Ireland, v. 574.
Bretigni, in the Chartraine, peace there made between England and France, ii. 484.
Bribery, firſt introduced in England, iv. 423.
Briſtol, city, taken by Prince Rupert, vi. 458. retaken by Fairfax, vii. 61.
—— Earl, ſent to Spain, vi. 68. takes his leave of the King of Spain, 89. returns, 90. is not ſummoned to parliament, till the peers interpoſe in his behalf, 151, 152.
Britain, and Britains, their antient ſtate, i. 2, 3. their religion, 4. Cæſar lands there, 6. how it is regarded by his firſt ſucceſſor, ib. Suetonius Paulinus made governor, 7. his adminiſtration, 8. the government devolves on Agricola. See *Agricola*. Boadicea, Queen of the Iceni, conquered, 9. it is all ſubdued except Caledonia, 10. Adrian's wall there built and improved, ib. it is deſerted by the Romans, 13. by Vortigern's advice, the Britains apply to the Saxons, 15, 16. are aided by Saxons, 19. betrayed by them, ib. ſheltered in Armorica, 21. they ſettle there, 21. make war with the Weſt-Saxons, 23. are defeated in battle, 24. their eccleſiaſtical government, 63, 64.
Britanny, its Duke Conan yields Nantz to Henry II. i. 404. dies, 405. the dutchy is ſeized by Henry II. and allotted for his third ſon Geoffry, 464. the army of its nobles is defeated by Henry II. 471, 472. its Duke, Arthur, nephew of Richard I. is declared his ſucceſſor, ii. 41. but ſet aſide by John, Richard's brother, ib. his cauſe is favoured by the French King, 42. deſerted by him, 43. a commotion is made in his favour, 44. how far ſucceſsful, and what aſſiſtance, 47. he is made a priſoner by King John, 48. murdered by him, 49. the dutchy obeys Alice, a younger daughter of Conſtantia, 50. vigorouſly promotes the French King's intereſt againſt King John, iii. 190. Charles of Blois becomes Duke of Britanny in right of his wife, daughter and ſole heireſs of the laſt duke, 428, 429. great diſtractions follow, by the ambition of the count of Mountfort, 429. his ſon is acknowledged duke, and gets quiet poſſeſſion, 485. the Duke of Britanny enters into an alliance with the Dukes of Bedford and Burgundy againſt France, iii. 134. withdraws himſelf from that alliance, 142. and enters into connexions with Charles the French king, ib. at the head of a powerful army, invades Normandy, 183. its ſtate, during the reign of Henry VII. 352. it is invaded by the French, 354. feebly ſupported by England, 362. annexed to the French crown, 367. the Spaniards land there to ſupport the league in France, v. 373. are drove out of it by Engliſh troops ſent over by Queen Elizabeth, to aid the French king, 388.
Brithnot, Duke of Eſſex, ſlain by the Danes, i. 139.

Bruce, Robert, claims the crown of Scotland, ii. 252. acknowledges Edward's right of ſuperiority over Scotland, 263. his claim to the Scots crown is rejected by Edward's award, 265.

—— Robert, his ſon and ſucceſſor to his pretenſions, reſolves to relieve Scotland, ii. 323. eſcapes into Scotland, 325, 326. For the reſt, ſee *Scotland*.

Buchanan, George, is appointed to aſſiſt in the conferences concerning Queen Mary, v. 137.

Buckingham, Duke, becomes head of a party at court, iii. 279, 280. joins the duke of Gloceſter, 282. promiſes to ſupport him in all his enterprizes, 287. harangues the citizens of London on the duke's title to the crown, 292. the ridiculous farce he acts with the duke, in preſence of the mayor, in order to perſuade him to accept of the royal dignity, 293. how rewarded by the duke of Gloceſter, when king, 296. he rebels, and is executed, 303, 304.

Buckingham, Duke, incurs the diſpleaſure of cardinal Wolſey iv. 23. is tried, and executed, 30.

—— another, his character, vi. 71. he obtains leave to go to Spain with the Prince, 74. ſets out, 75. returns, 80. lays a narrative of the marriage treaty before the parliament, 83. falls under the diſpleaſure of the houſe of commons, 146. is impeached, 151. choſen chancellor of the univerſity of Cambridge, 155. makes love to the Queen of France, 170. is made commander in chief of the fleet and army ſent to the relief of Rochel, 172. defeated, 173. ſent again, 200. murdered, 201.

—— adviſes the King to accept of the Scots offers, vii. 182. attends him in Scotland, 199. his character, 470. he becomes a member of the cabal, ib. is ſent to France, 476. ſuſpected of encouraging Blood, 480. impeached, 525. diſgraced, viii. 10. ſent to the Tower, 25. releaſed. ib. his character as an author, 325.

Burdet, Thomas, his crime, iii. 273.

Burgundy, Duke, diviſions between his family and that of Orleans, are fomented by Henry IV. of England, iii. 81. Both families are aſſiſted with men by that prince, 82. the duke of Burgundy cauſes the duke of Orleans to be aſſaſſinated, 99. wars are carried on very violently between theſe two families, ib. Burgundy expelled France, ſecretly ſolicits the aid of Henry V. of England, 103. aſſiſted by the Queen of France, he gains great ſucceſſes, 111. his party butchers great numbers of the Armagnacs in Paris, ib. agrees to a treaty and interview with the dauphin, 113. is aſſaſſinated by the dauphin's partizans, 114. the young duke of Burgundy concludes a treaty with Henry of England at Troye, 116. his friendſhip is courted by the duke of Bedford, regent of England, 133. a treaty of alliance is concluded between the dukes of Burgundy, Bedford, and Britanny, 134. the duke of Burgundy is diſguſted at the duke of Gloceſter's letters and pretenſions, 140. reſolves to reſume his natural

Bread, aſſize of, firſt ſettled, ii. 229.
Breda, treaty there, vii. 431.
Breban, law, aboliſhed in Ireland, v. 574.
Bretigni, in the Chartraine, peace there made between England and France, ii. 484.
Bribery, firſt introduced in England, iv. 423.
Briſtol, city, taken by Prince Rupert, vi. 458. retaken by Fairfax, vii. 61.
—— Earl, ſent to Spain, vi. 68. takes his leave of the King of Spain, 89. returns, 90. is not ſummoned to parliament, till the peers interpoſe in his behalf, 151, 152.
Britain, and Britains, their antient ſtate, i. 2, 3. their religion, 4. Cæſar lands there, 6. how it is regarded by his firſt ſucceſſor, ib. Suetonius Paulinus made governor, 7. his adminiſtration, 8. the government devolves on Agricola. See *Agricola*. Boadicea, Queen of the Iceni, conquered, 9. it is all ſubdued except Caledonia, 10. Adrian's wall there built and improved, ib. it is deſerted by the Romans, 13. by Vortigern's advice, the Britains apply to the Saxons, 15, 16. are aided by Saxons, 19. betrayed by them, ib. ſheltered in Armorica, 21. they ſettle there, 21. make war with the Weſt-Saxons, 23. are defeated in battle, 24. their eccleſiaſtical government, 63, 64.
Britanny, its Duke Conan yields Nantz to Henry II. i. 404. dies, 405. the dutchy is ſeized by Henry II. and allotted for his third ſon Geoffry, 464. the army of its nobles is defeated by Henry II. 471, 472. its Duke, Arthur, nephew of Richard I. is declared his ſucceſſor, ii. 41. but ſet aſide by John, Richard's brother, ib. his cauſe is favoured by the French King, 42. deſerted by him, 43. a commotion is made in his favour, 44. how far ſucceſsful, and what aſſiſtance, 47. he is made a priſoner by King John, 48. murdered by him, 49. the dutchy obeys Alice, a younger daughter of Conſtantia, 50. vigorouſly promotes the French King's intereſt againſt King John, iii. 190. Charles of Blois becomes Duke of Britanny in right of his wife, daughter and ſole heireſs of the laſt duke, 428, 429. great diſtractions follow, by the ambition of the count of Mountfort, 429. his ſon is acknowledged duke, and gets quiet poſſeſſion, 485. the Duke of Britanny enters into an alliance with the Dukes of Bedford and Burgundy againſt France, iii. 134. withdraws himſelf from that alliance, 142. and enters into connexions with Charles the French king, ib. at the head of a powerful army, invades Normandy, 183. its ſtate, during the reign of Henry VII. 352. it is invaded by the French, 354. feebly ſupported by England, 362. annexed to the French crown, 367. the Spaniards land there to ſupport the league in France, v. 373. are drove out of it by Engliſh troops ſent over by Queen Elizabeth, to aid the French king, 388.
Brithnot, Duke of Eſſex, ſlain by the Danes, i. 139.

Bruce, Robert, claims the crown of Scotland, ii. 252. acknowledges Edward's right of ſuperiority over Scotland, 263. his claim to the Scots crown is rejected by Edward's award, 265.

—— Robert, his ſon and ſucceſſor to his pretenſions, reſolves to relieve Scotland, ii. 323. eſcapes into Scotland, 325, 326. For the reſt, ſee *Scotland*.

Buchanan, George, is appointed to aſſiſt in the conferences concerning Queen Mary, v. 137.

Buckingham, Duke, becomes head of a party at court, iii. 279, 280. joins the duke of Gloceſter, 282. promiſes to ſupport him in all his enterprizes, 287. harangues the citizens of London on the duke's title to the crown, 292. the ridiculous farce he acts with the duke, in preſence of the mayor, in order to perſuade him to accept of the royal dignity, 293. how rewarded by the duke of Gloceſter, when king, 296. he rebels, and is executed, 303, 304.

Buckingham, Duke, incurs the diſpleaſure of cardinal Wolſey iv. 23. is tried, and executed, 30.

—— another, his character, vi. 71. he obtains leave to go to Spain with the Prince, 74. ſets out, 75. returns, 80. lays a narrative of the marriage treaty before the parliament, 83. falls under the diſpleaſure of the houſe of commons, 146. is impeached, 151. choſen chancellor of the univerſity of Cambridge, 155. makes love to the Queen of France, 170. is made commander in chief of the fleet and army ſent to the relief of Rochel, 172. defeated, 173. ſent again, 200. murdered, 201.

—— adviſes the King to accept of the Scots offers, vii. 182. attends him in Scotland, 199. his character, 470. he becomes a member of the cabal, ib. is ſent to France, 476. ſuſpected of encouraging Blood, 480. impeached, 525. diſgraced, viii. 10. ſent to the Tower, 25. releaſed. ib. his character as an author, 325.

Burdet, Thomas, his crime, iii. 273.

Burgundy, Duke, diviſions between his family and that of Orleans, are fomented by Henry IV. of England, iii. 81. Both families are aſſiſted with men by that prince, 82. the duke of Burgundy cauſes the duke of Orleans to be aſſaſſinated, 99. wars are carried on very violently between theſe two families, ib. Burgundy expelled France, ſecretly ſolicits the aid of Henry V. of England, 103. aſſiſted by the Queen of France, he gains great ſucceſſes, 111. his party butchers great numbers of the Armagnacs in Paris, ib. agrees to a treaty and interview with the dauphin, 113. is aſſaſſinated by the dauphin's partizans, 114. the young duke of Burgundy concludes a treaty with Henry of England at Troye, 116. his friendſhip is courted by the duke of Bedford, regent of England, 133. a treaty of alliance is concluded between the dukes of Burgundy, Bedford, and Britanny, 134. the duke of Burgundy is diſguſted at the duke of Gloceſter's letters and pretenſions, 140. reſolves to reſume his natural

tural connexions with his family and country, 142. recalls his troops from the ſiege of Orleans, 147. attends a congreſs, in order to a reconciliation with Charles the French king, 168. enters into a treaty with him againſt England, 169. fruitleſsly inveſts Calais, 172. his ſon Charles enters into an alliance with Edward IV. of England, 241. how he receives the news of Edward's ill fortune, 254. his politic conduct thereon, 256. he ſecretly aids the exiled king, 257. forms a league with him, after his reſtoration, againſt France, 264. but brings him no aſſiſtance during the invaſion of France, concerted between them, 266. his death and character, 271. the effect of his death, ib.

Burgundy, dutcheſs of, her intrigues againſt Henry VII. iii. 344. ſhe ſends forces to invade England, 345. hatches the ſcheme of Perkin Warbeck's impoſture, 375. openly avows his intereſt, 377.

Burleigh, Lord, the Queen by him, as lord keeper, expreſſes her diſpleaſure at the commons, for meddling with her prerogative, v. 359. he adviſes to frugal meaſures, 389. becomes Eſſex's rival, 405. his death, and laſt act in affairs of ſtate, 408, 409. one of his ſpeeches preſerved, 482. his computation of the Queen's gifts to Eſſex, 494. the extraordinary number of his ſervants, 504.

Burly, Sir Simon, his hiſtory, iii. 23. he is condemned by the peers, ib. and executed, notwithſtanding the Queen's interceſſion for him on her knees, 24.

Burrows, their ſtate at the conqueſt, ii. 121. the rank of their burgeſſes, by the antient Engliſh feudal law, 122. how kept in perpetual dependance, 128. by what means protected, 132, 133. deputies from them, firſt, and why called to parliament, 215. when erected by patent, 281. and enjoined to ſend deputies to parliament, 282. the influence and character of thoſe deputies, 283. how ranked at their firſt appearance in parliament, ib. their conſideration encreaſes, 286. a diſquiſition into the antiquities of ſeats of burgeſſes in parliament, 288.

C.

CABAL, their character, vii. 469. their councils, 471. their preposterous ſchemes, viii. 1.

Cabbot's trial, vii. 389, 390.

Cabot, Sebaſtian, ſent by Henry VIII. diſcovers America, iii. 427.

Cade, John, in Kent aſſumes the name of Mortimer, iii. 196. an account of his inſurrection, 197.

Cadiz, taken and plundered by the Engliſh, v. 394.

Cæſar, Julius, invades Britain, i. 6. he leaves it, ib.

Cæſars, four ſucceeding, their opinions and tranſactions in Britain, i. 9.

Calais, beſieged by Edward III. ii. 451. a treaty of ſurrender is propoſed, 454. it is ſurrendered, 457. the double treachery of the governor appointed by Edward, 458. it is ceded by treaty to England,

land, 484. the annual expence of keeping it, iii. 127. beſieged by the French, 171. taken by them, iv. 465, 466. demanded back in the ſubſequent treaty, but refuſed, v. 154, 155.

Caledonia, alone withſtands the Roman arms, i. 10.

Calixtus II. Pope, calls a general council at Rheims, i. 360. his character of Henry I. ib. his differences with him, 366, 367. his political treatment of princes, 368.

Cambden, John, his character, vi. 134, 135.

Cambridge, Trinity-college there, founded by Henry VIII. iv. 299.

Campeggio, the pope's legate, joined with Wolſey, for trial of the king's marriage, iv. 93. his artful and double dealing in that affair, 95—99. he is deprived of his biſhopric in England, 129.

Canaries, a ſea-fight there, vii. 265.

Canon laws, a body of them ordered to be prepared, iv. 367. introduced into Scotland, vii. 262.

Canterbury, the canons of Chriſt-church there, their extraordinary conduct on the death of their primate, ii. 59. its conſequences at Rome, 60, 61. another diſputed election there, 170.

Canute the Great, ſon and ſucceſſor of Sweyn, harraſſes England, i. 155. fights ſeveral battles with Edmond Ironſide, 157. makes peace with him, 158. after his death, obtains the crown of England by a decree of the nobles, ib. his adminiſtration, 159. he marries Emma, widow of Etheldred, and ſiſter of Richard of Normandy, 161. makes a voyage to Denmark, 162. defeats the king of Sweden there, ib. conquers Norway, ib. undertakes an expedition into Scotland, 164. makes the Scots king do homage for the county of Cumberland, 165. dies, ib.

Carew's trial, vii. 366.

Carliſle, Mary Queen of Scots firſt confined there, after her eſcape into England, v. 134.

——— biſhop of, his ſpeech in parliament, when the charge againſt Richard II. is exhibited there, iii. 47. he is ſent a priſoner to the abbey of St. Albans, 49.

Caſſils, earl, taken priſoner at the battle of Solway, iv. 249. releaſed on conditions, 250. ſurrenders himſelf again, and is careſſed by the king, 253, 254.

Caſimir, prince, heads an army of Germans, to aſſiſt an army of Hugonots in France, v. 216, 218.

Caſtile, its king, Pedro, his character, ii. 489. 490. he is obliged, by a ſucceſsful rebellion, to take ſhelter in Guienne, 491. the prince of Wales goes with him, quells the rebellion, 492, 493. and reſtores the baniſhed king, ib. he is afterwards murdered by his own brother, 494. its king, Philip, lands in England, iii. 411. his entertainment from, and converſation with, Henry VII. 412. he invites over, and obtains a pardon for the earl of Suffolk, 414.

Catherine of Arragon, married to Arthur Prince of Wales, iii. 406. after his death, contracted to his brother Henry, ib. married to him, 434. doubts raiſed concerning the validity of this marriage, iv. 83, 84. ſhe ſolicits the aſſiſtance of the emperor her nephew, 95. her pathetic ſpeech to the king before the court of delegates, 96. ſhe refuſes to anſwer that court, and is declared contumacious, 97. refuſes to anſwer the arch-biſhop's court, and is again declared contumacious, 123. inſiſts on the ceremonial of a queen, 124. her marriage is confirmed at Rome, 127. her death, 154. and affecting letter to the king, ib. 155.

——— Princeſs of France, is married to Henry V. iii. 118. after his death, marries a Welch gentleman, 124. is the foundation of the grandeur of that houſe, 125.

——— of Portugal, is married to King Charles II. of England, vii. 387. her dowry, 388.

Catholics. See *Proteſtants, Hugonots, Reformers.*

Cattle, their value before the conqueſt, i. 243. in the reign of Richard I. ii. 230.

Cavendiſh, Thomas, his fortunate expedition to the South Seas, v. 338. his triumphant return, 339.

Ceaulin, King of Weſſex, defeats Ethelbert in battle, i. 29. is defeated by him, 30. dies, ib.

Cecil, Sir Robert, an enemy to the Earl of Eſſex, made maſter of the wards, v. 425. its effect on that nobleman, 426. libels againſt him are diſperſed by Eſſex's party, 429. he treats Eſſex, when examined in council, with regard and humanity, 431. ſhews the queen a letter from Sir Walter Raleigh, when under diſgrace, 436. he becomes unpopular, by diſcovering his inclinations for peace with Spain, 440. A remarkable paſſage in a memorial drawn by him, 473. his account of the expence of keeping Ireland, 494.

——— Sir William, made ſecretary of ſtate, on queen Elizabeth's acceſſion, v. 5. his arguments in favour of the reformation, ib. and for aſſiſting the congregation in Scotland, 34, 35. ſigns a treaty with the French at Edinburgh, 37. his apology to the parliament, for the queen's averſion at making a ſettlement of the ſucceſſion, 104. his advice to queen Elizabeth, concerning her conduct to queen Mary on her arrival in England, 131—134. he is appointed one of the commiſſioners to enquire into queen Mary's conduct, 142. his intereſt and prudence gain him high authority with the queen, 164. he is ſent by queen Elizabeth with propoſals to queen Mary, 176, 177. writes to Lennox the regent on that ſubject, 177. gets the title of Lord Burleigh, 203. diſcovers Norfolk's and Rodolphi's conſpiracy, ib. See *Burleigh.*

Celeſtine, Pope, denies the French King's requeſt, ii. 16. renews the commiſſion of legate to Longchamp, 18. is applied to by queen Eleanor, to interpoſe his authority on behalf of her ſon, 24, 25.

Celeſtine, abſolves the Scots king from his oaths to Edward I. ii. 291.

Cellwulph, ſon to Kinred, murderer of Oſrid king of Mercia, ſucceeds to that kingdom, i. 46. this line holds it till anarchy prevails there, ibid.

Cerdic, a Saxon chieftain, lands in Britain, i. 23. his wars with the Britons, 24. and death, 25.

—— another, founds the kingdom of Weſſex, i. 54. his poſterity hold it, 56, 57. the viciſſitudes of fortune they were ſubject to, 57. till the crown is ſettled on Egbert, 58.

Cerealis, is appointed to the government of Britain by Veſpaſian, i. 19. and ſucceeded by Julius Frontinus, ib.

Ceremonies, religious, ſome introduced into Scotland, vi. 28. and into England, 224. rejected in Scotland, 271. in England, 476. reſtored in England, vii. 370. introduced into Scotland, 450.

Chalus, ſiege of, where Richard I. was mortally wounded, ii. 35.

Chamberlain, Thomas, his criminal conduct, how puniſhed, ii. 248.

Chancellor of England, his power and authority in the reign of Henry II. i. 410.

Charles of Blois. See *Britanny*, *Mountfort*.

—— Earl of Flanders. See *Flanders*.

—— King of France. See *France*.

—— Dauphin of France. See *France*.

—— Duke of Bourbon, cabals with the Emperor and England againſt France, iv. 53, 54.

—— Emperor, commonly called Charlemagne, makes a league with Offa king of Mercia, i. 51. his cruelty in Germany, 69. its effects, ib.

—— ſucceeds his grandfather Ferdinand, in the kingdoms of Caſtile and Arragon, iv. 14. his character, ib. he makes a treaty with France, ib. and eſpouſes the French king's daughter, an infant in her cradle, ib. is choſen emperor, 21. his extenſive dominions, 22. viſits Henry VIII. at Dover, 23. artfully engages Wolſey in his intereſt, 24. 29. makes war with the French king, 28. viſits England again, renews his engagements with the king and Wolſey, 43. his diſſimulation with the French king, when his priſoner, 63, 64. propoſes hard terms to him, 70. by graſping at too much, hazards loſing the advantages he might reaſonably have expected, 73. his high demands on the French king, 81. is challenged by him to a ſingle combat, ib. at the entreaty of queen Catherine, eſpouſes her intereſt, 95. makes peace with France, and ſets their hoſtages at liberty, 107. his ſchemes for aggrandizing his family, 108. attempts a reconciliation with England, 155. makes a fruitleſs attempt on France, 156. is generouſly treated by that monarch, 222. his ungenerous return, 229. concerts with Henry VIII. the conqueſt of France, 266. his progreſs in that expedition, ib.—268. deſerts Henry, and makes a peace with France, 267. is more beloved by the Engliſh than the French king,

294. but refuſes to join in an alliance with England, becauſe of her having deſerted the communion of Rome, 359. ſucceſsfully interpoſes in behalf of the princeſs Mary, 372, 373. by his embaſſadors, obtains the conſent of Mary, now queen, to a marriage with his ſon the arch-duke Philip, 411. diſſuades her from perſecuting her proteſtant ſubjects, 412. introduces bribery into the houſe of commons, 423. but doth not obtain his deſign, 424. his advice againſt violent meaſures is rejected by queen Mary and her miniſtry, 440. he reſigns the empire, and his other dominions, to his ſon Philip, 454. his retired and ſhort life afterwards in a monaſtery, 455, 456. his juſt reflections there, ib. his character, compared with that of the then reigning pontiff, 457. the views with which his ſon Philip mounted the Spaniſh throne, 458. a detail of his violent perſecutions in the Low-countries, v. 196, 197.

Charles, Prince of Wales, ſon of James I. is adviſed by Buckingham to viſit the Infanta, vi. 72. agrees to make application to the king for his approbation, 73. his behaviour on that occaſion in his father's preſence, 75. on his way to Spain, ſees Henrietta, princeſs of France, afterwards his queen, 76. his reception in Spain, ib. obtains leave of the king of Spain to return, 78. his character at that time, ib. is preſent at, and vouches for truth, Buckingham's narrative of the tranſactions with Spain, 83. a marriage is propoſed between him and the princeſs Henrietta of France, 93. agreed to, 94. ſucceeds to his father, 137. conſummates his marriage, ib. calls a parliament, ib. adjourns it to Oxford, 144. diſſolves it, 148. iſſues privy-ſeals for benevolences, 149. fails in an expedition againſt Spain, ib. forbids the commons of his ſecond parliament to meddle with Buckingham, 155. threatens them to grant ſupplies, 156. impriſons two of their members, ib. purſues violent meaſures, 162. grants commiſſions to compound with papiſts, 161. enforces loans, 162. orders towns maritime to equip ſhips, ib. impriſons for non-compliance in the affair of the loans, 164. cauſes ſoldiers to be billeted on non-compliers, 167. impreſſes others into the army and navy, ib. makes war with France, 168. unſucceſsfully, 172, 173. ſummons his third parliament, 175. aſſents to the petition of right, 194. makes peace with France and Spain, 218. mediates a peace between Sweden and Poland, 219. continues to levy money in an irregular manner, 232. renews monopolies, 234. iſſues an edict for ſports and recreations on Sundays, 238. is crowned in Scotland, ib. makes Laud archbiſhop of Canterbury, 239. by proclamation, forbids noblemen and landed gentlemen to reſide in London, 243. his ideas of the national intereſt, 276. calls his fourth parliament, 280. deſires a ſupply, 281. diſſolves the parliament, 289. borrows money of his courtiers, 293. marches an army againſt the Scots, 294. his army is routed at Newburn upon Tyne, 295. calls a great council of peers to York, 298. calls his fifth and long parliament,

liament, 303. remains unactive, while the houſe of commons eſtabliſh their authority, 317. aſſents to the bill relative to tonnage and poundage, 329. to the triennial act, ib. to Strafford's attainder, 351. and to a bill, purporting that the parliament ſhall not be adjourned, prorogued, or diſſolved, without their own conſent, 352. gives the judges patents during life or good behaviour, 357. he viſits Scotland, 362. his behaviour there, 364. receives an account of the Iriſh inſurrection, 378. commits to the houſe of commons the management of Ireland, 383. returns to London, 391. offers to raiſe ten thouſand volunteers for the Iriſh ſervice, 393. in perſon, demands of the houſe of commons five of their members impeached of high-treaſon, 404. aſſents to the impreſſing act, 413. and to that aboliſhing the biſhops' votes in the houſe of peers, ib. refuſes his aſſent to the militia-bill, 415. goes to York with the Prince of Wales and the duke of York, 419. iſſues a proclamation againſt the militia ordinance, 420. lays his caſe before the people, 422. accepts of a guard from the county of York, 424. is diſappointed in his deſign on Hull, and proclaims Sir John Hotham a traitor, ib. rejects the terms offered by the parliament, 428. ſends them terms of peace, 435. names a general, 437. ſwears, in the preſence of his army, to defend the conſtitution, 438. gives battle to Eſſex at Edge-hill, 441. his forces beat the parliament's army at Stratton, 452. fight at Lanſdown, 453. beat Waller at Roundway-down, 454. give battle to Eſſex at Newbury, 467. are beaten at Horncaſtle, 470. he refuſes the Scots commiſſioners a paſſport to London, 474. concludes a ceſſation of arms with Iriſh papiſts, 480. calls forces from Ireland, ib. calls members of both houſes, attendants on him, to a parliament at Oxford, vii. 3. obtains of them an exciſe on beer, ib. his army repulſes Eſſex and Waller at Cropey-bridge, 15. it is defeated at Newbury, 16. routed at Naſeby, 56. ruined at Cheſter, 61. his melancholy condition in Oxford, ib. the laſt remains of his forces are diſſipated at Stow, 65. he flies to the Scots camp at Newark, 75. Iſſues orders to his garriſons to ſurrender, 77. is delivered to the parliament's army, 82. conducted under a guard to Holm bay, ib. brought to the head quarters near Cambridge, by Joyce, 91. flies to the Iſle of Wight, 110. refuſes to comply with the parliament's propoſals, 115. treats again at Newport, 124. refuſes again to comply, 128. is confined at Hurſt-caſtle, 134. conducted under a guard to London, 139. produced before his judges, 141. ſentenced to die, 143. is executed, 147, 148. his character, 150. his children, 159. his great officers of ſtate, ib. his writings, ib.

Charles Prince of Wales, ſon of Charles I. goes to York with his father, vi. 419. is made a general, vii. 60. retires beyond the ſeas, 63. his ſituation after his father's death, 165. is proclaimed king of Scotland, 178. receives the Scots commiſſioners at Breda, 180.

complies with their demands, 183. takes the covenant before he is allowed to land in Scotland, 190. is deprived of all his friends in Scotland, ib. and his authority there, 193. he is crowned there, 199. ſummons a Scots parliament, ib. repairs to the Scots camp, 200. encamps at Torwood, 201. marches haſtily ſouthwards, 202. is routed at Worceſter, 203. lurks in Dorſetſhire, 205. embarks at Shoreham in Suſſex, 207. arrives at Feſchamp in Normandy, ibid. reſides at Paris, 256. is proclaimed in London, 337. returns to England, 339. declares the convention then ſitting a parliament, 360. grants an act of indemnity, under few exceptions, 361. obtains from the parliament a revenue for life, 362. and tonnage and poundage for the ſame term, 363. diſſolves the parliament, 367. reſtores the biſhops, then alive, to their ſees, 370. reſtores the liturgy and ceremonies, 371. diſbands the forces in Scotland, 374. calls a Scots parliament, 375. appoints a conference of divines at the Savoy, 377. calls his ſecond Engliſh parliament, 379. marries Catherine princeſs of Portugal, 387. ſells Dunkirk to the French, 394. indulges the preſbyterian clergy, 396. appears favourable to papiſts, 397. gives a favourable anſwer to the parliament's remonſtrance, 399. ſeizes Cape Corſe, Cape Verde, and New-York, all Dutch colonies, 408, 409. borrows money of the city of London, 410. Stops all Dutch veſſels in Engliſh ports, ib. declares war againſt the Dutch, 412. his fleet beats the Dutch navy, ib. he breaks with France, 413. with Denmark, 415. procures the biſhop of Munſter's aſſiſtance, 416. calls the parliament to Oxford, 417. prorogues it, 418. beats the Dutch again, 422. makes advances towards a peace, 427. concludes it at Breda, 431. ſeems deſirous to be divorced, 433. takes the ſeals from Clarendon, 434. makes an offenſive alliance with the Dutch againſt France, 445. obtains the acceſſion of Spain to the treaty of Aix la Chapelle, 447. entruſts all his ſecrets to the cabal, 468, 469. meditates a breach with the Dutch, 472. ſecretly makes an alliance with France againſt Holland, 475. keeps it a profound ſecret, 478. pardons Blood, 482. picks a quarrel with the Dutch about the flag, 483. ſeizes the merchants money depoſited in the exchequer, 486. extends the indulgence to non-conformiſts of all ſorts, ib. ſuſpends ſeveral acts of parliament by his own royal authority, 487. attacks the Smyrna fleet, 488. declares war againſt the Dutch, 490. diſmiſſes their ambaſſadors, without vouchſafing them a hearing, 503. by his ambaſſadors propoſes terms of peace, 504. aſſembles the parliament, 511. breaks the ſeals from the indulgence, 515. makes peace with Holland, viii. 6. ſends Sir William Temple into Holland, 8. reproves the houſe of commons, in ſevere terms, for encroaching on his prerogative, by giving their advice in matters of ſtate, 31. receives the prince of Orange graciouſly, 33. gives him the princeſs Mary in marriage, 34. in concert with the prince of Orange, plans a peace,

a peace, 35. gives the French king two days to accept or refuse it, 36. relents of his vigour, 37. makes a general peace at Nimeguen, 45. approves of the rigorous measures used in Scotland, 59, 60. ridicules the popish plot, 81. denies his assent to the militia bill, 84. desires the duke of Monmouth to go abroad, 94. pardons earl Danby, 96. calls a new privy-council, 99. proposes limitations on a popish successor, 101, 102. dissolves the long parliament, 108. calls another, 125. attends incog. in the house of peers, to hear the debates, 136. forbids the clerk of the crown to present the bill for easing protestant dissenters, 145. dissolves the parliament, 146. calls one to meet at Oxford, 147. dissolves it, 151. a conspiracy is formed against him, but laid aside for some time, 178. resumed, 179. but once more delayed, ib. proceeded in again, 180, 181. discovered, 183. the trials and executions of the conspirators, 184—194. pardons Monmouth, 197. but provoked at his duplicity, orders him to go abroad, 198. marries the princess Anne to prince George of Denmark, 199. embraces the resolution of governing by prerogative alone, 201. sickens and dies, 204. papers found in his closet are published by his successor, after his death, ib. his character, 204—207. compared with that of the emperor Tiberius, 207.

Charmouth, battle of, i. 70.

Charter, Great, or the Great Charter, is granted by king John, ii. 86. a recapitulation of it, 87. it is condemned by the pope, 94. what new species of government was introduced by it, 143. its use, 144. another, somewhat different from it, is granted by Henry III. 148. it is confirmed, with several additions, 149. in a more solemn manner, in parliament, 183. confirmed with another, called the Lesser Charter, by the guardians of the kingdom, and by Edward I. abroad, 303. by the king in person, in parliament, upon his return, ib. fully established, after thirty confirmations in parliament, 305. confirmed above twenty times by Edward III. 504.

Chatelraut, Duke of, intercedes with the queen-regent, in favour of the congregation, v. 32. joins their party, ib. is displeased at the arrival and preferment of the earl of Lennox and his son, 91. joins the malecontents, who take arms against queen Mary, ib. is forced to fly with them into England, 93. being ill used by queen Elizabeth, he solicits queen Mary's pardon, 94. which she grants, on condition that he retires to France, ib. heads the faction which opposes Murray, 128. is forced to submit to the king's authority, 208.

Cherington, battle of, vii. 8.

Chivalry, ideas of, whence imported, and how useful, ii. 142. their genuine off-spring, 143.

Christendom, proposed to be united against the Turks, i. 315. a general council, 316. another, ib. a schism in it, about the pontificate of Rome, 324. and the procession of the holy ghost, 326. its princes

complies with their demands, 183. takes the covenant before he is allowed to land in Scotland, 190. is deprived of all his friends in Scotland, ib. and his authority there, 193. he is crowned there, 199. ſummons a Scots parliament, ib. repairs to the Scots camp, 200. encamps at Torwood, 201. marches haſtily ſouthwards, 202. is routed at Worceſter, 203. lurks in Dorſetſhire, 205. embarks at Shoreham in Suſſex, 207. arrives at Feſchamp in Normandy, ibid. reſides at Paris, 256. is proclaimed in London, 337. returns to England, 339. declares the convention then ſitting a parliament, 360. grants an act of indemnity, under few exceptions, 361. obtains from the parliament a revenue for life, 362. and tonnage and poundage for the ſame term, 363. diſſolves the parliament, 367. reſtores the biſhops, then alive, to their ſees, 370. reſtores the liturgy and ceremonies, 371. diſbands the forces in Scotland, 374. calls a Scots parliament, 375. appoints a conference of divines at the Savoy, 377. calls his ſecond Engliſh parliament, 379. marries Catherine princeſs of Portugal, 387. ſells Dunkirk to the French, 394. indulges the preſbyterian clergy, 396. appears favourable to papiſts, 397. gives a favourable anſwer to the parliament's remonſtrance, 399. ſeizes Cape Corſe, Cape Verde, and New-York, all Dutch colonies, 408, 409. borrows money of the city of London, 410. Stops all Dutch veſſels in Engliſh ports, ib. declares war againſt the Dutch, 412. his fleet beats the Dutch navy, ib. he breaks with France, 413. with Denmark, 415. procures the biſhop of Munſter's aſſiſtance, 416. calls the parliament to Oxford, 417. prorogues it, 418. beats the Dutch again, 422. makes advances towards a peace, 427. concludes it at Breda, 431. ſeems deſirous to be divorced, 433. takes the ſeals from Clarendon, 434. makes an offenſive alliance with the Dutch againſt France, 445. obtains the acceſſion of Spain to the treaty of Aix la Chapelle, 447. entruſts all his ſecrets to the cabal, 468, 469. meditates a breach with the Dutch, 472. ſecretly makes an alliance with France againſt Holland, 475. keeps it a profound ſecret, 478. pardons Blood, 482. picks a quarrel with the Dutch about the flag, 483. ſeizes the merchants money depoſited in the exchequer, 486. extends the indulgence to non-conformiſts of all ſorts, ib. ſuſpends ſeveral acts of parliament by his own royal authority, 487. attacks the Smyrna fleet, 488. declares war againſt the Dutch, 490. diſmiſſes their ambaſſadors, without vouchſafing them a hearing, 503. by his ambaſſadors propoſes terms of peace, 504. aſſembles the parliament, 511. breaks the ſeals from the indulgence, 515. makes peace with Holland, viii. 6. ſends Sir William Temple into Holland, 8. reproves the houſe of commons, in ſevere terms, for encroaching on his prerogative, by giving their advice in matters of ſtate, 31. receives the prince of Orange graciouſly, 33. gives him the princeſs Mary in marriage, 34. in concert with the prince of Orange, plans a peace,

a peace, 35. gives the French king two days to accept or refuse it, 36. relents of his vigour, 37. makes a general peace at Nimeguen, 45. approves of the rigorous measures used in Scotland, 59, 60. ridicules the popish plot, 81. denies his assent to the militia bill, 84. desires the duke of Monmouth to go abroad, 94. pardons earl Danby, 96. calls a new privy-council, 99. proposes limitations on a popish successor, 101, 102. dissolves the long parliament, 108. calls another, 125. attends incog. in the house of peers, to hear the debates, 136. forbids the clerk of the crown to present the bill for easing protestant dissenters, 145. dissolves the parliament, 146. calls one to meet at Oxford, 147. dissolves it, 151. a conspiracy is formed against him, but laid aside for some time, 178. resumed, 179. but once more delayed, ib. proceeded in again, 180, 181. discovered, 183. the trials and executions of the conspirators, 184—194. pardons Monmouth, 197. but provoked at his duplicity, orders him to go abroad, 198. marries the princess Anne to prince George of Denmark, 199. embraces the resolution of governing by prerogative alone, 201. sickens and dies, 204. papers found in his closet are published by his successor, after his death, ib. his character, 204—207. compared with that of the emperor Tiberius, 207.

Charmouth, battle of, i. 70.

Charter, Great, or the Great Charter, is granted by king John, ii. 86. a recapitulation of it, 87. it is condemned by the pope, 94. what new species of government was introduced by it, 143. its use, 144. another, somewhat different from it, is granted by Henry III. 148. it is confirmed, with several additions, 149. in a more solemn manner, in parliament, 183. confirmed with another, called the Lesser Charter, by the guardians of the kingdom, and by Edward I. abroad, 303. by the king in person, in parliament, upon his return, ib. fully established, after thirty confirmations in parliament, 305. confirmed above twenty times by Edward III. 504.

Chatelraut, Duke of, intercedes with the queen-regent, in favour of the congregation, v. 32. joins their party, ib. is displeased at the arrival and preferment of the earl of Lennox and his son, 91. joins the malecontents, who take arms against queen Mary, ib. is forced to fly with them into England, 93. being ill used by queen Elizabeth, he solicits queen Mary's pardon, 94. which she grants, on condition that he retires to France, ib. heads the faction which opposes Murray, 128. is forced to submit to the king's authority, 208.

Cherington, battle of, vii. 8.

Chivalry, ideas of, whence imported, and how useful, ii. 142. their genuine off-spring, 143.

Christendom, proposed to be united against the Turks, i. 315. a general council, 316. another, ib. a schism in it, about the pontificate of Rome, 324. and the procession of the holy ghost, 326. its princes

princes engage in a crusade, 490. the crusades end in a whimsical truce for three years, three days, and three hours, ii. 22. Lollards encrease there, iii. 56. the reformation begins in it, iv. 38.

Christianity, first introduced into Britain, among the Anglo-Saxons, i. 30. into Kent, 32. into Northumberland, 44, extinguished in this last mentioned place, 45. revived, ib.

Church, its power and use, ii. 140, 141. innovations in it, are promoted by Laud, vi. 224. its hierarchy, liturgy, and ceremonies, are abolished in Scotland, 27. in England, vii. 31. restored in England, 376. its hierarchy restored in Scotland, 374.

Claims, court of, their proceedings, vii. 456.

Clanrickard, Earl, drives the pope's nuncio out of Ireland, vii. 169.

Clarence, Duke, Thomas, son of Henry IV. iii. 89. accompanies his brother Henry V. to France, 116. is slain at the battle of Baugé, 120.

——— Duke, second brother of Edward IV. connects himself with the earl of Warwick, iii. 239, 240. continues to be trusted by Edward, 245. flies with Warwick to France, 247. joins in a treaty with the French king, 249. returns with Warwick at the head of an army, 251. becomes, with Warwick, co-regent of the kingdom, 254. on Edward's return, he joins him with a body of twelve thousand men, 260. Clarence's enemies combine against him, 273. he is tried in the house of peers, 274. condemned and executed, 275, 276.

Clarendon, constitutions of, enacted, i. 120. their purport, 421. sealed, and sworn to, by archbishop Becket, 423. annulled by the pope, ibid.

——— Earl, made chancellor, vii. 359. advises the sale of Dunkirk, 395. his credit declines, 401. he resigns the seals, 434. is impeached, ib. flies abroad, 436. is banished by act of parliament, ib. his character, 437.

Clement, Pope, disputes with Urban, Pope, the validity of his election, i. 324. the reasonings of these times on that and other ecclesiastical affairs, 325, 326.

——— V. Pope, approves of the French king's cruelty to the knights Templars, ii. 376. and transfers their possessions to the knights of the order of St. John, ib.

——— VII. chosen Pope, iv. 52. is taken prisoner and insulted by the Germans, 78. his dispositions with respect to Henry's divorce, 87, 88. the legality of that step considered, according to the rules of the court of Rome, ib. his duplicity and ambiguous conduct with Henry's messengers, 88—93. his character, 90, 91. he is threatened by the emperor, and his right to the papal chair questioned, 91, 92. his caution in that affair, 113. an interview between him and the French king, ib. is perluaded to make up all differences with Henry,

Henry, 126. is surprised into a hasty decision of that affair, 127. his death, 152.

Clement, Jacques, murders the French king Henry III. v. 370, 371.

—— of Bavaria, prince, chosen elector of Cologn, viii. 277.

Clergy, English, obtain the privilege of building fortresses, i. 379. murder of them, how punished antiently, 483. how punished by Henry II. ib. how and by whom punished for rebellion, ii. 154. their authority in the nation, 159. their frauds in the reign of Henry III. 234. are put out of the protection of the law, 297. their new devices to increase their power, iii. 61. condemned by the parliament, 60. their impositions and irregularities promote the reformation, iv. 104. several laws made for regulating them, 105. they are rigorously treated by Henry VIII. 116. their connection with Rome is dissolved, 117. debates between the catholics and reformers, 180. 181. the clergy are every-where reduced to great difficulties, 234. more easily brought to justice after the reformation, 291. celibacy of the clergy abolished, 345.

—— Scots, their insolence to queen Mary on her arrival from France, v. 50, 51, 54. their poverty the cause of their ill humours, 56. the cause of their poverty, 57. their behaviour to the magistrates of Edinburgh, for breaking a fast appointed by the kirk, 254. a law against their scandalous and untrue sayings in the pulpit, 260. their insolence, 284. how offensive to the king, 285. their dispositions with respect to Mary queen of Scots, 317. their state in the reign of king James I. and VI. vi. 24, 25.

Clifford, Sir Robert, writes to England, that the impostor Perkin Warbeck is the true Richard duke of York, iii. 378. engaged, by hopes of pardon, confesses the truth, 379. accuses and convicts Stanley, lord-chamberlain, as a chief abettor of the imposture, 381. the effects of Clifford's desertion on the rest of his accomplices, 383.

—— Sir Thomas, his character, vii. 470. his rashness, 473. another proof of his rashness, viii. 203.

Coat and conduct money, a tax abolished by the petition of right, vi. 294. levied again, ib.

Cobham, Lord, becomes head of the Lollards, iii. 94. is executed, and how, for treason and heresy, 95.

Code Salian, what, ii. 402. an account of the sense of a clause in one of its laws, ib.

Coerles, what, i. 226.

Coin, the mischief of debasing it, iii. 353. the state of it in the reign of queen Elizabeth, v. 496.

Coke, Sir Edward, the famous lawyer, attorney-general, his behaviour and insolence at Essex's examination, v. 429. at Raleigh's trial, 510. as chief justice, tries Overbury's murderers, vi. 16. his behaviour in the house, when the petition of right depended in parliament, 189.

Colchester, royaliſts, inſurgents againſt the parliament there ſurpriſed, vii. 132. they ſurrender, ib.

Coleman's letters, viii. 69. diffuſe a panic through the nation, 70. his trial and execution, 88.

Coligni, Lord, commands the French forces before Boulogne, i. 358. his brave defence of St. Quintin, 464. his ſcheme for taking Calais, 465.

Cologn, a congreſs there, vii. 522. proves ineffectual, ib.

Colonies, their ſtate under James I. vi. 126, 127. between the reſtoration and revolution, viii. 318.

Columbus, Chriſtopher, ſets out from Cadiz, in order to make new diſcoveries, iii. 426. his invitation to England how diſappointed, 427.

Combat, ſingle, its uſefulneſs, ii. 141, 142.

Commerce, its ſtate under the Saxon princes, ii. 138. its ſtate in Henry III's reign, 229, 230. in Edward III's reign, 513. towards the end of queen Elizabeth's reign, v. 496—500. in the reign of James I. vi. 121. between the reſtoration and revolution, viii. 317, 318.

Commiſſion, eccleſiaſtical, or high court of, or court of high commiſſion, its powers and authorities, v. 266, 267. petitioned againſt, in vain, by the commons, 268. a new one, more arbitrary, is granted, 269. a motion is made in the houſe of commons for redreſs of the abuſes of this court, and thoſe of the biſhops courts, 379. ſome tranſactions in it are taken notice of by the houſe of commons, ib. its ſtate in queen Elizabeth's reign, 476, 477. it is remonſtrated againſt by the commons, 567. its power then deſcribed, vi 100. ſet up in Scotland, by an act of a Scots parliament, 260. aboliſhed in England by an act of parliament, 356. revived, by authority of king James II. in oppoſition to this law, viii. 246, 247.

Commodities, their prices under the Saxon princes, i. 242. in the reign of Henry III. ii. 229, 230.

Commons, houſe of, when introduced into the feudal parliament, ii. 118. their commencement, 215. their uſefulneſs in the Engliſh conſtitution, 216. how gradually formed, 279, 280. their true epocha, 281. their petitions how regarded and manufactured, 285. their requeſt to the throne on that ſubject, ib. why favoured by the king, 287. and how they grew to their preſent importance, 288. they remonſtrate againſt the aſſumed prerogative of levying taxes without conſent of parliament, 508. their complaints of robberies in the reign of Edward III. 510. their petition relative to manors held of the crown, 514. they chuſe a ſpeaker for the firſt time, iii. 3. petition the lords to name a council for the king, and proper perſons to inſpect his education, ib. their petition to the throne relative to the confederacies of the barons, how received, 4. and that relative to annual parliaments, ib. they impeach earl Suffolk, the chancellor, 16. obtain a ſentence againſt him, depriving him of his office, 18.

impeach

impeach Fitz-Allan, archbiſhop of Canterbury, 33. their great authority in the reign of Henry IV. 83. they addreſs the king to ſeize the temporalities of the church, 86, 87. renew it, and to mitigate the laws againſt the Lollards, 87. again addreſs the king to ſeize the temporalities of the church, 97. impeach the duke of Suffolk, 191. ſend up a new charge againſt him, 194. the ſtate of the houſe of commons when the duke of York claimed the crown, 204. pray the king to remove ſeveral of his miniſters, without aſſigning any cauſe but common fame, ib. petition that no foreigner ſhall be capable of church preferment, 222. impeach the duke of Clarence, brother to Edward IV. 275. grant a moiety only of the ſum demanded by the miniſtry, iv. 50. but enlarge it at cardinal Wolſey's requeſt, 51. allow of an encroachment on the public liberty of the nation, ib. receive articles drawn in the upper houſe againſt Wolſey, 103. paſs divers bills reſtraining the impoſitions of the clergy, 104. an extraordinary ſpeech in that houſe in favour of deiſm, 105. diſcharge the king of all debts contracted ſince the beginning of his reign, 106. preſent a long complaint againſt the abuſes of eccleſiaſtical courts, 118. reject a bill from the lords to moderate thoſe abuſes, ib. a motion to addreſs the king to take back the queen, and ſtop the proſecution for a divorce, 119. with difficulty are induced to grant a ſupply to Henry VIII. 224. in this houſe is framed the clauſe in the treaſon laws, that no man ſhall be convicted of treaſon, but by the mouth of two witneſſes, 382. letters are ſent by the king, recommending new members to be choſen in ſeveral counties, 384. all members of the council are allowed the ſame liberty, 385. which is quietly ſubmitted to, ib. great oppoſition is made in this houſe, in queen Mary's reign, to the bill for reſtoring firſt-fruits, tenths, and impropriations, 451. one of its members is committed for an irreverent expreſſion concerning the queen, 473. importunately addreſs the queen to chuſe a huſband, v. 13. in the beginning of a new ſeſſion they addreſs her again to the ſame purpoſe, 74. expreſs great diſpleaſure at Wentworth's bold ſpeech in behalf of freedom of debates in that houſe, 231. and impriſon Wentworth for a month, ib. 232. refuſe a free conference with the lords when irregularly demanded, 233. aſk forgiveneſs when reprimanded by the queen for appointing a general faſt, 240. the majority of the houſe appear to be puritans, 264. and apply by petition to the houſe of lords, for a further reformation in eccleſiaſtical matters, 265. which is rejected, ib. the queen's uſual injunction to this houſe at the beginning of a ſeſſion, 357. their behaviour thereon this ſeſſion, how reſented by the queen, 358. the conſequences of their bill againſt purveyors, and grievances in the exchequer, ib. 359. how overawed by courtiers, 361. they paſs a vote that none ſhall reveal the ſecrets of the houſe, 362. how anſwered by the queen, when the ſpeaker intercedes in the uſual manner for the privileges of the houſe,

Colchester, royalists, insurgents against the parliament there surprised, vii. 132. they surrender, ib.

Coleman's letters, viii. 69. diffuse a panic through the nation, 70. his trial and execution, 88.

Coligni, Lord, commands the French forces before Boulogne, i. 358. his brave defence of St. Quintin, 464. his scheme for taking Calais, 465.

Cologn, a congress there, vii. 522. proves ineffectual, ib.

Colonies, their state under James I. vi. 126, 127. between the restoration and revolution, viii. 318.

Columbus, Christopher, sets out from Cadiz, in order to make new discoveries, iii. 426. his invitation to England how disappointed, 427.

Combat, single, its usefulness, ii. 141, 142.

Commerce, its state under the Saxon princes, ii. 138. its state in Henry III's reign, 229, 230. in Edward III's reign, 513. towards the end of queen Elizabeth's reign, v. 496—500. in the reign of James I. vi. 121. between the restoration and revolution, viii. 317, 318.

Commission, ecclesiastical, or high court of, or court of high commission, its powers and authorities, v. 266, 267. petitioned against, in vain, by the commons, 268. a new one, more arbitrary, is granted, 269. a motion is made in the house of commons for redress of the abuses of this court, and those of the bishops courts, 379. some transactions in it are taken notice of by the house of commons, ib. its state in queen Elizabeth's reign, 476, 477. it is remonstrated against by the commons, 567. its power then described, vi 100. set up in Scotland, by an act of a Scots parliament, 260. abolished in England by an act of parliament, 356. revived, by authority of king James II. in opposition to this law, viii. 246, 247.

Commodities, their prices under the Saxon princes, i. 242. in the reign of Henry III. ii. 229, 230.

Commons, house of, when introduced into the feudal parliament, ii. 118. their commencement, 215. their usefulness in the English constitution, 216. how gradually formed, 279, 280. their true epocha, 281. their petitions how regarded and manufactured, 285. their request to the throne on that subject, ib. why favoured by the king, 287. and how they grew to their present importance, 288. they remonstrate against the assumed prerogative of levying taxes without consent of parliament, 508. their complaints of robberies in the reign of Edward III. 510. their petition relative to manors held of the crown, 514. they chuse a speaker for the first time, iii. 3. petition the lords to name a council for the king, and proper persons to inspect his education, ib. their petition to the throne relative to the confederacies of the barons, how received, 4. and that relative to annual parliaments, ib. they impeach earl Suffolk, the chancellor, 16. obtain a sentence against him, depriving him of his office, 18.

impeach

impeach Fitz-Allan, archbiſhop of Canterbury, 33. their great authority in the reign of Henry IV. 83. they addreſs the king to ſeize the temporalities of the church, 86, 87. renew it, and to mitigate the laws againſt the Lollards, 87. again addreſs the king to ſeize the temporalities of the church, 97. impeach the duke of Suffolk, 191. ſend up a new charge againſt him, 194. the ſtate of the houſe of commons when the duke of York claimed the crown, 204. pray the king to remove ſeveral of his miniſters, without aſſigning any cauſe but common fame, ib. petition that no foreigner ſhall be capable of church preferment, 222. impeach the duke of Clarence, brother to Edward IV. 275. grant a moiety only of the ſum demanded by the miniſtry, iv. 50. but enlarge it at cardinal Wolſey's requeſt, 51. allow of an encroachment on the public liberty of the nation, ib. receive articles drawn in the upper houſe againſt Wolſey, 103. paſs divers bills reſtraining the impoſitions of the clergy, 104. an extraordinary ſpeech in that houſe in favour of deiſm, 105. diſcharge the king of all debts contracted ſince the beginning of his reign, 106. preſent a long complaint againſt the abuſes of eccleſiaſtical courts, 118. reject a bill from the lords to moderate thoſe abuſes, ib. a motion to addreſs the king to take back the queen, and ſtop the proſecution for a divorce, 119. with difficulty are induced to grant a ſupply to Henry VIII. 224. in this houſe is framed the clauſe in the treaſon laws, that no man ſhall be convicted of treaſon, but by the mouth of two witneſſes, 382. letters are ſent by the king, recommending new members to be choſen in ſeveral counties, 384. all members of the council are allowed the ſame liberty, 385. which is quietly ſubmitted to, ib. great oppoſition is made in this houſe, in queen Mary's reign, to the bill for reſtoring firſt-fruits, tenths, and impropriations, 451. one of its members is committed for an irreverent expreſſion concerning the queen, 473. importunately addreſs the queen to chuſe a huſband, v. 13. in the beginning of a new ſeſſion they addreſs her again to the ſame purpoſe, 74. expreſs great diſpleaſure at Wentworth's bold ſpeech in behalf of freedom of debates in that houſe, 231. and impriſon Wentworth for a month, ib. 232. refuſe a free conference with the lords when irregularly demanded, 233. aſk forgiveneſs when reprimanded by the queen for appointing a general faſt, 240. the majority of the houſe appear to be puritans, 264. and apply by petition to the houſe of lords, for a further reformation in eccleſiaſtical matters, 265. which is rejected, ib. the queen's uſual injunction to this houſe at the beginning of a ſeſſion, 357. their behaviour thereon this ſeſſion, how reſented by the queen, 358. the conſequences of their bill againſt purveyors, and grievances in the exchequer, ib. 359. how overawed by courtiers, 361. they paſs a vote that none ſhall reveal the ſecrets of the houſe, 362. how anſwered by the queen, when the ſpeaker intercedes in the uſual manner for the privileges of the houſe,

378. a member of this houſe is committed, for propoſing to offer to the houſe a bill for entailing a ſucceſſion to the crown, ib. 379. the houſe moved to intercede for his liberty, but acquieſces in his being detained, till the queen at her own motion ſhall ſet him at liberty, 379. further mortifying treatment from the queen, ib. 380. they obſequiouſly obey her, 380, 381. grant two ſubſidies, and four fifteenths, 381. are prevailed on by the peers to grant three ſubſidies and ſix fifteenths, 332. the reaſons of their compliance, ib. they venture to diſpute with the peers about two inſignificant forms, 400. how regarded, 401. their petition againſt monopolies, how reſpected by the queen, ib. by her permiſſion they take notice of ſome tranſactions in the court of high commiſſion, 402. a bill is introduced into their houſe againſt monopolies, 458. they obtain the queen's promiſe to aboliſh the moſt grievous of them, 459. their gratitude to the queen, and how in raptures on that occaſion, 460—463. their behaviour when admitted into her preſence, in order to return her thanks, 463, 464. their antient ſtate, 524. their proceedings relative to writs of election, 526. about outlaws, ib. refuſe to grant a ſupply, 537. petition the king for a relaxation of the eccleſiaſtical laws in favour of puritans, 538. they abate of their exceſſive frugality, and grant more liberally, 551. remonſtrate againſt new impoſitions and forced loans, 564. againſt the court of high commiſſion, 567. are alarmed about undertakers, vi. 10. grant two ſubſidies without one negative, 50. examine grievances in a reſpectful manner, 51. requeſt a delay of adjournment, and are denied, 54. two of their members are impriſoned without any known cauſe, except their vigour in parliamentary meaſures, ib. remonſtrate concerning the ſtate of affairs abroad, and the growth of popery, 55. notwithſtanding the king's letter reproving them, they inſiſt on their former remonſtrance and advice, and on their hereditary right to adviſe the throne in all matters, 57. enter a proteſtation in their journal on this ſubject, which the king tears out, 59. addreſs the king for the ſevere execution of the laws againſt catholics, 87. the numbers of this houſe in the reign of James I. 98. the ſmall ſupply they granted in the firſt ſeſſion of the firſt parliament of Charles I. 139. their ill humour, how increaſed, 140, 141. a new diſcovery inflames them againſt the court, 145. they demand a ſtrict execution of the penal laws againſt papiſts, 147. deny a ſupply, 149. vote a ſupply, but poſtpone it till the end of the ſeſſion, 150. impeach Buckingham, 151. vote that common fame is a ſufficient cauſe of accuſation by the commons, 152. and proceed to frame articles againſt the duke, ib. the only important article againſt him, 153. are ordered by the lord-keeper, in the king's name, to deſiſt from meddling with his ſervant, 155. two of their members impriſoned, and releaſed, 156, 157. claim againſt the ſtrict execution of the laws againſt papiſts, 157. proceed to remonſtrate againſt tonnage and poundage,

poundage, 158. warm ſpeeches in the houſe about grievances, 177—180. vote five ſubſidies, but poſtpone them, 181. think of an act proper to ſecure themſelves for the future againſt taxes without the conſent of parliament, arbitrary impriſonments, &c. ib. prepare the petition of right, 182. paſs it, 191. impeach Dr. Manwaring, 195. proceed again to cenſure Buckingham, ib. frame a fierce and aſſuming remonſtrance, 198. and proceed to conſider tonnage and poundage, 199. new grounds of complaint appear in the houſe, 205. how diſpoſed to Arminians, 211, 212. warm proceedings concerning the barons of exchequer, officers of the cuſtoms, and tonnage and poundage, 213, 214. great heats in the houſe, and locked doors, 215. the effects of theſe meaſures, ib. diſregard an application for a ſupply, and proceed to conſider grievances, 284. debate with great warmth and zeal on both ſides, ib. 285. the debate is continued, 285—288. two of their members ſummoned before the council, and the chairman of their committee ſeat to the tower, 289. impeach Strafford, 305. Laud, and lord-keeper Finch, 307, 308. vote divers acts and authorities illegal, and the perſons exerting them delinquents, 310. a recapitulation of the authorities and acts condemned by their votes, 310, 311. their authority becomes formidable, 311. and the ſovereign power ſeems to be in a manner tranſferred into their hands, 312. an account of their daily harangues and invectives, and their effects, 314. they ſettle all over the nation puritanical lecturers, who inculcate the ſame topics, ib. reverſe divers ſentences, 315. and in ſome caſes order the judges to give reparation to the ſufferers, 316. from the reports of their committees and votes they inflame the nation, 317. encourage the Scots and puritans, 319. and court the Scots commiſſioners, ib. make vehement harangues againſt the biſhops, 321. erect a committee as a court of inquiſition upon the clergy, called the committee of ſcandalous miniſters, 323. bring in a bill for the total abolition of epiſcopacy, ib. the character of their leaders compared with thoſe of Greece and Rome, 325. they inſiſt on the execution of the ſevere laws againſt prieſts and papiſts, 326. deſire that the queen-mother may depart the kingdom, 328. a bill about tonnage and poundage, and triennial parliaments is introduced and paſſed, 329. pretend to be thankful to the king for complying with their deſires, 330. a committee is named to prepare a charge againſt Strafford, 333. paſs a bill of attainder againſt the earl, 346. another bill that the parliament ſhall not be diſſolved, prorogued, or adjourned, without their own conſent, 352. hurry on the diſbanding of the Engliſh and Scots armies, 359. therefore pay the Engliſh in part, and the Scots wholly, ib. diſband both, and diſmiſs the Scots to their own country, ib. levy money and enliſt men for the Iriſh ſervice, as is pretended, 384. but in truth with a view to turn theſe forces againſt the king, ib. publiſh a general remonſtrance of the ſtate of the kingdom, by way of appeal to the people, ib. 385. which

excites a violent controverſy, 386. hurry on the bill for preſſing ſoldiers for the Iriſh ſervice, 393. again introduce a bill, once rejected, relative to the votes of biſhops, though no prorogation had intervened, 395. the means they uſe to make it paſs, and to ſerve as a pretence for a guard for themſelves, 397, 398. impeach twelve biſhops, 400. refuſe to the ſerjeant at arms five commoners impeached of high treaſon, 403. their behaviour when the king is in their houſe, and after he is gone, 404. by affected panics work up the people to a ſufficient degree of rage and terror, 406. encourage tumultous petitions, 409, 410. their behaviour to their petitioners, 411. impeach Herbert, attorney general, 413. diſpatch Sir George Hotham to Hull with the authority of governor, 414. reſtore to a certain ſet of lieutenants named by the houſe the powers of which thoſe named by the king were deprived by their votes, ib. the preamble of this vote, 415. their pretended panics, how urged on this occaſion, 416. in meſſages and repſies to the king, heſitating to conſent to this bill, ib. their vote on deſpairing to obtain the king's conſent, ib. the means they now uſed to rouſe the people to approve of their meaſures, 418. they frame a new ordinance conferring on lieutenants of counties, named by themſelves, the military power without the king's conſent, 420. the continual dread of popery, and a horror for prelacy, is by them infuſed into the nation, 421. the effect of all theſe meaſures on the nation, ib. their vote concerning the authority of the lords and commons in parliament, 424. and employ their authority for making warlike preparations, ib. name a general, and vote a declaration to be ſubſcribed by every member, that they will live and die with their general the earl of Eſſex, 425. iſſue orders for bringing in loans, ib. ſeveral members go to York, 426. the others ſend the king conditions on which they are willing to come to an agreement, 427. obtain the admiral of the fleet to remain in their ſervice, 431. yet are backward in giving their general orders, 434. their behaviour to the king's meſſengers deſiring a treaty, 435. they courage, how ſupported, 436. their general, the earl of Eſſex, muſters his army, 438. For military tranſactions, See *Army, parliamentary*, and *royal*.—Charles, Cromwell, Eſſex, Fairfax, and Waller, addreſs for a treaty, 445. treat by commiſſioners at Oxford, 446. recall their commiſſioners, ib. the effect of the military operations on the nation, 447. are diſmayed at the king's ſucceſſes, 454. their ſevere adminiſtration, 461, 462. a combination is formed againſt them in London, 462. their ſeverity on that occaſion encreaſes their authority, 464. how they quell a cry for peace, 465. aſſociate in their cauſe divers counties, and order an army to be raiſed under Sir William Waller, ib. have recourſe to Scotland for aſſiſtance, 470. ſend the Scots commiſſioners to the king with offers of peace, 472. take the ſolemn league and covenant, 475. are aſſiſted by an army from Scotland, 476. the members of the king's party meet as a parliament at Oxford, vii. 3. their

their numbers there, ib. their acts, ib. a whimsical ordinance made at Westminster, 4. they refuse to treat with the king, 6. their behaviour from the beginning of the dissentions, 9, 10. speeches in the house previous to the self-denying ordinance, 24—26. they make the self-denying ordinance, 26. treat at Uxbridge, 29, 30. summon an assembly of divines to Westminster, 31. new model their army, 52. its fanaticism is ridiculed by the royalists, 53. order the queen's letters to the king to be published, 58. the power of their committee on religion, 70. set up the presbyterian form of government over all England, ib. allow of appeals to the parliament from ecclesiastical courts, 72. the propensity of many of their members to a toleration of all protestant sectarians, ib. settle with the Scots army the delivery of the king's person, and the estimation of their arrears, 78—82. their army mutinies against them, 87. their fluctuating councils while the army is marching to London, 89. make one vigorous effort to try the force of their authority, 90. their vote on that occasion, ib. the hostility of the army against the houses of parliament is greatly approved of by the public voice, 93. the measures pursued by the house being generally disapproved of, 97. become conscious of their decay in popularity, ib. resolve to submit to their mutinous army, 98, 99. are insulted by the army, ib. eleven of their members accused by the army, beg leave to retire, 99. comply with the army's demands, ib. comply with the army's violent demand relative to the militia of London, and the forces inlisted for Ireland, 102. their speaker retires, and goes secretly to the army, 103. they prepare themselves with vigour to oppose the violence of the army, 104. but at last submit, 105. to no purpose renew their applications to the king, 106. at the instigation of the army, send new offers to him, which are refused, 115. frame and pass the vote of non-addresses, 117. their acknowledgment to the Scotch commissioners at their departure, 118, 119. their sentiments of their present situation, 119. they declare the Scots enemies, 123. the eleven members are recalled, 124. the vote of non-addresses is repealed, and commissioners are sent to the king at Newport, to treat of peace, ib.—131. the house is again threatened by the army, 133. vote, that the king's concessions are a sufficient foundation to proceed on in the settlement of the nation, 135. their house is purged by the army, ib. the remainder reverse their former vote, ib. the effect of these revolutions on the nation, ib. 136. declare it treason in a king, to levy war against his parliament, and appoint a high court of justice to try the king, 138. the peers rejecting this vote, they vote that the commons assembled in parliament, are vested with the supreme authority, and assent anew to the ordinance erecting a high court of justice, for trial of Charles Stuart, King of England, ib. meet in the convention, 335. dispatch a committee to king Charles II. to come over, 337. remonstrate against the indulgence and favour

excites a violent controverſy, 386. hurry on the bill for preſſing ſoldiers for the Iriſh ſervice, 393. again introduce a bill, once rejected, relative to the votes of biſhops, though no prorogation had intervened, 395. the means they uſe to make it paſs, and to ſerve as a pretence for a guard for themſelves, 397, 398. impeach twelve biſhops, 400. refuſe to the ſerjeant at arms five commoners impeached of high treaſon, 403. their behaviour when the king is in their houſe, and after he is gone, 404. by affected panics work up the people to a ſufficient degree of rage and terror, 406. encourage tumultous petitions, 409, 410. their behaviour to their petitioners, 411. impeach Herbert, attorney general, 413. diſpatch Sir George Hotham to Hull with the authority of governor, 414. reſtore to a certain ſet of lieutenants named by the houſe the powers of which thoſe named by the king were deprived by their votes, ib. the preamble of this vote, 415. their pretended panics, how urged on this occaſion, 416. in meſſages and repſies to the king, heſitating to conſent to this bill, ib. their vote on deſpairing to obtain the king's conſent, ib. the means they now uſed to rouſe the people to approve of their meaſures, 418. they frame a new ordinance conferring on lieutenants of counties, named by themſelves, the military power without the king's conſent, 420. the continual dread of popery, and a horror for prelacy, is by them infuſed into the nation, 421. the effect of all theſe meaſures on the nation, ib. their vote concerning the authority of the lords and commons in parliament, 424. and employ their authority for making warlike preparations, ib. name a general, and vote a declaration to be ſubſcribed by every member, that they will live and die with their general the earl of Eſſex, 425. iſſue orders for bringing in loans, ib. ſeveral members go to York, 426. the others ſend the king conditions on which they are willing to come to an agreement, 427. obtain the admiral of the fleet to remain in their ſervice, 431. yet are backward in giving their general orders, 434. their behaviour to the king's meſſengers deſiring a treaty, 435. they courage, how ſupported, 436. their general, the earl of Eſſex, muſters his army, 438. For military tranſactions, See *Army, parliamentary*, and *royal*.—Charles, Cromwell, Eſſex, Fairfax, and Waller, addreſs for a treaty, 445. treat by commiſſioners at Oxford, 446. recall their commiſſioners, ib. the effect of the military operations on the nation, 447. are diſmayed at the king's ſucceſſes, 454. their ſevere adminiſtration, 461, 462. a combination is formed againſt them in London, 462. their ſeverity on that occaſion encreaſes their authority, 464. how they quell a cry for peace, 465. aſſociate in their cauſe divers counties, and order an army to be raiſed under Sir William Waller, ib. have recourſe to Scotland for aſſiſtance, 470. ſend the Scots commiſſioners to the king with offers of peace, 472. take the ſolemn league and covenant, 475. are aſſiſted by an army from Scotland, 476. the members of the king's party meet as a parliament at Oxford, vii. 3.

their numbers there, ib. their acts, ib. a whimsical ordinance made at Westminster, 4. they refuse to treat with the king, 6. their behaviour from the beginning of the dissentions, 9, 10. speeches in the house previous to the self-denying ordinance, 24—26. they make the self-denying ordinance, 26. treat at Uxbridge, 29, 30. summon an assembly of divines to Westminster, 31. new model their army, 52. its fanaticism is ridiculed by the royalists, 53. order the queen's letters to the king to be published, 58. the power of their committee on religion, 70. set up the presbyterian form of government over all England, ib. allow of appeals to the parliament from ecclesiastical courts, 72. the propensity of many of their members to a toleration of all protestant sectarians, ib. settle with the Scots army the delivery of the king's person, and the estimation of their arrears, 78—82. their army mutinies against them, 87. their fluctuating councils while the army is marching to London, 89. make one vigorous effort to try the force of their authority, 90. their vote on that occasion, ib. the hostility of the army against the houses of parliament is greatly approved of by the public voice, 93. the measures pursued by the house being generally disapproved of, 97. become conscious of their decay in popularity, ib. resolve to submit to their mutinous army, 98, 99. are insulted by the army, ib. eleven of their members accused by the army, beg leave to retire, 99. comply with the army's demands, ib. comply with the army's violent demand relative to the militia of London, and the forces inlisted for Ireland, 102. their speaker retires, and goes secretly to the army, 103. they prepare themselves with vigour to oppose the violence of the army, 104. but at last submit, 105. to no purpose renew their applications to the king, 106. at the instigation of the army, send new offers to him, which are refused, 115. frame and pass the vote of non-addresses, 117. their acknowledgment to the Scotch commissioners at their departure, 118, 119. their sentiments of their present situation, 119. they declare the Scots enemies, 123. the eleven members are recalled, 124. the vote of non-addresses is repealed, and commissioners are sent to the king at Newport, to treat of peace, ib.—131. the house is again threatened by the army, 133. vote, that the king's concessions are a sufficient foundation to proceed on in the settlement of the nation, 135. their house is purged by the army, ib. the remainder reverse their former vote, ib. the effect of these revolutions on the nation, ib. 136. declare it treason in a king, to levy war against his parliament, and appoint a high court of justice to try the king, 138. the peers rejecting this vote, they vote that the commons assembled in parliament, are vested with the supreme authority, and assent anew to the ordinance erecting a high court of justice, for trial of Charles Stuart, King of England, ib. meet in the convention, 335. dispatch a committee to king Charles II. to come over, 337. remonstrate against the indulgence and favour

shown to papists, 399. their votes about the Dutch, 405. impeach Clarendon, 434. proceedings about conventicles and public miscarriages, 463. concerning the conduct of the house of peers, 464. taxes, 478. writs issued by the chancellor, and elections in consequence thereof, 513. again, upon the indulgence, 515. the duke of York's marriage, 522. impeach Buckingham, 524. give the king advice relative to foreign affairs, viii. 27. grant him money to pursue the measures advised to, ib. but, on his applying for more, recollect, that he doth not merit their confidence, ib.—30. some of the members of this house are inlisted in the court party by offices, 30. private views and faction draw others into the country party, ib. are reproved by the king, for an address for a league offensive and defensive with the states, 31. severe reflections in the house, on the ministry and their measures, 38. a passionate address, praying the king to dismiss evil counsellors, particularly Lauderdale, 39, 40. frame divers votes about the plot, &c. 78. accuse the queen, whom the king justifies, 83. bring in a bill for regulating the militia, ib. impeach carl Danby, 95, 96. upon the popish plot, 97. the duke of York, 102. bring in a bill to exclude him from the succession, 103. and one to exclude from the house all persons possessed of lucrative offices, 104. proceed to votes about the king's guards, and a standing army, ib. and to impeachments, 106. and dissolved, 108. called a-new, 125. proceed about abhorrers, 127. renew the votes about the popish plot, 128. the affair of the exclusion, 135, 136. proceed to the trial of Stafford, 137. pass a bill in ease of protestant dissenters, 142. angry votes about the duke of York and papists, 143, 144. are dissolved, 144. called to Oxford, 147. renew the same measures, ib. impeach Fitz-Harris, 150. are dissolved, 151. called by king James II. vote about Monmouth's rebellion, 219. address the king against the dispensing power, 232. grant him a revenue for life, 233. are dissolved, 234. meet in the revolution convention, 299. vote about the vacancy of the throne, 300. have a free conference with the peers 304. offer the crown to the prince and princess of Orange, &c. 309.

Common-wealth of England, its commencement, vii. 138. its state immediately after the king's death, 161—165. its state after the battle of Worcester, 207, 208. its dissolution, 336.

Comprehension, proposed in England, vii. 378. rejected, 379. proposed in Scotland, viii. 46. rejected, 47.

Conan, Duke of Britanny. See *Britanny*.

Concubines, allowed to priests, ii. 66. how regulated, ib.

Condé, Prince of, seized and condemned to death, by the influence of the house of Guise, v. 43. but saved by the death of the king, ib. appears at the head of the Hugonots in France, 70. applies to Queen Elizabeth for assistance, 71. is joined by a body of German protestants, 73. taken prisoner in a battle against the catholics, ib.

makes peace with them, and is reinstated in his offices, 80. commands the Hugonots at the battle of St. Dennis, 191. rallies them after the defeat, and obliges the court to come to an accommodation, ib. is killed in the battle of Jarnac, 192.

Conté, young prince of, saved by the French king, at the massacre of the protestants, v. 210. but is obliged, in appearance, to change his religion, ib. escapes from the French court, and heads the Hugonots that survive the massacre, 215.

——— another, beats the Prince of Orange at Seneffe, viii. 9. the French king serves under him as a volunteer, 16. eludes the attempts of the Imperialists, to bring him to a battle, 17.

Congregation of the Lord, an association of reformers in Scotland, so called, v. 22. their unjustifiable proceedings, ib. 25. they raise forces to oppose the Queen-regent, 27. 28. their remonstrances, 28. charge her with breach of promise, 30. commit many outrages, 31. take several places which the regent had abandoned, ib. come to an agreement with the regent, which they misrepresent to the public, 32. joined by the Duke of Chatelrault, they deprive the Queen-Dowager of the regency, order the French to depart, and collect forces to put their edict in execution, 32, 33. solicit succours from England, 34. conclude a treaty with England, 36. in conjunction with their English allies, they besiege the French forces in Leith, 37. force them to surrender upon articles of capitulation, settled by the mediation of England, ib. summon a parliament, which establishes the reformation, 39. put the statutes in execution, notwithstanding the disapprobation of the Queen, 40.

Connaught, a kingdom in Ireland, the weakness of its government i. 455. their king aids the king of Meath against Leinster, 457. beheads the king of Leinster's son, 459. his army is routed by Earl Strigul, 460. which paves the way for the conquest of Ireland, ib.

Conrade, Marquis of Mountserrat, a son of the emperor Fredric, leads his father's army to Palestine, ii. 7, 8. claims the kingdom of Jerusalem, 15. is assassinated, 20. his dying request, ib.

Consarbic, battle of, viii. 18.

Conservators, of the public liberties, chosen in England, ii. 92. all persons are constrained to swear obedience to them, ib.

——— in Scotland, vi. 474. they summons a convention, ib.

Conspiracies, of Norman Barons, against William the Conqueror, i. 181. 282.—284. discovered, 284. punished, ib. of Prince Robert, and others, against William the Conqueror, 291—294. of Nobles, against William Rufus, 306—308. of Mortimer and others, against Henry II. 402, 403. against Thomas a Becket, 446. of young Henry, &c. against Henry II. 465, 466. renewed, 486. against Conrad King of Jerusalem, ii. 20. against the ministry of Henry III. 164, 165. against Piers Gavaston, 345. 346. against the Spensers, 355—360. against Edward II. 364, 365. against the earl of Kent,

389, 390. against the King of Caſtile, 489—494. againſt the earl of Suffolk, iii. 15—18. againſt the miniſtry of Richard II. 20, 21. Gloceſter's conſpiracy againſt Richard II. 29—35. Lancaſter's conſpiracy againſt Richard II. 40, 41. Northumberland's againſt Henry IV. 74—80. againſt the duke of Burgundy, 98, 99. the duke of York's conſpiracy againſt Henry VI. 204. Warwick's conſpiracy againſt Edward IV. 238—260. againſt the duke of Clarence, 273—276. againſt Edward V. 294. againſt Richard III. 301—304. renewed, 307—310. Simnel's conſpiracy againſt Henry VII. iii. 345—348. in favour of Warbeck, againſt Henry VII. 378—384. 399—403. againſt cardinal Beaton, iv. 318, 319. againſt the duke of Somerſet, 362. of lady Jane Gray, againſt Queen Mary of England. 395—399. againſt Mary Queen of Scots, v. 91, 92. againſt the Proteſtants, 96. againſt Rizzio, 97—101. againſt lord Darnly, 109. againſt Mary Queen of Scots, 122, 123. Norfolk's conſpiracy againſt Queen Elizabeth, 162—167. another, of Norfolk, againſt Queen Elizabeth, 201—205. againſt the Hugonots of France, 208—210. divers conſpiracies of ſmall note againſt Queen Elizabeth, 261. to whom imputed, 262. Parry's againſt Queen Elizabeth, 269. Wotton's conſpiracy againſt James VI. of Scotland, 282. Babington's againſt Queen Elizabeth, 289—295. Gun-powder, againſt James I. v. 541—549. of Royaliſts. See *Royaliſts*. againſt Oliver Cromwel, vii. 245. Monmouth's againſt Charles II. viii. 178—183.

Conſtantia, mother to the young duke of Britanny, is hated by Queen Eleanor, ii. 41. delivers up her ſon to his uncle King John, 43. applies to the French king for juſtice againſt king John, 50.

Conſtantinople, taken by the Turks, iii. 427.

Conventicles, an act againſt them in England, vii. 405. mollified, 467. a ſevere act againſt them, made in Scotland, viii. 50. rigorouſly executed there, 54. rigorouſly executed in England, 171.

Convention, of eſtates in Scotland, their proceedings, v. 253. again there, vi. 474. again, vii. 120. in England, meets, 336. reſtores King Charles II. ib. is declared a parliament by the king, on his return, 360. called again in Scotland, viii. 59. its proceedings, ib. 60. ſummoned in England, 299. meets, 300. ſettles the crown on the Prince and Princeſs of Orange, &c. 309. in Scotland, offers the royal dignity to the Prince and Princeſs of Orange, &c. 300.

Convocation, of the clergy formed, ii. 289. and why they meet in two houſes, 290. grant ſix ſhillings in the pound, to be levied in three years, iv. 257. the like ſum again, 272. a diſquiſition concerning the liberty of members of the lower houſe of convocation to ſit in parliament, 330. a diſpute in convocation, between proteſtant and popiſh doctors, 413. its iſſue, ib. in Queen Mary's reign, they preſent a petition to be freed from the fear of cenſures from Rome, 429. grant eight ſhillings

lings in the pound, 472. ſit after diſſolution of parliament, vi. 290. their proceedings, ib. are voted delinquents by the houſe of commons, 311. renounce the power of taxing the clergy, vii. 410, 411.

Corn, when permitted to be exported, iii. 223. its price in the reign of Henry VI. ib. an inland commerce of it opened, ib.

Corniſh, his trial, viii. 228.

Cornwal, Earl Richard, rejects the Sicilian crown, ii. 175. is choſen King of the Romans, 178. drained of his money in Germany, ib. 179. ſwears to obſerve the regulations of Oxford, before he can be permitted to return to England, 191. joins the king's party in the ſubſequent civil war. 208. is made a priſoner in the battle of Lewes, 209. recovers his liberty, 221. dies, 226.

——— archbiſhop of York, ſon of the former, is appointed by the parliament guardian of the realm, in conjunction with the earl of Gloceſter, ii. 237.

Corporations, a great check on induſtry, iii. 425. a law concerning them, ib. their ſtate under the common-wealth, vii. 383. are regulated by the corporation act, ib. and by the act of uniformity, 384. ſurrender their charters into the king's hands, viii. 177. which they get back, on payment of large fines, ib. the diſpoſal of the great offices remaining with the crown, ib.

Cottereaux, what, i. 468.

Councils, general, of Chriſtendom. See *Chriſtendom, Cruſades.*

Council, of general officers called, vii. 113. their firſt proceedings, ib. they demand the king's puniſhment, 133. ordered the houſe to be purged, 135. plan a republic, 137. petition the parliament to diſſolve themſelves, 225, 226. reſolve to diſſolve it, 227. form an inſtrument of government, 239. nominate Oliver Cromwell Protector, ib. recognize his ſon Richard, 301. accept Richard's diſmiſſion, 305. convene the Rump Parliament, 307. expel it, 311. veſt the exerciſe of the government, in a committee of ſafety, 312. invite the Rump to reſume its activity, 322.

Counties, firſt ſend members to parliament, ii. 187. their numbers then, ib. their members conſtitute a ſeparate houſe, 192. the preſent number of members, firſt ordered to be ſummoned from each county, 215. ſit firſt, with members from boroughs, ib.

——— Palatine, their juriſdiction is annexed to the crown, v. 507.

Court, its ſtate in the reign of Edward V. iii. 279. at the beginning of Charle's the Iſt's reign, vi. 221.

Court of high commiſſion. See *Commiſſion*, eccleſiaſtical. Court of ſtate. See *State*, court of.

Courtney, ſon to the marquis of Exeter, ſet at liberty on the acceſſion of Queen Mary, iv. 401. created earl of Devonſhire 402. See *Devonſhire.*

Covenant, Scots, made, vi. 266.

reſolute

Covenant, and ſolemn league, made in Scotland, vi. 474. received in England, 475. declared unlawful in Scotland, vii. 377. burnt by the hand of the hangman in England, 380.
Coventry, act paſſed, vii. 479.
Cowley, his character, vii. 354.
Craig, Aliſon, a remarkable adventure of hers, v. 53.
——— a proteſtant miniſter at Edinburg, refuſes to publiſh the bans of marriage between Queen Mary and earl Bothwell, v. 116. his reſolute behaviour on that occaſion, before the council and elſewhere, ib. 117.
Cranmer, Doctor, his advice concerning King Henry's divorce, iv. 109, 110. is in high favour with the king, ib. promoted to the ſee of Canterbury, 122. tries the cauſe of divorce, and annuls the king's marriage with Catharine, 123. confirms that with Anne Boleyn, ib. ſecretly adopts the proteſtant tenets, 140. is the only friend of Anne Boleyn in her diſtreſs, 170. compelled to condemn her, 174. endeavours to encourage the king in the reformation, 205. oppoſes the bill relative to the ſix articles, 213. is forced to diſmiſs his wife, ib. diſcovers the queen's incontinence to the King, 237. ſuſtains a great loſs by the death of the duke of Suffolk, 275. is accuſed of ſecretly promoting hereſy, 276. his behaviour in council, when ordered to the Tower, 277. his generous conduct on the trial of the duke of Norfolk, 285. is called to attend the dying king, 286. appointed one of Henry's executors, and regent, during the minority of Edward VI. 302. his moderation and prudence in promoting the reformation by inſenſible advances, 310, 311. with difficulty prevails on Edward VI. to ſign a warrant for the execution of a heretic, 349, 350. adheres to the protector, when deſerted by all others, 363. is prevailed on by his dying ſovereign, to ſubſcribe his conſent to the ſettlement of the crown on lady Jane Gray, 391. his indiſcreet conduct on the acceſſion of Queen Mary, 404. is impriſoned, tried, and condemned for high treaſon, 405. carried to Oxford, to diſpute about tranſubſtantiation, 414. degraded there, 459. prevailed on to ſign the popiſh tenets, but declares his repentance in a ſpeech to the people, ib. 460. ſuffers at the ſtake heroically, 460, 461.
Crecy, battle of, ii. 445. it is decided in favour of the Engliſh, 450.
Credit, national, its antient ſtate, v. 492. its ſtate in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, 494, 495.
Crimes, how puniſhed under the Anglo Norman government, ii. 137.
Croc le, or le Croc, the French ambaſſador, refuſes to countenance Queen Mary's marriage with Bothwell, v. 118
Cruſades, their riſe, i. 314. appointed by general councils, 316. an univerſal eagerneſs to enter into them prevails, 318. the march of the cruſaders thro' Greece, 331. their ſucceſs againſt the Turks, 333. their behaviour at Jeruſalem, ib. 334. their nobles chuſe Godfrey of Bolloign, king of Jeruſalem, 334. a new cruſade is

preached by St. Bernard, 392. in which divers Engliſh noblemen engage, ib. the hiſtory of them reſumed, 488. the emperor and other princes of Chriſtendom, engage in a Cruſade againſt Saladin, ib. 490. the emperor's bad ſucceſs, ii. 7, 8. the Kings of France and England, ſet out on a cruſade 8. incidents on the way, ib.—13. the arrival of the Engliſh army in Paleſtine, and their firſt ſucceſs, 14. the cruſade ends in a truce, 15, 16.

Cromwell, ſecretary of ſtate to Henry VIII. favours the reformation, iv. 140. the king's ſupremacy is delegated to him, 159. he enquires into the conduct of the friars, 160. ſits in convocation as vicar general, 180. publiſhes an ordinance diſagreeable to the people, 185. his account of Lambert's diſpute with the king and biſhops, about the real preſence, 208, 209. pronounces ſentence againſt him, 209. has the precedency of all the miniſters of ſtate, 218. becomes obnoxious to the king on account of Anne of Cleves, 222, 223. is flattered by the houſe of peers, 223. created earl of of Eſſex, and knight of the Garter, ib. ſeveral cauſes of his fall, 225. he is committed to the Tower, and condemned by the parliament, 226. his execution and character, 227.

——— Henry made governor of Ireland, vii. 275. quietly reſigns, 305.

——— Oliver, his firſt ſpeech in the houſe of commons, vi. 214. is prevented by a proclamation, from going to America, 247. becomes remarkable for valour 469. his ſpeech, previous to the ſelf-denying ordinance, vii. 25. how ſaved from the effects of it, 26, 27. his character at that time, 28, 29. and connexions with Fairfax, ib. routs the king's forces at Naſeby, 56. is made commander in chief by the army, 92. cauſes all further levies to be ſtopt, 99. ſeems complaiſant to the king, 101, 102. and guides Fairfax, 102. his account of the breach between the king and him, 107. he cauſes the king to be doubly guarded, under colour of protecting him, 109. his views and practices in the army, 112. he quells the agitators, ib. 113. ſummons a council of general officers to Windſor, 113. quells inſurrections of the Engliſh royaliſts, 122. and prepares to defend againſt the Scots invaſion, 123. defeats Hamilton and Langdale, 131. and the laſt remains of the Engliſh inſurgents, 132. cauſes a remonſtrance to be drawn, and ſent to the houſe of commons, by the council of general officers, demanding the king's puniſhment, 133. and cauſes the king's perſon to be ſeized at Newport, 134. and the houſe to be purged, 135. his ſpeech in the houſe, when the ordinance for trying the king was made, 138, 139. his character, and power, at the time of the king's death, 163, 164. he is made lieutenant of Ireland, 171. totally ſuppreſſes the Levellers, 173. arrives in Dublin, 176. his military operations in Ireland, ib. almoſt intirely ſubdues it, 178. returns to England, 194. and leaves the command of Ireland to Ireton, ib. ſucceeds Fairfax, 195. marches the army into

into Scotland, 195. where he is greatly ſtraitned for proviſions, ib. beats the Scots army at Dunbar, 197. takes poſſeſſion of Edinburgh, ib. routs their army at Worceſter, 197. diſcovers an inclination to be made king, 208. ſubdues all the colonies and iſlands, 212. reſolves to make war with the Dutch, 218, 219. ſummons the general council of officers, 225. diſſolves the long parliament, 227. a hiſtory of his birth and private life, 229. he calls Barebones's parliament, 235. accepts of its reſignation, 238. is declared protector by the general council of officers, 239. calls a new-faſhioned parliament, 245. diſſolves it, 249. and quells an inſurrection, 251. exacts the tenth penny of the royaliſts, 252. grants letters of repriſal againſt the French, 256. reſolves on war with Spain, 259. ſubdues Jamaica, 262. his domeſtic adminiſtration, 266, 267. his behaviour with pretended ſaints, 269. among his ancient friends, 273. among the nobility, 274. ſummons his ſecond parliament, 276. abridges the powers of major-generals, 277. rejects the dignity of king, 282. is ſolemnly inaugurated protector, 283. revokes Lambert's commiſſion, and others, 284. diſpoſes of his daughter in marriage, ib. diſſolves his ſecond parliament, 286. makes an alliance with France againſt Spain, ib. obtains the delivery of Dunkirk, 287. various conſpiracies againſt him are diſcovered, 289, 290. troubles ariſe in his family, 291. his diſturbed mind, 292. ſickens, 293. dies, 294. remarks on his character, 295, 296. his children and family, 299.

Cromwell, Richard, his character, vii. 284. he is brought to his father's court, ib. ſucceeds him, 301. calls a parliament, 302. is alarmed, 304. diſſolves his parliament, 305. reſigns, ib.

Cropey-bridge, battle of, vii. 15.

Crown, the ſucceſſion to it, ſettled by parliament, iv. 262. altered, 386. its antient prerogatives and ſources of power, v. 473. its authority, how augmented, 505. its great power, viii. 177.

Cumberland, a county granted to Malcolm, King of Scotland, on conditions, i. 113. homage is received for it, to the crown of England, 115.

Cummin, John, his treachery to young Bruce in England, ii. 325. he is ſlain by Bruce in Scotland, 328. the conſequence of this murder, ib.

Cup, ſacramental, reſtored to the laity by parliament, iv. 329.

Cuſtoms, their ſtate in the reign of James I. vi. 113. officers and farmers of, declared by the houſe of commons delinquents, 310. and glad to compound for a pardon, by paying a large fine, ib.

D.

DACRES Leonard, raiſes an inſurrection in favour of Mary Queen of Scots, v. 170. is ſoon ſuppreſſed, 171.

Danby, Earl, his character, viii. 10. is made lord high treaſurer, ib. impeached,

impeached, 85. committed to the Tower, 97. admitted to bail, 200. his project in the convention at the revolution, 304. is called, with some others, to a conversation with the Prince of Orange, 307. his project disagreeable to the Prince and Princess of Orange, 308.

Danegelt, what, i. 242. it is remitted, and when, 501.

Dangerfield, his schemes, viii. 121.

Darcy, a Frenchman, made warden of the marches by the duke of Albany, iv. 8. is murdered by Sir David Hume, 9.

Darnly, Lord, son of the Earl Lennox, proposed as a husband to Queen Mary, v. 87. repairs to Scotland, with permission from Queen Elizabeth, 88. which is afterwards resented by her, 89. His marriage with Qeen Mary is effected, 91. he takes the title of king Henry, which many of the nobility are displeased with, ib. the qualifications of his mind do not correspond with those of his body, 96. his motely character, ib. heads the assassins of David Rizzio, 99. escapes with the Queen to Dunbar after the murder, 101. their disagreeable conversation there, and precipitate parting, 102. rumours concerning him while at Glasgow, 108. to which place the queen also repairs, 109 by whose persuasions, he returns to a solitary house near Edinburgh, ib. which is blown up by gun-powder, ib. and supposed to be done by the directions of the Queen and Bothwell, 110. who is tried for the murder, and acquitted, 111. 112. an association is formed, to bring his murderers to punishment, 121.

David, king of Scotland. See *Scotland*.

David's Straits discovered, v. 497.

Davison, secretary, draws out a warrant for the execution of Mary Queen of Scots, v. 321. he dispatches it to the persons ordered to put it in execution, 322. his fate, 333. and curious anecdotes relative to the character of Queen Elizabeth, ib. 334.

Debt, public, for the first time, contracted on parliamentary security, iii. 223.

Dering, a friar, writes a book of the Revelations of the Maid of Kent, iv. 148. is punished for it, ib.

Deists, a description of them, vii. 234.

Democracy, how mixt with the English constitution, iii. 320.

Denham, Sir John, his character, viii. 354.

Denmark, and Danes, they invade England, i. 71. take up their winter-quarters there, 73. their first conquests, 77, 78. engage to depart the kingdom, 81. rout king Alfred's army, ib. oblige him to disguise himself, 83. are conquered by him, 87, 88. live quietly with the English under the same laws, 89. a new invasion of Danes is repulsed, 90. insurrection of Danes quelled, 91, 92. another insurrection of Danes quelled. 93. they join the rebel Ethelwald, 105. are defeated, 106. again defeated, in the same quarrel, 110. another insurrection of the Danes quelled, 112.

112. another quelled, 114. invaſions of Danes made, 139. bought off, ib. another bought off, 143. their conduct in expeditions compared with that of the Goths and Vandals, 146. their conduct in England, 149. they are maſſacred there, 150. their repeated invaſions are bought off, 153. their king Canute the great, ſucceſſor to Sweyn, invades England, 155. obtains the crown of England, by a decree of the nobles, 158. his adminiſtration there. See *Canute* the Great. They are inſulted by the Engliſh, on the acceſſion of Edward the Confeſſor, 171. but by the mildneſs of that prince, reconciled with the Engliſh, 172. a princeſs of Denmark is married to James VI. of Scotland, v. 366. king of Denmark is defeated by the imperial general, vi. 162. his capital is ſaved by an Engliſh ſquadron, vii. 313. he ſeizes all Dutch ſhips in his ports, 414, 415. his extraordinary ſubſequent conduct, 415.

Derby, Earl, eldeſt ſon of the duke of Lancaſter, is ſent into Guienne for the defence of that province, ii. 436. his military operations there, 437. informs the king of the great danger of that province, 438. he is maſter of the field there, 451. he is created duke of Hereford, iii. 35. See *Hereford*, Duke.

—— another, his beneficence, and munificence, v. 503, 504.

—— another, comes to the king at Worceſter, vii. 203. is put to death by a court-martial, after the defeat, 209.

De Ruyter, a Dutch admiral, fights Sir George Ayſcue, vii. 222. diſpoſſeſſes the Engliſh of Guinea, 409. engages Albemarle, 418. beats him, 421. engages the duke of York, and the French, at Solebay, 495. retires before them, 497. is again beaten by the French and Engliſh, 518. killed in battle, viii. 19.

Deſſe, commands a party of French troops ſent to aſſiſt the Scots, iv. 333. is recalled after making ſeveral fruitleſs attempts, 337.

Devonſhire, an inſurrection there, on account of religion, iii. 355. the inſurgents beſiege Exeter, ib. are defeated, diſperſed, and many of them put to death, 357.

——, Earl of, propoſed as a huſband to queen Mary of England, iv. 408. incurs her diſpleaſure on declining it, ib. is confined to Fotheringay caſtle on a falſe ſuſpicion, 419.

De Witt, Cornelius, goes aboard the Dutch fleet, as deputy from the ſtates, vii. 595. comes aſhore for his health, 506. is maſſacred with his brother, 507.

——, John, grand penſionary, his character, vii. 411. he goes aboard the Dutch fleet, 413, becomes the prince of Orange's tutor, 417. is befriended by the French king, 423. he protracts the negotiations at Breda, 429. behaves to Temple as an intimate acquaintance, 443. his behaviour on ſigning the triple league, 445. by his ſagacity, finds out the alliance between England and France, 477. provides in the beſt manner he can againſt its conſequences, 492, 493. equips a fleet, 494. oppoſes the prince of Orange's election

election to the ſtadtholderſhip, 505. is accuſed of a deſign to poiſon the prince, 506. is maſſacred, 507.

Dieppe, put in poſſeſſion of the Engliſh, but ſoon abandoned, v. 72.

Diſpenſing Power, firſt complained of, ii. 506. in queen Elizabeth's reign how frequent, v. 483.

Domeſday-Book, how cities appear by it to have been at the conqueſt, i. 225. what this book is, 294. and where kept, 295.

Donald, brother to Malcomb king of Scotland. See *Scotland*.

Donne's character, vi. 132.

Doriſlaus, an account of him, vii. 179. he is murdered, ib.

Dorſet, Marquis, commands in an expedition againſt Fontarabia, iii. 445. diſcovers the double dealing of the king of Arragon, 447. returns to England, 448.

——— ———, an author, his character, viii. 325.

Douglas, George, a principal actor in the murder of David Rizzio, v. 99, 100.

Dover, a tumult there, i. 176. a ſea-fight there, vii. 220.

Drake, Sir Francis, a hiſtory of his younger years, v. 237, 238. he is patroniſed by queen Elizabeth, 238. his firſt expedition to America, 239. his ſecond expedition to thoſe parts, 279. he deſtroys the Spaniſh fleet at Cadiz, 338. and takes a Curaccoa ſhip, ib. ſerves under lord Effingham, in the fleet againſt the Spaniards, 345. takes two large Spaniſh ſhips in the engagement with the Spaniſh armada in the channel, 353. commands in an expedition againſt Spain, 362. ravages the Spaniſh coaſts, 364. his laſt expedition and death, 392, 393.

Druids, their authority, i. 4. their riches, how preſerved, 5. the uſage they met with from Suetonius Paulinus, the Roman governor, 8.

Dryden, his character, viii. 324, 325.

Dudley, miniſter of Henry VII. ſeconds the avaritious oppreſſions of that prince, iii. 407. his character, 408. and tyrannical proceedings, ib. choſen ſpeaker of the houſe of commons, 409. his puniſhment on the acceſſion of Henry VIII. 432, 433. falls a ſacrifice to popular reſentment, 434.

———, Lord Guildford, marries lady Jane Gray, iv. 388. is impriſoned and condemned with her, after queen Mary's acceſſion, 401. executed, 420, 421.

———, Lord Robert, the principal favourite of queen Elizabeth, v. 62. is created earl of Leiceſter, and propoſed as a huſband to queen Mary, 84, 85. See *Leiceſter*.

———. See *Warwick*.

Duels, when, and on what occaſion they became faſhionable, iv. 82.

Du Gueſclin, a French commander, his hiſtory and behaviour to the pope at Avignon, ii. 491. he is defeated by the prince of Wales at Nagara, 493. returns to Caſtile at the head of another army, ib. is made conſtable of France, 498.

Dunbar, a battle there, vii. 197.
Duncan, natural ſon of Malcolm king of Scotland. See *Scotland*.
Dunes, battle of, vii. 287.
Dunkirk, given up by the French to Oliver Cromwell, vii. 287. ſold to them by Charles II. 394.
Dunois, Count. See *Orleans*.
Durham, its biſhop, with Longchamp, biſhop of Ely, appointed guardians of the realm and juſticiaries, during the king's abſence, ii. 7. the character of the latter, ib. the former reſigns, ib. the arrogance of the latter, ib. he flies beyond the ſeas, concealed under a female habit, 18.
Dunſtan, monk and hermit, his life and character, i. 117. placed at the head of the treaſury, by king Edred, 118. baniſhed by Edwy, ſucceſſor of Edred, 121. returns to England, 123. a diary of his life afterwards, ib.
Dutton, Colt. fined, viii. 195.

E.

EADBALD, renounces the chriſtian faith, i. 38. is reclaimed by Laurentius a biſhop, 39. he dies, ib.
Eanfield, and Orrock, their apoſtacy, i. 45.
Earl, a dignity, his office antiently, ii. 277. how changed into titular, 278. the effect of this innovation in the ſtate, ib.
Earpwold, ſucceeds his father Redwald in the kingdom of the Eaſt-Angles, i. 44. is converted to chriſtianity, 47. the hiſtory of his poſterity, 48.
Eaſter, riſe of the diſputes about it, i. 65. how, and when ended, 66.
Eaſt-India company, its firſt patent granted, v. 497. firſt ſtock, ib. fully eſtabliſhed, vi. 124.
Eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhment, neceſſity of, iv. 33, 34. that of the church of Rome upon a bad foundation, 35, 36.
Edgar, ſucceſſor of Edwy, his adminiſtration, i. 124. his favour to monks, 125. he ſummons a national council of prelates, 126. his behaviour to them, ib. his amours, 128—131. his penance, 129. more amours, 130. his marriage, 132. death, 133. his laws, 245.
—— Atheling, legal heir to Edward the Confeſſor, is judged by him incapable to ſucceed to the crown, i. 185. proclaimed king after Edward's death, 247. he yields the kingdom to William duke of Normandy, 250. is carried with the king into Normandy, 255. eſcapes with his ſiſters into Scotland, 264. perſuades the Northumbrians to join in an inſurrection, 265, 266. retires again into Scotland, 268. having come again into England, with a view to give new troubles, ſubmits himſelf to the conqueror's mercy, 279. is ſent into Scotland by the conqueror, to reſtore his nephew Edgar, king Malcolm's ſon, 329. which proves ſucceſsful, ib. is made a priſoner in a battle in Normandy, by Henry I. 347, 348. his life afterwards, 348.
Edgehill,

Edgehill, battle of, vi. 441.

Edicts, royal, their authority under the Norman kings, ii. 138, 139.

Edinburgh, burnt and pillaged by the Engliſh, iv. 265. a tumult between ſome French troops and the inhabitants, 336. the provoſt and his ſon killed on that occaſion, ib. a great fray there, during the proceſſion of St. Giles, v. 24. is taken poſſeſſion of by the congregational party, 31. an agreement is there made, between that party and the regent, 32. again taken poſſeſſion of by the congregational party, 33. a treaty there between the French and Engliſh plenipotentiaries, 37. the zeal of the magiſtrates of this city againſt popery, on queen Mary's arrival from France, 49, 50. the city and caſtle taken poſſeſſion of by queen Mary's party, 207. is reſcued from them, by the aſſiſtance of queen Elizabeth, 208. tumults there, vi. 263. encouraged from the pulpits, 265. tables there, 266. oppoſed in vain by the duke of Hamilton, 268. taken poſſeſſion of by Oliver Cromwell, vii. 197. the convention, which eſtabliſhed the revolution, meets there, viii. 299.

Editha, a nun, raviſhed by Edgar, i. 128. the pennance required, 129.

—— a daughter of earl Godwin, is married to Edward the Confeſſor, i. 171. ſhe becomes odious to him, 175.

Edmond, primate of England, his extraordinary behaviour at court, in the reign of Henry III. ii. 165.

Edmund, ſucceſſor of Athelſtan, his ſhort reign, i. 113. and violent death, 114.

—— (afterwards ſurnamed Ironſide) Prince, levies an army to oppoſe the Danes, i. 155. is obliged to maintain it by plunder, 156. ſucceeds his father, ib. makes peace with the Danes, 157. is murdered, 158.

Edred, ſucceſſor of Edmund, quells inſurrections of Danes, i. 114. his ſuperſtition, 115. he makes Dunſtan, a monk, treaſurer, 118. dies, 120.

Edric, King of Kent, is ſucceeded by Widred his brother, i. 40.

—— Duke, a traitor, governor of Mercia, is promoted at court, i. 152. the effects of this meaſure, ib. his treacheries continue, 154. they are renewed, 157.

Edward, ſurnamed the Elder, eldeſt ſon and ſucceſſor of Alfred, his couſin Ethelwald rebels againſt him, i. 104. the rebellion is ſuppreſſed, 105. he attacks the Northumbrians by ſea, 106. his ſhort reign and death, 107.

—— the Martyr, ſucceſſor of Edgar, his title, i. 134. his favour to monks, ib. he cauſes divers ſynods to be called in his reign, 135. his tragical death, 136, 137.

—— ſurnamed the Confeſſor, ſucceeds Hardicanute in the kingdom of England, i. 170. marries Editha, earl Godwin's daughter, 171. ſummons a national council at Gillingham, ib. reſumes his prede-

ceſſor's grants, 172. is kinder to Normans than to his own ſubjects, 173, 174. diſlikes his queen, 175. in vain orders earl Godwin to puniſh the perſons concerned in a tumult, 176. ſummons a general council of the kingdom at London, 177. makes an agreement with earl Godwin, 179. inveſts Algar, ſon of Leofrick, with the government of Eaſt Anglia, 180. his inquietudes about the ſucceſſion, 182. makes a verbal nomination of William, duke of Normandy, to the ſucceſſion, 183. takes feeble and irreſolute ſteps for ſecuring the ſucceſſion, to the duke of Normandy, 191. his death and character, 193.

Edward, Prince, eldeſt ſon of Henry III. gives indications of a great and manly ſpirit, ii. 190. is conſtrained to ſwear to the obſervance of the proviſions of Oxford, ib. requeſted by the knights of the counties to interpoſe with the twenty-four barons, in behalf of the kingdom, 192. his meſſage to the barons on that occaſion, ib. his character at that early time of life, 196, 197. he repulſes Lewellyn, prince of Wales, 201. is made priſoner by the barons at a parley with them, 203. releaſed on a ſubſequent accommodation, ib. in conjunction with the king, obliges earl Leiceſter to retreat to London, 207. leads on the king's army into the field at Lewes, 208, 209. is there made a priſoner by the rebel army, 210. releaſed on ignominious terms by Leiceſter, 218. commands in the battle at Eveſham, 219. obtains a complete victory over the barons, 220. ſaves his father's life in the field of battle, ib. ſets out on a cruſade for the Holy Land, 224, 225. ſignalizes himſelf there, 225. the hiſtory of his return, 237. his coronation, 238. an account of his adminiſtration, ib. 239. grievouſly oppreſſes the Jews, 239, 240. his frugal management, 242. he obtains an aid of parliament to aſſiſt him in his expedition againſt Wales, 244. ſubdues that principality, 245, 246. which again flies to arms, 246. the inſurgents are defeated with great ſlaughter, 247. and the principality annexed to the crown, 247. ſettles a difference between Alphonſo, king of Arragon, and Philip the Hardy, 248. puniſhes his corrupt judges in parliament, 249. accepts of a reference from the ſtates of Scotland, and the competitors for the Scots crown, 254. his view in accepting of this reference, ib. 255. an examination of his claim to a feudal ſuperiority over Scotland, 255, 256. A further examination of this queſtion, 257, 258. Mr. Cartes's opinion on this point canvaſſed, 259. Edward's behaviour to the Scots nobles at Noreham, 260, 261. their anſwer to his demand, 262. an account of the claimants to the Scots crown, ib. 263. Edward's conduct previous to his determination, ib. 264. his equitable adminiſtration in England, 265. his award relative to the Scots crown, ib. the humiliating demands he obliges the Scots king to comply with, 266, 267. an account of a quarrel between the Norman and Engliſh ſailors, 267, 268. The king's endeavours to prevent

prevent that quarrel from becoming the cauſe of a rupture with France, 270. is nevertheleſs obliged to make war with France, ib. 271. the ſucceſs of that war, 272, the commencement of a war with Scotland, 290, its progreſs, 291, 292. the total conqueſt of Scotland, 292, 293. the meaſures he purſues in order to diſturb France, 294. begins to quarrel with his clergy, 296. makes them ſubmit, 297. purſues arbitrary meaſures, in order to ſupply himſelf with money for a French expedition, 299. an extraordinary altercation between him and two powerful barons, 300. purſues moderate meaſures, 301. goes to France, 302. the conſequences of his quarrel with the barons appear while he is abroad, ib. he confirms the great charter, and another, called the leſſer, after his return, 303, 304. confirms them often, 305. ſubmits his difference with France to Pope Boniface, 307. and acquieſces with France in the Pope's award 308. a revolt in Scotland, 309. the progreſs of that revolt, 311, 312. all the Engliſh government is expelled out of Scotland, 313. Edward in perſon routs the Scots army at Falkirk, 315. ſubdues all Scotland, 318. his anſwer to the Pope's letter relative to Scotland, ib. which revolts again, and chaſes away the Engliſh government, 320. Edward again in perſon ſubdues it, 321, 322. and dies on his road to Scotland, 329. his character, ib. 330. a conſideration of his civil admininiſtration and laws, 331. a review of his arbitrary proceedings, 332. his conduct towards the barons and the church animadverted on, 333. his conduct towards the court of Rome conſidered, 334. his children, 335. the ſtate of taxes in his reign, ib. 336.

Edward II. his weakneſs diſcovered, ii. 337. his paſſion for Gaveſton, 338. leaves him guardian of the realm, during his abſence in France, 340. his behaviour to Gaveſton under ſentence of baniſhment pronounced in parliament, 342. conſents to the nomination of a junto of barons empowered to enact ordinances for the good of the ſtate, 343. a war breaks out between him and the barons, about Gaveſton, 345. he makes an accommodation with them, 347. and a truce with R. Bruce, 348. invades Scotland with a mighty army, 349. is defeated at Bannockburn, 351. the effect of this misfortune, on his adminiſtration in England, 353. his character, 354. he gives a new umbrage to his barons by his paſſion for Hugh Spenſer, 356. is compelled to conſent to Spenſer's baniſhment, by Lancaſter's party in arms, 358. and to an act of indemnity in favour of mutinous barons, ib. takes the earl of Lancaſter priſoner, and beheads him, 360. his bounty to his followers in the expedition againſt the Lancaſtrians, ib. 361. reſigns the dominion of Guienne to his ſon, now thirteen years of age, 363. upon the queen's invaſion flies to the Weſt, 367. is taken and put into the cuſtody of the young earl of Lancaſter, 368. depoſed by a parliament called by the queen in his name, 369. the cruel uſage he

ceſſor's grants, 172. is kinder to Normans than to his own ſubjects, 173, 174. diſlikes his queen, 175. in vain orders earl Godwin to puniſh the perſons concerned in a tumult, 176. ſummons a general council of the kingdom at London, 177. makes an agreement with earl Godwin, 179. inveſts Algar, ſon of Leofrick, with the government of Eaſt Anglia, 180. his inquietudes about the ſucceſſion, 182. makes a verbal nomination of William, duke of Normandy, to the ſucceſſion, 183. takes feeble and irreſolute ſteps for ſecuring the ſucceſſion, to the duke of Normandy, 191. his death and character, 193.

Edward, Prince, eldeſt ſon of Henry III. gives indications of a great and manly ſpirit, ii. 190. is conſtrained to ſwear to the obſervance of the proviſions of Oxford, ib. requeſted by the knights of the counties to interpoſe with the twenty-four barons, in behalf of the kingdom, 192. his meſſage to the barons on that occaſion, ib. his character at that early time of life, 196, 197. he repulſes Lewellyn, prince of Wales, 201. is made priſoner by the barons at a parley with them, 203. releaſed on a ſubſequent accommodation, ib. in conjunction with the king, obliges earl Leiceſter to retreat to London, 207. leads on the king's army into the field at Lewes, 208, 209. is there made a priſoner by the rebel army, 210. releaſed on ignominious terms by Leiceſter, 218. commands in the battle at Eveſham, 219. obtains a complete victory over the barons, 220. ſaves his father's life in the field of battle, ib. ſets out on a cruſade for the Holy Land, 224, 225. ſignalizes himſelf there, 225. the hiſtory of his return, 237. his coronation, 238. an account of his adminiſtration, ib. 239. grievouſly oppreſſes the Jews, 239, 240. his frugal management, 242. he obtains an aid of parliament to aſſiſt him in his expedition againſt Wales, 244. ſubdues that principality, 245, 246. which again flies to arms, 246. the inſurgents are defeated with great ſlaughter, 247. and the principality annexed to the crown, 247. ſettles a difference between Alphonſo, king of Arragon, and Philip the Hardy, 248. puniſhes his corrupt judges in parliament, 249. accepts of a reference from the ſtates of Scotland, and the competitors for the Scots crown, 254. his view in accepting of this reference, ib. 255. an examination of his claim to a feudal ſuperiority over Scotland, 255, 256. A further examination of this queſtion, 257, 258. Mr. Cartes's opinion on this point canvaſſed, 259. Edward's behaviour to the Scots nobles at Noreham, 260, 261. their anſwer to his demand, 262. an account of the claimants to the Scots crown, ib. 263. Edward's conduct previous to his determination, ib. 264. his equitable adminiſtration in England, 265. his award relative to the Scots crown, ib. the humiliating demands he obliges the Scots king to comply with, 266, 267. an account of a quarrel between the Norman and Engliſh ſailors, 267, 268. The king's endeavours to prevent

prevent that quarrel from becoming the cauſe of a rupture with France, 270. is nevertheleſs obliged to make war with France, ib. 271. the ſucceſs of that war, 272, the commencement of a war with Scotland, 290, its progreſs, 291, 292. the total conqueſt of Scotland, 292, 293. the meaſures he purſues in order to diſturb France, 294. begins to quarrel with his clergy, 296. makes them ſubmit, 297. purſues arbitrary meaſures, in order to ſupply himſelf with money for a French expedition, 299. an extraordinary altercation between him and two powerful barons, 300. purſues moderate meaſures, 301. goes to France, 302. the conſequences of his quarrel with the barons appear while he is abroad, ib. he confirms the great charter, and another, called the leſſer, after his return, 303, 304. confirms them often, 305. ſubmits his difference with France to Pope Boniface, 307. and acquieſces with France in the Pope's award 308. a revolt in Scotland, 309. the progreſs of that revolt, 311, 312. all the Engliſh government is expelled out of Scotland, 313. Edward in perſon routs the Scots army at Falkirk, 315. ſubdues all Scotland, 318. his anſwer to the Pope's letter relative to Scotland, ib. which revolts again, and chaſes away the Engliſh government, 320. Edward again in perſon ſubdues it, 321, 322. and dies on his road to Scotland, 329. his character, ib. 330. a conſideration of his civil admininiſtration and laws, 331. a review of his arbitrary proceedings, 332. his conduct towards the barons and the church animadverted on, 333. his conduct towards the court of Rome conſidered, 334. his children, 335. the ſtate of taxes in his reign, ib. 336.

Edward II. his weakneſs diſcovered, ii. 337. his paſſion for Gaveſton, 338. leaves him guardian of the realm, during his abſence in France, 340. his behaviour to Gaveſton under ſentence of baniſhment pronounced in parliament, 342. conſents to the nomination of a junto of barons empowered to enact ordinances for the good of the ſtate, 343. a war breaks out between him and the barons, about Gaveſton, 345. he makes an accommodation with them, 347. and a truce with R. Bruce, 348. invades Scotland with a mighty army, 349. is defeated at Bannockburn, 351. the effect of this misfortune, on his adminiſtration in England, 353. his character, 354. he gives a new umbrage to his barons by his paſſion for Hugh Spenſer, 356. is compelled to conſent to Spenſer's baniſhment, by Lancaſter's party in arms, 358. and to an act of indemnity in favour of mutinous barons, ib. takes the earl of Lancaſter priſoner, and beheads him, 360. his bounty to his followers in the expedition againſt the Lancaſtrians, ib. 361. reſigns the dominion of Guienne to his ſon, now thirteen years of age, 363. upon the queen's invaſion flies to the Weſt, 367. is taken and put into the cuſtody of the young earl of Lancaſter, 368. depoſed by a parliament called by the queen in his name, 369. the cruel uſage he

met with under confinement, 370. is murdered 371. his character, ib. 372. the reign of Edward I. compared with this, 372, 373. miſcellaneous tranſactions of this reign, 376. his children 382.

Edward, prince, eldeſt ſon of Edward II. the dutchy of Guienne is reſigned to him by his father, ib. 363. he goes with his mother to Paris, in order to do homage for that dutchy to Charles of France, ib. affianced by his mother to Philippa, daughter to the earl of Holland, 365. enthroned in England, under the title of Regent, 369. ſucceeds to the royal dignity by the death of his father, 371. a council of regency appointed for him by the parliament, 383. marches againſt the Scots invaders, 384. an account of his route, 386. cauſes Mortimer to be taken and tried in parliament, 391. aſſumes the reins of government, 392. applies to earl of Murray, regent of Scotland, for execution of an article of treaty relative to the eſtates of Engliſhmen in Scotland, 393, 394. ſecretly encourages John Baliol to make good his pretenſions on the crown of Scotland 395. makes war with Scotland on Baliol's account, 398. obliges a Scots parliament to receive Baliol as king, 400. again ſupports Baliol's title by an army, 401. his title to France conſidered, 402, 403. he does homage to Philip, king of France, for Guienne, 405. enters into divers foreign alliances, in order to ſtrengthen himſelf for his French expedition, 407. courts the Flemings, and procures their aid, ib. conſults his parliament, and obtains a grant of them for the ſame purpoſe, 409. aſſumes the title of king of France, ib. his allies compared with thoſe of France, 411. enters France with an army, but retires without coming to a battle, 412. procures from his parliament a further ſupply, 414. quarters the arms of France with thoſe of England, 415. his navy, headed by himſelf, beats the French fleet off the coaſt of Flanders, ib. 416. his Flemiſh allies beſiege St. Omer, 416. Edward in perſon beſieges Tournay, 417. challenges the French king to ſingle combat, 418, 419. his reaſons for liſtening to terms of accommodation, 419. a negotiation enſues, ib. but he, before it is finiſhed, eſcapes by ſtealth to England, 420. his ill humour diſplayed on his landing at the Tower, 421. he quarrels with Stratford, archbiſhop of Canterbury, 422. receives from him a letter wrote in an extraordinary ſtile, 423, 424. is reconciled to him, 424. makes large conceſſions to his parliament, 426. obtains a repeal of thoſe conceſſions, 427. enters into a treaty with the earl of Mountfort againſt France, 429. ſends ſuccours to the counteſs of Mountfort, beſieged in the caſtle of Henebonne, 433. receives a viſit from her in England, and ſends her back at the head of an army, ib. goes in perſon to her aſſiſtance, 434. the dangers he incurs in that expedition, and how he eſcapes them, ib. 435. again conſults his parliament, and obtains more ſupplies, 436. ſends earl Derby unto Guienne, for the defence of that province, ib. embarks an army under his own command

mand for Guienne, but diſembarks it la Hogue in Normandy, 439. plunders that province, and puts it in a great conſternation, 440. pillages Caën, 441. his perilous march towards Paris, and hazardous retreat, 442, 443. the diſpoſition of his army previous to the battle of Crecy, 444. places in his front pieces of artillery, the firſt uſed in Europe, 445. the battle begins, 447. is carried on 448. decided in favour of the Engliſh, 450. lays ſiege to Calais, 451. which offers to capitulate, 454. takes poſſeſſion of the city, and at the queen's entreaty ſpares the ſix burgeſſes doomed to death, 456. inſtitutes the order of the garter, 461. makes a truce with France, 463. which being expired, the war breaks out anew, 466. leaves France, in order to defend England againſt a threatened invaſion of the Scots, 467. ſends earl Lancaſter at the head of an army to ſupport his partizans in Normandy, 468. his troops, under the prince of Wales, penetrate into the heart of France, ib. beat the French at Poictiers, 469. take the French king priſoner, 472, 473. who is preſented to him at London, by the Prince of Wales, 475. Edward's hands are tied from taking advantage of the confuſions, now in France, by a truce, 479. and he employs his time in making a truce with his priſoner, ib. 480. which the Dauphin and the ſtates of France reject, 480. the war is renewed, ib. but eluded by a definitive plan concerted by the Dauphin, 482. a peace enſues at Bretigni, 283. in conſequence of which, the French king is ſet at liberty, 485. Edward receives a viſit from the ſame monarch, 486. a new rupture with France happens, 496. the ill ſucceſs of the military operations, 497. to what a pitch the king is thereby incenſed, ib. the mortifications of his declining life, 498. and the death of his eldeſt ſon, 499. his own death and character, 500. his poſterity, 501, 502. his pretended attachment to his parliament, 503, 504. his laws concerning treaſon, 504. and how often he confirmed the great charter, ibid. a laudable clauſe of one of his ſtatutes, 505. his behaviour in regard to purveyors, ib. Windſor palace is built by him 506. his arbitrary government, ib. 507. how, no ſlave to the court of Rome, 508. his wiſe laws to curb the power of that court, ib. 509. his laity, how conformable to his diſpoſition in that point, 509. a review of the then police of the kingdom, 510. this reign, how deſerving to be ſtudied, 514.

Edward, ſon of Richard duke of York, ſucceeds to his father's title to the crown, by his death, iii. 219. is proclaimed in London under the name of Edward IV. 220. his ſanguinary temper exemplified, 224, 225. gives battle to the Lancaſtrians at Touton, 226. routs them, 227. his cruel orders after the rout, ib. his title is recognized in parliament, 229. his Engliſh dominions are invaded by the French, 232. who are routed at Hexham, 233. his eaſy and pleaſurable life after this victory, 235. marries Lady Elizabeth Gray, widow of Sir John Gray, of Groby, 237. how earl Warwic

is thereby disgusted, 238. he concludes an alliance with the dukes of Burgundy and Britanny, 241. an insurrection, in Yorkshire, 242. the insurgents defeat his forces under earl Pembroke, 243. they are quieted and dispersed, 245. he quells another insurrection, 246. marches at the head of a great army, to encounter Warwic, 251. flies from his army into Holland, 252, 253. at his return, is received by the Londoners in a friendly manner, 258. becomes master of that city, and of the person of Henry VI. 259. routs, and slays Warwic at the battle of Barnet, 261. disperses queen Margaret's army at the battle of Tewksbury, 262. extinguishes the hopes of the Lancastrian family, 263. forms a league with the duke of Burgundy against France, 264. invades it, 265. makes a truce with the French king, 267. political remarks on this treaty, 269. he sets queen Margaret at liberty, ib. grows jealous of his brother the duke of Clarence, 273. in person, accuses him in the house of peers, 275. and causes him to be executed, ib. his domestic schemes, 276. his death and character, 278. the care he took of the future tranquility of the state, in his last illness, 280. the effects of his licentious life on his posterity 290.

Edward, prince of Wales, eldest son of Edward III. See *Wales*.

Edward, Prince of Wales, eldest son of Edward IV. a minor, becomes king by the death of his father, iii 281. expresses resentment at the oppressions of his relations, 283. is murdered, together with his brother, in the Tower, 294.

——— Prince, eldest son of Henry VIII. is born iv. 191. created Prince of Wales, ib. his accession to the throne, 301. and state of the regency appointed by the late king, ib. a proposal to chuse a protector is made in the council of the regency, 303. and complied with, 304. and the earl of Hartford is chosen protector, ib. who is thereon created duke of Somerset, 305. writes to the parliament, desiring lord Seymour to be appointed his governor, 339. his unwillingness to sign a warrant for the execution of a heretic, 350. a design to marry him with a daughter of France, 368. his great aversion to popery, 373. is hardly prevailed on to allow his sister Mary the private exercise of her religion, ib. kept from reflection, by a continued series of amusements, during the trial and execution of his uncle Somerset, 379. brought into great debts, by the rapacity of courtiers, 386. persuaded to alter the succession, 387. his last sickness, 388. settles the crown on lady Jane Gray, 390, 391. his death and character, 391, 392.

Edwin, succeeds Adelfrid, first king of the Northumbrians, i. 43. is converted to the christian faith, 44. perishes in battle, 45. his kingdom is divided on his death, ib. and his family extinguished, ib.

——— and Morcar, earls, proclaim Edgar Atheling king, i. 247.

appear

appear at the head of this rebellion, against William the Conqueror, ib. are left destitute of all support, 262. their fate, 279.

Edwy, successor of Edred, his extraordinary behaviour on his coronation day, i. 121. his subjects revolt, 122. his death, 123.

Effingham, Lord Howard, takes on him the command of Queen Elizabeth's navy, v. 345. in contempt of his orders, sails to the coast of Spain, 350. returns in time to oppose the armada in the channel, 352. practises a successful stratagem in that engagement, 354. defeats the Spaniards, 355. commands as high admiral in the expedition against Cadiz, 393. plunders it, 395. on his return, is created Earl of Nottingham, ib. becomes unpopular, by discovering an inclination for peace with Spain, 440.

Egbert, son of Eadbald, King of Kent, his bloody precaution to assure the throne to his posterity, i. 39. how, and by whom defeated, ib.

——— son of Woden, acquires the kingdom of Wessex, i. 59. his other conquests, 60. unites all the heptarchy into one great state, called England, 62. the nature of this new state, 68. the troubles he met with, 69, 70. his death, 71.

Elbeuf, marquis of, accompanies Queen Mary from France to Scotland, v. 46. a remarkable adventure of his in Scotland, 53, 54.

Eleanor, heiress of Poictou, divorced from Lewis VIIth of France, i. 393. married to Henry, grandson of Henry I. ib. her weak and disgusting behaviour, 366, 367. she obtains from her husband the restitution of her hereditary dominions, 488. is entrusted with the government of England, by her son Richard I. ii. 2. dissuades Prince John from listening to the French king's advice, 19. by reiterated letters, intercedes for his interposal in behalf of her son Richard, then a prisoner in Germany, 24. carries her son's ransom to the duke of Austria, 30. obtains a pardon for Prince John, 32. is buried by Edward I. ii. 265.

——— daughter of the earl of Provence, is married to Henry III. ii. 165. the bad consequences of this marriage, 167. her expedition to relieve her husband, oppressed by rebel barons, is disappointed by storms, 214.

Elfrida, daughter of the earl of Devonshire, her beauty, i. 130. she is married to Ethelwold, king Edgar's favourite, 131. after his death she is married to the king, 132. her servants murder Edward the martyr, 136. her son succeeds him, 138.

Elgiva, wife of Edwy, an amiable princess, is hamstrung by monks, i. 122.

Elizabeth, Princess, daughter of Henry VIII. born, iv. 124. the title of Princess of Wales is conferred on her, ib. she is favoured by her father and his queen, Jane Seymour, 177. is declared illegitimate, ib. restored by the parliament to her right of succession, 262. favours the addresses of lord Seymour, 340. her right of succession set aside in favour of lady Jane Gray, 391. joins queen Mary, with some forces;

forces, on her accession, 400. becomes obnoxious to her, 409. is harshly treated by her, 418, 419. seized by her order, and committed to the Tower, 419. dismissed from the Tower, and afterwards committed at Woodstock, ib. her prudent conduct during queen Mary's reign, 473. declines a marriage with the king of Sweden, 474. her cautious answer, when questioned about the real presence, ib. her great popularity at her accession, v. 2, 3. her laudable behaviour on her arrival at the Tower, and afterwards at St. James's, ib. her gratitude to Philip II. of Spain, 3, 4. reasons for declining a marriage with that monarch, 5, 6. notifies her accession to the pope, who thereon behaves very insolently, 5. her spirited resentment, ib. she settles her council, ib. and restores the protestant religion, 6. recalls the exiles, and releases prisoners detained on account of religion, 7. makes several other regulations in favour of the reformation, ib. her popular behaviour at her coronation, 8. her title recognized by parliament, 9. she is declared supreme head of the church of England, 10. many other high prerogatives, 11, 12. her answer to the parliament's address, about chusing a husband, 13, 14. favours some of the catholic ceremonies, ib. refuses to grant a toleration, ib. her prudence in concluding a peace with France, 17, 18. and with Scotland, 18. why disgusted with Mary queen of Scots, 19. is solicited for assistance by the congregation in Scotland, 34. sends a fleet and army to support them, 36. refuses the offers of France, and concludes a treaty with the congregation, ib. sends transports to carry the French troops out of Scotland, 38. settles Scotland, and obliges Mary to comply with articles favourable to that kingdom, ib. her great sagacity in this transaction displayed, ib. acquires great influence with the Scots, ib. refuses to queen Mary a passage through England, 44. her design to intercept her is disappointed, 46. her answer to queen Mary's solicitations of friendship, 58, 59. refuses to own Mary's right of succession to the crown of England, 60. her prudent administration, 61. several suitors make their addresses to her, 61, 62. to whom she gives a gentle refusal, 62. her aversion to ascertain the succession, ib. her severity to the earl of Hartford and his lady, 63, 64. pardons some conspirators in favour of queen Mary, 64. is the chief support of the protestant interest in Europe, 69. solicited to assist the prince of Condé, 71. her motives for complying, 72. gets possession of Havre de Grace and Dieppe, 72. is seized by the small-pox, which gives great uneasiness to the nation, on account of the succession, 74. after her recovery solicited by the parliament to marry, or settle the succession, ib. 75. and is much puzzled by this request, ib. and by repeated applications on that head, to which she always gives an evasive answer, 76, 77. her prerogative extended by parliament, 77. she publishes a manifesto in France, 78, 79. makes an accommodation with, 82. professes great friendship for queen Mary, 82, 83. her reasons for declining an interview with her, 83. her jea-

louſy of her, 83, 84. propoſes lord Robert, earl of Leiceſter, for a huſband to her, 84, 85. her artful deſign in this, 85. her fickleneſs and vanity diſcovered by Sir James Melvill, 86. approves of lord Darnley's marriage with queen Mary, and afterwards diſapproves of it, 88. deals unfairly on that occaſion, 89. ſecretly encourages malecontents againſt queen Mary, and publicly diſclaims any connection with them, 93. her deep diſſimulation, 94. her remarkable behaviour on hearing of the birth of a prince of Scotland, 102, 103. and duplicity on that occaſion, 103. ſends commiſſioners with preſents to the baptiſm, ib. ſtops the proceedings of the parliament about the ſucceſſion, 104. her ſpeech to the parliament on that occaſion, 106. ſhe remonſtrates againſt queen Mary's marriage with Bothwell, 118. ſeems to compaſſionate Mary's misfortunes when a priſoner, 123. ſends an ambaſſador, with prudent inſtructions, to mediate between her and her ſubjects, 124. propoſes that the young prince ſhould be ſent to England for ſafety, 124. deſigns to aſſiſt queen Mary to make her eſcape from Lochleven, 130. is adviſed by Cecil how to behave to her on her arrival in England, 131—134. ſends meſſengers, with an excuſe, for not accepting a viſit from her, 134. interpoſes in her favour with the regent of Scotland, 135. her artful conduct to procure the ſubmiſſion of queen Mary's cauſe to her, and why ſo deſirous to gain this point, 136, 137. appoints commiſſioners to hear both ſides, 137. the complaints of Mary and thoſe of her enemies are laid before queen Elizabeth's commiſſioners, 139. queries propoſed to her commiſſioners by the earl of Murray, regent of Scotland, 141. the conferences are transferred to Hampton-court, 142. where an anſwer is made to the earl of Murray's queries, ib. artfully draws from him the letters of correſpondence between queen Mary and Bothwell, 144. which contain inconteſtible evidences of Mary's guilt, 145. Elizabeth communicates her ſentiments on this ſubject to her privy-council, 149. and to Mary's commiſſioners, 150. diſmiſſes Murray, with marks of favour, 152. but declines acknowledging him as regent of Scotland, or the young prince as king of Scotland, ib. her artful conduct with queen Mary, in ſending her terms of agreement, and declining thoſe propoſed by that queen, 153. ſhe demands of the French court the reſtitution of Calais, but is obliged to put up with a refuſal, 154, 155. ineffectually renews the negotiations of marriage with the arch duke Charles, 155. ſome anecdotes concerning her religion, 159, 160. her rigidity in puniſhing nonconformity, 160. is greatly influenced by Cecil, 164. her political conduct to him, 165. is informed by Murray of Norfolk's conſpiracy, 166. doth not yield to Norfolk's attempt to amuſe her, 168. takes prudent meaſures to ſuppreſs an inſurrection in the North, 170. is obliged to diſſemble with queen Mary, 172. her perſonal conduct and power, compared with queen Mary's, ib. her propoſals to the ſtates

of Scotland, and answers thereto, 173. she is cautious not to declare openly against queen Mary, 174. but continues to dissemble with her, 175, 176. and makes her several proposals in order to her restoration, 176. which the necessity of her affairs obliges her to consent to, ib. Elizabeth also treats with commissioners, appointed by the Scots parliament, 177. the breach is widened between her and Mary, by the pope's bull of excommunication and deposition, then published, 178. which is supposed to be done in concert with Mary, ib. the dawnings of liberty are suppressed, by her injunctions to the parliament, not to meddle in affairs of state, 179. is offended with the motion of a member of the house of commons, relative to religion, and forbids him to appear in the house afterwards, 181. but takes off this prohibition the next day, 183. her jealousy of her prerogative relative to patents, 184. at the end of a session, she checks by rebukes the feeble efforts therein made towards liberty, 186. and avows maxims of government, asserting an uncontroulable power over her parliaments, 188. gives secret assistance to the protestants in France, 193. the French king endeavours to impose on her, by the proposal of a marriage with the duke of Anjou, 195. which she encourages, in order to deceive him, ib. motives for her dissimulation, ib. caresses the Flemish refugees, 199. insults the duke of Alva, ib. 200. a scheme is formed to subvert her government, 201, 202. it is discovered, and prevented, 203. she hesitates about the execution of the duke of Norfolk, till petitioned by the house of commons, 205. calls queen Mary to account for her conduct, ib. stops proceedings against her in the house of commons, 206. and forbids that house to meddle with the ceremonies of the church, ib. is imposed on by the French king, 209. her astonishment and indignation on hearing of the massacre at Paris, 211. her resolute answer to the French ambassador's account of that transaction, ib. 212. uses her utmost endeavours to guard against the treachery of catholics, and dissembles with the French king, 213, 214. moderates the zealous resentment of her subjects against the French, 215, 216. but encourages the Hugonots in France, 218. her assistance is solicited by the Dutch, against the tyranny of the Spaniards, 222. her reasons for refusing to accept the profered sovereignty of these provinces, ib. 223. ineffectually intercedes for them with Philip of Spain, 223. enters into treaty with them, whereby she is engaged, under certain conditions, to assist them with men and money, 225. proposes for them terms of accommodation with the king of Spain, ib. 226. her wise and politic management, 228, 229. maintains her authority over the parliament, 233. by her ambassador intercedes in behalf of Morton, 236. repulses a Spanish invasion of Ireland, 237. patronises Sir Francis Drake, 239. summons a parliament, ib. obtains of them to pass divers laws in her favour, 240. reprimands the house of commons for appointing a fast of their own authority, ib. by what

means she is engaged to hate the catholics, 242. she resolves, and why, to form a confederacy against the power of Spain, 243. the reception the duke of Anjou's addresses met with from her, 245. an account of the marriage treaty proposed between the queen and the duke, 246. the further prosecution of this courtship, 247, 248. all the friends of the queen remonstrate against the French marriage, 249. whereby she is moved to refuse the duke's suit, 251. exhorts the king of Scotland not to resent the earl of Gowrie's violence, 253. her reasons for opposing queen Mary's restoration, 257. her deceitful dealings with that princess, 258. her government is disturbed by conspiracies in England, 261. which are imputed to the queen of Scots, 262. her parliament's care, and great kindness to her, 263. the nature of her ecclesiastical commissions, 266. the terms of one more arbitrary than the rest, 267. her speech to the commons, from the throne, relative to their petition to the house of peers concerning religious grievances, 268, 269. she grants a new ecclesiastical commission, 269. a conspiracy against her life is formed, ib. 270. it is detected, and the conspirators punished, 271. another conspiracy is defeated, 272. the opinions of her counsellors upon the application of the protestants in Holland, 274, 275. she concludes a league with the Dutch, 276. sends them assistance, headed by the earl of Leicester, 278. how disobliged with the states on this occasion, ib. she invades the Spanish dominions in America, 279. makes a league with the king of Scotland, 283, 284. in what light she then regarded Mary queen of Scots, 286. the effect of the measures she took with that princess, ib. 287. another conspiracy against queen Elizabeth, 289. which is discovered, 292. Mary queen of Scots assents to this conspiracy, 293. the conspirators are seized and punished with death, 295. the treatment she gives, on that occasion, to Mary queen of Scots, 296. issues a commission to try her, ib. her behaviour, on being informed of Mary's condemnation, 308. causes the parliament, which she summoned on queen Mary's account, to be opened by commission, 309. how she receives the solicitations of parliament for Mary's execution, 310. causes queen Mary to be informed of these pressing requests, 312, 313. receives a letter from her, 313, 314. which she never answered, 314. the reasons used by her courtiers, to persuade her to order Mary for execution, 318—320. she resolves on Mary's execution, 320. causes a warrant for the execution to be secretly drawn out, 321. which is sent down to the persons concerned to see it done, ib. her behaviour on hearing of Mary's execution, 331. how she treated, secretly, Davison on that account, 333, 334. becomes sensible of the danger of this proceeding, 335. sends a fleet, under Drake, against the coasts of Spain, 338. makes preparations to oppose the invincible armada, 344. her ships and sailors, compared with those of Spain, 346. the prudence and vigour of her conduct on this occasion,

caſion, ib. 347. the means ſhe uſed to rouſe the animoſity of the nation againſt popery, 348. her ſpirited appearance when riding through the lines, 349. her behaviour on hearing of the return of the Spaniſh armada into the ports of Spain, 350. her admiral's behaviour on that occaſion, ib. 351. her fleet engages the armada in the channel, 352, 353. and defeats it, 355. her uſual injunction renewed every ſeſſion to the houſe of commons, 357. her imperious behaviour to that houſe, 358. her ſpeech to their committee, 359. ſhe permits her ſubjects to ſend out expeditions againſt Spain, 362. oppoſes the Scots king's marriage with a princeſs of Denmark, 365, 366. aſſiſts the king of Navarre with money, 369. makes him a preſent of more money, after his acceſſion to the French throne, 371. continues her ſuccours, 372, 373. concludes a new treaty with him, and ſends him three thouſand men, 373. and, notwithſtanding former diſappointments, forms another treaty with him, 375. the ſucceſs of divers adventurers, patroniſed by her, againſt Spain, 377. her anſwer to the ſpeaker of the houſe of commons, ſoliciting as uſual for the privileges of the houſe, 378. ſhe puts three members under confinement, for propoſing to offer a bill for entailing the ſucceſſion of the crown, ib. mortifies the houſe further, 379, 380. and points out to them the only buſineſs that they are to take under their conſideration, 380. makes them obey her, 381. and alſo to grant larger ſupplies, ib. 382. her aſſuming harangue on that occaſion, 382. makes a new league with the French king after his apoſtacy, 385. her advice to the Scots king, upon the diſcovery of the plot of the three catholic lords againſt him, 386. how ſhe regarded that prince, ib. 387. a conſpiracy againſt her, how diſappointed and avenged, 388. powerfully aſſiſts the French king againſt the catholic league, ib. becomes more ſparing in his cauſe, 389. enters into a treaty with the ſtates of Holland, 390. encourages naval expeditions againſt the Spaniſh dominions in America, 392. and againſt Spain, 393. her fleet takes and plunders Cadiz, 394, 395. creates lord Effingham, commander in chief in that expedition, earl of Nottingham, 396. grants to the earl of Eſſex the chief command of an expedition againſt Spain, ib. creates him earl-marſhal of England, 399. ſummons a parliament, ib. her ſpeech to the parliament, delivered by the lord-keeper, 400. her anſwer to the application of the houſe of commons, about monopolies, 401. her remonſtrance to the French king againſt a peace with Spain, 402. her behaviour on that occaſion, ib. 403. ſhe liſtens to Eſſex's councils, 405. falls out with him, ib. 406. reinſtates him in her favour, 408. makes a new treaty with the Dutch, 409. appoints the earl of Eſſex lord governor of Ireland, 420. levies for him a numerous army, ib. is greatly diſguſted on hearing of his frivolous enterpriſes, 423. informs him of her diſſatisfaction, 425. at firſt receives him graciouſly, ib. but orders him to be confined to

his

his chamber, and examined by the council, 426. her behaviour to that nobleman under ſickneſs, 427. and afterwards on his recovery, ib. 428. appoints lord Mountjoy deputy of Ireland, ib. what contributed to keep up her anger againſt Eſſex, 429. ſhe cauſes him to be again examined by the privy-council, ib. orders Bacon to draw up an account of Eſſex's examination, 432. her behaviour on hearing his narrative read, ib. her ſoft anſwer to Eſſex's ſubmiſſive meſſage, 433. her rough anſwer to Eſſex's requeſt, relative to a renewal of his monopoly patent of ſweet wines, 434. its effect on that nobleman, ib. her remarkable jealouſy about her beauty and perſon, 436. breaks off a negotiation with Spain, on account of a diſpute about a point of ceremony, 439. what means ſhe uſes to diſcover if Eſſex is projecting an inſurrection, 441. gets information of Eſſex's deſigns, 442. behaves with great tranquility during the inſurrection, 443, 444. orders Eſſex and Southampton to be tried by their peers, 444, 445. her inconſtant reſolutions about Eſſex's fate, terminate in her conſent to his execution, 447. cauſes ſome of his aſſociates to be alſo executed, and pardons the reſt, 449. is deſirous of a perſonal interview with the French king, 451. her political ſentiments, with reſpect to the ſyſtem of Europe, ib. the ſchemes of her courtiers, with reſpect to Ireland, 452. her juſt reſolutions on that head, 455. the expedients ſhe made uſe of to raiſe money for ſuppreſſing Iriſh inſurrections, are productive of many grievances, 457. the topics inſiſted on for ſupport of theſe meaſures in that houſe, 458, 459. promiſes to cancel the moſt grievous monopoly patents, 459. her behaviour to the commons, when thanking her for her goodneſs, in making this condeſcending promiſe, 464. her fleet takes, and brings home, a Spaniſh Curacao ſhip, 465. ſhe grows melancholy, 466. the ſuppoſed cauſe of her uneaſineſs, ib. 467. her death and character, 469, 470. her miniſters and warriors, 470. her fame, how eſtimated, ib. 471. the ſtate of government during her reign, 472. the antient and eſtabliſhed inſtruments of power, 473. the then ſtate of the martial law, 474, 475. what the government of England then reſembled, 479. her arbitrary power, and endleſs inventions to ſtrip her people of money, 482. her proclamations and embargoes, how uſed by her, ib. 483. extravagant acts of arbitrary power, 484. how ſedition was then puniſhed, 486. her moſt abſolute authority, how believed and ſubmitted to, 488. the ſad ſtate of morals in her reign, 489, 490. her œconomy, 492. an account of the payments ſhe made, and the debts due to her, 493. her ordinary revenue, 494. how ſhe ſhook off dependance on foreigners, and foreign loans, 496. how ſhe encouraged commerce and navigation, ib. 497. her dealings with Muſcovy and Turky, 498. with the Hanſe towns, Genoa, and Venice, 499, 500. the magnificence and hoſpitality of her nobility, 503. the reſtraints ſhe laid on luxury, 505.

505. her own practice in that reſpect, ib. her character as an author, 508. what regard ſhe paid to learned men, ib. 509.

Elizabeth, princeſs, daughter of James I. married to Frederic, Elector Palatine of the Rhine, vi. 2. See *Frederick*, Elector Palatine of the Rhine.

Elliot, Sir John, impriſoned and releaſed, and why, vi. 156, 157. his behaviour in the houſe, 214. again impriſoned, 216. dies in priſon, ib. how reſented by the nation, ib.

Embargoes, how uſed in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, v. 482.

Emma, ſiſter of duke Richard of Normandy, is married to king Ethelred, i. 144. becomes a widow by his death, 156. is married to his ſucceſſor, Canute the Great, 161. after his death, lives at Wincheſter, 166. flies with her ſon Henry into Normandy, 167.

Empſon, miniſter of Henry VII. ſeconds that prince's avaritious diſpoſition, iii. 407. his character, ib. and tyrannical proceedings, 408. is impriſoned on the acceſſion of Henry VIII. 432. his ſhrewd apology, ib. 433. falls a ſacrifice to popular reſentment, 434.

England, (and Engliſhmen) erected into a kingdom, i. 61. its nature, 68. firſt invaſions of Danes there, 70. they, for the firſt time, take up their winter quarters there, 73. diſtreſſed by them, 78. its ſtate at Alfred's acceſſion, 100, 101. infeſted by wolves, 133. a maſſacre of Danes there, 150. ſhip-money, firſt levied there, 152. military tenures, firſt ſet up there, ib. the moſt antient ſtate of its church, 200. the ſtate of its towns before the Norman conqueſt, 225. a great conſternation there, 246. its nobility accept William duke of Normandy, for king of England, 249, 250. diſcontents there, 256. inſurrections there, 258. they are quelled, 262. new inſurrections there, 265. they grow general, 266. are quelled, 267. the feudal law is introduced there, 270. the Pope's authority introduced there, 273. his legate there, for the firſt time, ib. no fury of cruſades there, 320. its ſtate at the beginning of Henry I's reign, 333. its great men obtain the privilege of building fortreſſes, 379, 380. the conſequence of this licence, 384, 385. its extraordinary ſufferings in the reign of Stephen, 394. its ſtate at the time of the acceſſion of Henry II. the then authority of its monarch, 399. the then ſtate of the civil and eccleſiaſtic authority, 416, 417. the diſpute between Henry II. and Becket begins there, 418. Becket's aſſaſſination there, 446. heretics, firſt puniſhed there, 452. an account of its feudal government, ii. 109. the authority of the king and barons there, 110. the power of the latter in their courts, 111. their power over their vaſſals, ib. in imitation of what country, and by what means, the Engliſh were emboldened to require an independance on their ſovereign, 121. and after what model the privileges of the peers, and liberty of the commons were formed, ib. the ſituation of England, when the proviſions of Oxford took place there, 197. its manners then, 233. entails introduced there, 333. a famine

mine there, 376. its nobility affect the French language, 410. a plague there, 462. its ſtate, when Edward III. died, iii. 5, 6. the weakneſs of its laws then, 63. the then ſtate of its affairs in France, ib. an inſurrection of the common people there, 8. their extraordinary numbers, headed by Tyler and Straw, 9. ſuppreſſed, 11. firſt impeachment of a chancellor in England, 16. firſt impeachment by the commons, ib. the houſe of commons firſt appears to be of weight in the conſtitution, 19. expulſion and execution of the miniſters of Richard II. 21. a general inſurrection there, 42. the depoſition of King Richard II. 43—50. the acceſſion of Henry IV. being the firſt of the Lancaſtrian family, 66. an inſurrection of nobles againſt him, 68. ſuppreſſed, 69. an inſurrection in Wales, 71. Northumberland's rebellion, 74—80. the prince of Scotland, a priſoner there, 80. the Lollards there, 93. its king, Henry V. declared heir of the monarchy of France, 116. a protector, during a minority, choſen, 130. Cade's inſurrection, 196, 197. the throne is reſtored to the family of York, in the perſon of Edward IV. 220. Henry VI. eſcapes into Scotland, 227. his return, defeat, and impriſonment, 233, 234. an inſurrection in Yorkſhire, 242, 243. another rebellion againſt Edward IV. 246. his expulſion, 252. his return, 257. a protector choſen by the privy-council, 285. the murder of Edward V. and his brother, 294. diſcontents of the people of England, iii. 338. Lambert Simnel's invaſion, 345. a truce for ſeven years with Scotland, 350. war with France, 371. concluded by a peace, 373. Perkin Warbec declared for by many of the nobility, 378. that impoſture detected, 380. his inſurrection finally ſuppreſſed, 400. England is greatly oppreſſed by Henry VII. 408, 409. the ſtate of commerce in his time, 422—424. it is greatly devoted to the church of Rome, 450. its eccleſiaſtical ſtate conſidered, iv. 33. the beginning of the reformation there, 38. diſcontents increaſe, on account of Henry VII. his exactions, 67. the progreſs of the reformation there, 104. 116. 142. a final breach between England and Rome, 127. union with Wales commenced, 132. the then religious principles of England, 136. interdicted by the Pope, 152. the union with Wales compleated, 162. diſcontents of the people, on account of the abolition of monaſteries, 184. how pacified, 189. an inſurrection on account of religion, 231. the Engliſh are entirely enſlaved by Henry VIII. 289. have little foreign commerce at this time, 294. and their artificers are greatly excelled by foreigners, 295. the country is depopulated by incloſures, 298. learning is there encouraged, 299. the reformation is compleated, 308. the kingdom is diſtracted, by the oppoſite opinions of their preachers, 332. diſcontents increaſe, on account of the ſuppreſſion of monks, and other religious orders, 351. inſurrections in ſeveral places, 354. the ſucceſſion to the throne is altered, 386. the catholic religion reſtored, 403. a violent perſecution of the reformed in England,

505. her own practice in that reſpect, ib. her character as an author, 508. what regard ſhe paid to learned men, ib. 509.

Elizabeth, princeſs, daughter of James I. married to Frederic, Elector Palatine of the Rhine, vi. 2. See *Frederick*, Elector Palatine of the Rhine.

Elliot, Sir John, impriſoned and releaſed, and why, vi. 156, 157. his behaviour in the houſe, 214. again impriſoned, 216. dies in priſon, ib. how reſented by the nation, ib.

Embargoes, how uſed in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, v. 482.

Emma, ſiſter of duke Richard of Normandy, is married to king Ethelred, i. 144. becomes a widow by his death, 156. is married to his ſucceſſor, Canute the Great, 161. after his death, lives at Wincheſter, 166. flies with her ſon Henry into Normandy, 167.

Empſon, miniſter of Henry VII. ſeconds that prince's avaritious diſpoſition, iii. 407. his character, ib. and tyrannical proceedings, 408. is impriſoned on the acceſſion of Henry VIII. 432. his ſhrewd apology, ib. 433. falls a ſacrifice to popular reſentment, 434.

England, (and Engliſhmen) erected into a kingdom, i. 61. its nature, 68. firſt invaſions of Danes there, 70. they, for the firſt time, take up their winter quarters there, 73. diſtreſſed by them, 78. its ſtate at Alfred's acceſſion, 100, 101. infeſted by wolves, 133. a maſſacre of Danes there, 150. ſhip-money, firſt levied there, 152. military tenures, firſt ſet up there, ib. the moſt antient ſtate of its church, 200. the ſtate of its towns before the Norman conqueſt, 225. a great conſternation there, 246. its nobility accept William duke of Normandy, for king of England, 249, 250. diſcontents there, 256. inſurrections there, 258. they are quelled, 262. new inſurrections there, 265. they grow general, 266. are quelled, 267. the feudal law is introduced there, 270. the Pope's authority introduced there, 273. his legate there, for the firſt time, ib. no fury of cruſades there, 320. its ſtate at the beginning of Henry I's reign, 333. its great men obtain the privilege of building fortreſſes, 379, 380. the conſequence of this licence, 384, 385. its extraordinary ſufferings in the reign of Stephen, 394. its ſtate at the time of the acceſſion of Henry II. the then authority of its monarch, 399. the then ſtate of the civil and eccleſiaſtic authority, 416, 417. the diſpute between Henry II. and Becket begins there, 418. Becket's aſſaſſination there, 446. heretics, firſt puniſhed there, 452. an account of its feudal government, ii. 109. the authority of the king and barons there, 110. the power of the latter in their courts, 111. their power over their vaſſals, ib. in imitation of what country, and by what means, the Engliſh were emboldened to require an independance on their ſovereign, 121. and after what model the privileges of the peers, and liberty of the commons were formed, ib. the ſituation of England, when the proviſions of Oxford took place there, 197. its manners then, 233. entails introduced there, 333. a fa-

mine

mine there, 376. its nobility affect the French language, 410. a plague there, 462. its ſtate, when Edward III. died, iii. 5, 6. the weakneſs of its laws then, 63. the then ſtate of its affairs in France, ib. an inſurrection of the common people there, 8. their extraordinary numbers, headed by Tyler and Straw, 9. ſuppreſſed, 11. firſt impeachment of a chancellor in England, 16. firſt impeachment by the commons, ib. the houſe of commons firſt appears to be of weight in the conſtitution, 19. expulſion and execution of the miniſters of Richard II. 21. a general inſurrection there, 42. the depoſition of King Richard II. 43—50. the acceſſion of Henry IV. being the firſt of the Lancaſtrian family, 66. an inſurrection of nobles againſt him, 68. ſuppreſſed, 69. an inſurrection in Wales, 71. Northumberland's rebellion, 74—80. the prince of Scotland, a priſoner there, 80. the Lollards there, 93. its king, Henry V. declared heir of the monarchy of France, 116. a protector, during a minority, choſen, 130. Cade's inſurrection, 196, 197. the throne is reſtored to the family of York, in the perſon of Edward IV. 220. Henry VI. eſcapes into Scotland, 227. his return, defeat, and impriſonment, 233, 234. an inſurrection in Yorkſhire, 242, 243. another rebellion againſt Edward IV. 246. his expulſion, 252. his return, 257. a protector choſen by the privy-council, 285. the murder of Edward V. and his brother, 294. diſcontents of the people of England, iii. 338. Lambert Simnel's invaſion, 345. a truce for ſeven years with Scotland, 350. war with France, 371. concluded by a peace, 373. Perkin Warbec declared for by many of the nobility, 378. that impoſture detected, 380. his inſurrection finally ſuppreſſed, 400. England is greatly oppreſſed by Henry VII. 408, 409. the ſtate of commerce in his time, 422—424. it is greatly devoted to the church of Rome, 450. its eccleſiaſtical ſtate conſidered, iv. 33. the beginning of the reformation there, 38. diſcontents increaſe, on account of Henry VII. his exactions, 67. the progreſs of the reformation there, 104. 116. 142. a final breach between England and Rome, 127. union with Wales commenced, 132. the then religious principles of England, 136. interdicted by the Pope, 152. the union with Wales compleated, 162. diſcontents of the people, on account of the abolition of monaſteries, 184. how pacified, 189. an inſurrection on account of religion, 231. the Engliſh are entirely enſlaved by Henry VIII. 289. have little foreign commerce at this time, 294. and their artificers are greatly excelled by foreigners, 295. the country is depopulated by incloſures, 298. learning is there encouraged, 299. the reformation is compleated, 308. the kingdom is diſtracted, by the oppoſite opinions of their preachers, 332. diſcontents increaſe, on account of the ſuppreſſion of monks, and other religious orders, 351. inſurrections in ſeveral places, 354. the ſucceſſion to the throne is altered, 386. the catholic religion reſtored, 403. a violent perſecution of the reformed in England,

440. ſubmiſſion of England to the Pope, renewed, 449. ſuffer greatly by Queen Mary's extortions, 452. the commencement of their trade with Muſcovy, 479. their great joy on the acceſſion of Queen Elizabeth, v. 2, 3. the reformed religion is reſtored, 5. the ſupremacy of the church, annexed to the crown, 10. the nomination of biſhops given to the crown, 11. the Engliſh church is attended by thoſe of the Romiſh communion, 16. a plague there, 81. Mary Queen of Scots takes refuge there, 137. conferences about Mary there, ib.—153. puritans there, 156. firſt conſpiracy of the duke of Norfolk, 162. inſurrections in the north, againſt Queen Elizabeth, 168—171. Norfolk's ſecond conſpiracy, 201—205. Sir Francis Drake's expedition, 238, 239. a conſpiracy of Romaniſts againſt Queen Elizabeth, 270. Babington's conſpiracy there, 289. the trial of Mary Queen of Scots there, 299. her execution there, 329. preparations in England to repel the Spaniſh armada, 344. now in the channel, 352. it is defeated, 355. the ſtate of the Queen's authority in England, 368. what the Engliſh government then reſembled, 479. the ſize, and number of the Engliſh navy, 500. its able-bodied men, 501. armed, and militia, ib. its antient ſtate, vi. 46. its ſtate in the reign of queen Elizabeth, compared with its preſent ſtate, 48. its ſtate at the end of the reign of James I. 99—136. arminianiſm there, 210. great diſcontents there, 290. the Scots invaſion, 294. a great council of peers there, 298. the long, or rump parliament meets there, 303. the Iriſh rebellion, 368. preparations for a civil war, 424. which commences, 429. the nation how then divided, ib. 430. military operations commence, 440. Laud's execution there, vii. 37. 39. the king's party is finally diſperſed, 65. preſbytery is ſet up there, 70. the king's trial and execution there, 141—147. the ſtate of England, at the commencement of the commonwealth, 161. the protectorate of Oliver Cromwell commences there, 239. conſpiracies againſt him, 289, 290. the rump reſtored, 307. conſpiracies, 308. inſurrections, 310. anarchy, 312. 314. the reſtoration, 337. its ſtate then, 339. its commerce, how conſiderable then, 348. prelacy reſtored, 370. the preſbyterian clergy ejected, 393. the five mile act, 417. the Coventry act, 479. indulgence there, granted by royal authority, 486, 487. recalled, 515. the marriage of the prince of Orange with the princeſs Mary, the king's niece, viii. 34. Godfrey's murder, 72. a general conſternation there, 73. the trials, and executions of the jeſuits, 108. the great power of the crown of England, 177. Ryehouſe plot there, 181. the then temper of bench and juries, 195. the acceſſion of king James II. 208. Monmouth's invaſion, 219. ſix prelates confined, 261. the landing of the prince of Orange, 284. a general commotion there, 285, 286. the ſettlement of the crown on the prince and princeſs of Orange, or the revolution, 309. the

then ſtate of manners, arts, and ſciences in England, ib. the king's revenues at that time, 316. and amount of the national debt, ib. ſtate of the Engliſh militia, from the reſtoration to the revolution, ib. 317. of the army, during the aforeſaid period, 317. of its navy, ib. its commerce and riches, ib. 318. its burrows, 319. its people, ib. its factions, 321. its learned men, and learning, ib. 322.

Entails, firſt introduced into England, ii. 333. a law made, empowering the nobility to break them, 421.

Epiſcopacy, aboliſhed in Scotland, vi. 271. grows odious in England, 291. aboliſhed there, vii. 31. reſtored in England, 370. in Scotland, 375.

Epiſcopal habit, and ceremonies, rejected by the puritans, v. 156, 157.

Ercombert, youngeſt ſon of Eadbald, his reign, i. 39. and death, ib.

Eremfroy, the pope's legate, calls a national council, 273. its proceedings, ib. 274.

Erne river, battle of, ii. 396.

Eſſex, kingdom of, formed, i. 53. ſubdued by Egbert, founder of the Engliſh monarchy, ib.

——, Earl of, his character, v. 363. ſteals from England, and joins adventurers againſt Spain, ib. commands the land forces in an expedition againſt it, 393. his immoderate joy, at the reſolution of a court-martial, to attack the ſhips in the harbour of Cadiz, how checked, 394. the reception his propoſal met with, 395. his challenge to Lord Effingham, 396. appointed to command the land forces and fleet, in another expedition againſt Spain, ib. intercepts three Spaniſh ſhips, 398. is created earl-marſhal of England, 399. is ſent over to Ireland, in quality of lord governor, at the head of a numerous army, 420. his indiſcretion there, 421, 422. his capital error, 422. an account of his expedition againſt Munſter, ib. 423. into Ulſter, 424. where a truce is made with the rebels, ib. his precipitate appearance before the queen, and how received, 425. his confinement, and examination before the council, 426. the queen's behaviour to him during his ſickneſs, and on his recovery, 427. the reception his letter and preſents met with, ib. 428. the chief conſolation he then enjoyed, 428. his apology before the council, 430. his ſentence there, 431. a narrative of his caſe is drawn up by Bacon, 432. and read to the queen, ib. his ſecond letter to the queen, 433. her rigour makes him throw off every appearance of duty and reſpect, 434. he indulges himſelf in ſarcaſms on her perſon and mind, 435. his pretenſions to the ſucceſſion, how founded, 437. his correſpondence with the king of Scotland, relative to his ſucceſſion to the crown, ib. his impatient ardour to get James declared ſucceſſor, 438. his enemies become unpopular, 440. he enters upon rebellious meaſures, ib. 441. is ſummoned before the council, ib. leaves the deputies, ſent to him

by the queen, in confinement in his houſe, 443. an account of his tranſactions in the ſtreets, and till his return to his own houſe, 444. his trial, ib. 445. condemnation, 445. penitence, 446. execution, 447.

Eſſex, Counteſs, her averſion to her huſband, vi. 6. is divorced, 9. marries the earl of Somerſet. See *Somerſet*.

—— Earl, reſtored to his blood, vi. 6. married to lady Frances Howard, ib. divorced from her, ib.

—— another, made a general of the parliament's army, vi. 434. muſters it, 438. his inſtructions, 441. commands at Edgehill, ib. returns to London with the army, 443. its ſtrength at that time, 444. beſieges Reading, 447. takes it, ib. remains on the defenſive, 454. retreats nearer London, 457. relieves Gloceſter, 466. commands at the firſt battle of Newbury, 467. his anſwer to a letter from the king, prince, and duke of York, vii. 5, 6. eſcapes from his ſurrounded army, ib. adheres to the preſbyterians, 20. reſigns his command, 27. is ſucceeded by Fairfax. See *Fairfax*.

—— Earl, made lord high treaſurer, viii. 100. reſigns, 119. argues for the excluſion bill, 135. engages in Monmouth's conſpiracy, 181. is apprehended, and committed to the tower, 184. his extraordinary death, 194, 195.

Eſtates, convention of, ſummoned in Scotland, v. 173. their proceedings, ib. See *Convention* of eſtates.

Ethelbald and *Ethelbert*, joint kings on the Anglo-Saxon throne, their ſhort reign, i. 76, 77.

Ethelbert ſucceeds Eſcus in the kingdom of Kent, i. 29. his bad ſucceſs in war in the beginning of his reign, ib. his after good ſucceſs againſt Ceaulin king of Weſſex, 30. his marriage with a chriſtian princeſs, daughter of the king of Paris, 32. ſtipulations made on that occaſion, ib. becomes a chriſtian, 34. at his death leaves his kingdom to his ſon Eadbald, 38. his excellent laws, ib.

—— laſt king of Eaſt-Anglia, 48. his death, ib.

Ethelburga, Queen of the Northumbrians, her piety, i. 44.

Ethelred, brother and ſucceſſor of Edward the Martyr, comes to the Engliſh throne, i. 138. is diſturbed by Daniſh invaſions, 139. more invaſions, 141. more ſtill, 143. marries a Daniſh princeſs, ſiſter of Robert duke of Normandy, 144. his kingdom is invaded by Sweyn, a Dane, 151. he buys off the invaſion, 152. his kingdom ſuffers intolerably by a Daniſh invaſion, 153. he flies into Normandy with his queen and two ſons, 154. reſumes the government, ib. is tormented with another Daniſh invaſion, 155. dies, 156.

Ethelwolph, ſucceſſor of Egbert on the Anglo-Saxon throne, gives to his eldeſt ſon a part of his dominions, i. 71. is diſturbed by Daniſh invaſions, ib. goes a pilgrimage to Rome, 74. divides his dominions

nions with his younger ſons, ib. by his will divides England between them, 76.

Ethered, ſucceſſor of the joint kings, is oppoſed by the Danes, i. 77. killed by them, 79.

Eugenius III. pontiff of Rome, confers the legatine authority on Theobald, archbiſhop of Canterbury, i. 391. convokes a ſynod at Rheims, ib. lays king Stephen's party under an interdict, ib.

Europe, its ſtate in the reign of Charlemagne, i. 69. its ſtate at the time of the firſt cruſade, 317. at the acceſſion of Henry II. 396. the kind of government that prevailed in it towards the end of that reign, 468. artillery, great, firſt uſed therein, ii. 445. a peſtilence there, 463. it is diſtracted by Clementines and Urbaniſts, iii. 62. its antient ſtate with reſpect to perſonal liberty, 317. the ſtate of Europe in the reign of Henry VII. 350. Europe's eccleſiaſtical ſtate before the reformation, iv. 32. the reformation begins there, 38. how connected in 1522, 45. furious inſurrections of anabaptiſts there, 138. the ſtate of Europe at the time of queen Elizabeth's acceſſion, v. 65. maſſacre of hugonots there, 210. the invincible armada there, 343. the ſtate of Europe in 1589, 368. its ſtate at the acceſſion of James I. 515. at the commencement of the civil war, or grand rebellion in England, vi. 433. in 1665, vii. 253. in 1658, 286. at the end of the reign of Charles II. viii. 200.

Evers, Sir Ralph, his progreſs with an Engliſh army in Scotland, iv. 268. his reward for theſe ſervices, 269. is killed in battle againſt the Scots, ib.

Eveſham, battle of, ii. 220. a compleat victory over the rebel barons is there obtained, ib.

Exciſe on beer, firſt granted, vii. 3.

Exchange, Royal, when, by whom, and at whoſe charges built, v. 503.

Exchequer, grievances there, a bill brought into the houſe of commons to remedy them, v. 358. ſhut, vii. 486. money of merchants depoſited there is ſeized, ib.

Exeter, Courtney marquis of, forms a conſpiracy againſt Henry VIII. iv. 203. is tried and executed, ib.

Excluſion bill brought into the houſe of commons, viii. 103. renewed there, 129. arguments for and againſt it, 132. paſſed in the houſe of commons, 135. rejected in the houſe of lords, 136.

F.

FAIRFAX, an author, his character, vi. 132.

——— Sir Thomas, ſignalizes his courage in the parliament's army, vi. 469. ſucceeds Eſſex in the chief command of that army, vii. 27. his fineſſe to ſave Oliver Cromwel from the effect of the ſelf-denying ordinance, 28. his character, ib. is entirely governed by Cromwel, ib. new models the army, 52. routs the royal army

at Naſeby, 57. his gallant behaviour there, ib. conquers the Weſt, 62. though depoſed by the army continues a nominal general, 92. appointed one of the king's judges, and abſents himſelf from the trial, 141. reſigns his nominal command, 194. is ſucceeded by Oliver. See *Cromwel*, Oliver.

Falkirk, battle of, ii. 315.

Falkland, Viſcount, his character, vi. 422. writes the king's memorials againſt the parliament, ib. is ſlain in the battle of Newbury, 468. a ſhort diary of his life, ib. 469.

Feaukes de Breaute, a rebel, his puniſhment, ii. 156.

Feefarm rents, the king is empowered by the parliament to ſell them, vii. 463.

Felonies, how ſurpriſingly frequent in queen Elizabeth's reign, v. 489, 490.

Felton, John, condemned and executed for affixing on the gates of the biſhop of London's palace the pope's bull againſt queen Elizabeth, v. 178, 179.

—— murders Buckingham, vi. 201. taken and examined, 202. the judges refuſe to put him to the queſtion in order to extort from him a diſcovery of his accomplices, 203.

Fénelon, the French ambaſſador in England, is ordered to miſrepreſent the maſſacre at Paris, v. 211. is aſhamed of that barbarous tranſaction, ib. how anſwered by queen Elizabeth, ib. 212.

Fenwic, his trial, viii. 109.

Ferdinand, King of Arragon, his character, iii. 405. gives his daughter in marriage to Arthur prince of Wales, 406. becomes very unpopular in Caſtile, 411. and forced to reſign it to the archduke, 414. is reſtored, after the death of that prince, to his throne, ib. his deceitful dealings with Henry VIII. his ſon-in-law, 445. his death, iv. 13.

—— brother of Charles V. emperor of Germany, is by his intereſt made king of the Romans, iv. 456. deſired by his brother, but refuſes to reſign, ib. and the pope refuſes to crown him, ib.

—— II. Emperor of Germany. See *Germany*.

Feverſham, Earl, General of the Engliſh forces, defeats Monmouth at Sedgemoor, viii. 222. his cruelties after the battle, 224.

Fiefs and feudal lands, their original nature, and how changed, ii. 105. the attachment of their poſſeſſors to their chieftains ſupreme and intermediate accounted for, 106.

Finances, their ſtate in the reign of James I. vi. 112. between the reſtoration and revolution, viii. 314.

Finch, Lord keeper, his character, vi. 308. he flies, ib. is impeached in his abſence, ib.

Fines, arbitrary and exorbitant, firſt levied and complained of, ii. 506, 507.

First-fruits in I[illegible]nd granted to the pope, ii. 335.

Fisher, bishop of Rochester, gives offence by a speech in favour of the clergy, iv. 105. refuses to take the oath concerning the succession, 131. is indicted and committed to the tower, ib. favours the imposture of the maid of Kent, 148. is cruelly used in his confinement, 150. created a cardinal by the pope, ib. beheaded for denying the king's supremacy, ib. his speech in favour of monasteries, 183.

Fitz-Allan, Archbishop of Canterbury, goes on a message to the king, ii. 20. excommunicates the opponents of Gloucester's faction, iii. 25. is condemned in parliament, 34. and banished the kingdom, ib.

Fitz-Gerald and *Fitz-Stephen*, Englishmen of great power, engage to assist the king of Leinster, now an exile in England, i. 457. arrive in Ireland, and form a force which nothing there can withstand, 458. overturn it, 459. the king goes over to them with a greater force, 460. See *Henry*.

——— Harris, his case, viii. 148. he is impeached by the house of commons, 150. tried by the common law, and condemned, 153. executed, ib.

——— Osbert, a popular lawyer in London, his atrocious behaviour, ii. 38. punished, 39.

——— Richard Thomas, mayor of London, his character and conduct during his mayoralty, ii. 202. illegally prolongs his authority, 206. his behaviour on hearing the event of the battle of Evesham, 221. his punishment, 223.

Flambard, Bishop of Durham, deposed by Henry I. and committed to prison, i. 339. 340.

Flammoc, Thomas, heads an insurrection, iii. 392. his party is defeated, 395. he is taken and executed, ib.

Flanders and *Flemings*—Baldwin, Earl of, kindly receives Tosti, elder brother of Harold, i. 191. encourages the Norman invasion, 199. protects William, nephew of Henry I. 339. is slain, ib.

——— Charles is assassinated, i. 365. and his dominions are given to William, nephew of Henry I. ib.

——— Philip, commences hostilities against Henry II. i. 470. the progress of his arms, ib. it is agreed to resign into his hands Kent, with Dover and all its fortresses, ib. interposes his good offices towards a reconciliation between Henry II. and his children, 494.

——— Guy, makes a treaty with England against France, ii. 294. his country is made the theatre of war between the English and French kings, 307. he is deserted by his English ally, 308. a rebellion there, 408. fomented by Edward III. 409. who lands there at the head of a large army, ib. where his army is disbanded, 412. the rebel Flemings with their ships reinforce the English during a sea-fight with France, 416. lay siege to St. Omer, ib. are routed by a sally of the garrison, and never after appear in the field, ib. this country becomes the property of John duke of Burgundy, in

at Naſeby, 57. his gallant behaviour there, ib. conquers the Weſt, 62. though depoſed by the army continues a nominal general, 92. appointed one of the king's judges, and abſents himſelf from the trial, 141. reſigns his nominal command, 194. is ſucceeded by Oliver. See *Cromwel*, Oliver.

Falkirk, battle of, ii. 315.

Falkland, Viſcount, his character, vi. 422. writes the king's memorials againſt the parliament, ib. is ſlain in the battle of Newbury, 468. a ſhort diary of his life, ib. 469.

Feaukes de Breaute, a rebel, his puniſhment, ii. 156.

Feefarm rents, the king is empowered by the parliament to ſell them, vii. 463.

Felonies, how ſurpriſingly frequent in queen Elizabeth's reign, v. 489, 490.

Felton, John, condemned and executed for affixing on the gates of the biſhop of London's palace the pope's bull againſt queen Elizabeth, v. 178, 179.

—— murders Buckingham, vi. 201. taken and examined, 202. the judges refuſe to put him to the queſtion in order to extort from him a diſcovery of his accomplices, 203.

Fénelon, the French ambaſſador in England, is ordered to miſrepreſent the maſſacre at Paris, v. 211. is aſhamed of that barbarous tranſaction, ib. how anſwered by queen Elizabeth, ib. 212.

Fenwic, his trial, viii. 109.

Ferdinand, King of Arragon, his character, iii. 405. gives his daughter in marriage to Arthur prince of Wales, 406. becomes very unpopular in Caſtile, 411. and forced to reſign it to the archduke, 414. is reſtored, after the death of that prince, to his throne, ib. his deceitful dealings with Henry VIII. his ſon-in-law, 445. his death, iv. 13.

—— brother of Charles V. emperor of Germany, is by his intereſt made king of the Romans, iv. 456. deſired by his brother, but refuſes to reſign, ib. and the pope refuſes to crown him, ib.

—— II. Emperor of Germany. See *Germany*.

Feverſham, Earl, General of the Engliſh forces, defeats Monmouth at Sedgemoor, viii. 222. his cruelties after the battle, 224.

Fiefs and feudal lands, their original nature, and how changed, ii. 105. the attachment of their poſſeſſors to their chieftains ſupreme and intermediate accounted for, 106.

Finances, their ſtate in the reign of James I. vi. 112. between the reſtoration and revolution, viii. 314.

Finch, Lord-keeper, his character, vi. 308. he flies, ib. is impeached in his abſence, ib.

Fines, arbitrary and exorbitant, firſt levied and complained of, ii. 506, 507.

Firſt-fruits in England granted to the pope, ii. 335.

Fiſher, biſhop of Rocheſter, gives offence by a ſpeech in favour of the clergy, iv. 105. refuſes to take the oath concerning the ſucceſſion, 131. is indicted and committed to the tower, ib. favours the impoſture of the maid of Kent, 148. is cruelly uſed in his confinement, 150. created a cardinal by the pope, ib. beheaded for denying the king's ſupremacy, ib. his ſpeech in favour of monaſteries, 183.

Fitz-Allan, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, goes on a meſſage to the king, ii. 20. excommunicates the opponents of Gloceſter's faction, iii. 25. is condemned in parliament, 34. and baniſhed the kingdom, ib.

Fitz-Gerald and *Fitz-Stephen*, Engliſhmen of great power, engage to aſſiſt the king of Leinſter, now an exile in England, i. 457. arrive in Ireland, and form a force which nothing there can withſtand, 458. overturn it, 459. the king goes over to them with a greater force, 460. See *Henry*.

——— Harris, his caſe, viii. 148. he is impeached by the houſe of commons, 150. tried by the common law, and condemned, 153. executed, ib.

——— Oſbert, a popular lawyer in London, his atrocious behaviour, ii. 38. puniſhed, 39.

——— Richard Thomas, mayor of London, his character and conduct during his mayoralty, ii. 202. illegally prolongs his authority, 206. his behaviour on hearing the event of the battle of Eveſham, 221. his puniſhment, 223.

Flambard, Biſhop of Durham, depoſed by Henry I. and committed to priſon, i. 339. 340.

Flammoc, Thomas, heads an inſurrection, iii. 392. his party is defeated, 395. he is taken and executed, ib.

Flanders and *Flemings*—Baldwin, Earl of, kindly receives Toſti, elder brother of Harold, i. 191. encourages the Norman invaſion, 199. protects William, nephew of Henry I. 339. is ſlain, ib.

——— Charles is aſſaſſinated, i. 365. and his dominions are given to William, nephew of Henry I. ib.

——— Philip, commences hoſtilities againſt Henry II. i. 470. the progreſs of his arms, ib. it is agreed to reſign into his hands Kent, with Dover and all its fortreſſes, ib. interpoſes his good offices towards a reconciliation between Henry II. and his children, 494.

——— Guy, makes a treaty with England againſt France, ii. 294. his country is made the theatre of war between the Engliſh and French kings, 307. he is deſerted by his Engliſh ally, 308. a rebellion there, 408. fomented by Edward III. 409. who lands there at the head of a large army, ib. where his army is diſbanded, 412. the rebel Flemings with their ſhips reinforce the Engliſh during a ſea-fight with France, 416. lay ſiege to St. Omer, ib. are routed by a ſally of the garriſon, and never after appear in the field, ib. this country becomes the property of John duke of Burgundy, in

right of his mother, iii. 98. a ducheſs dowager of which family, named Margaret, lives there, 345. and acquires great authority over the Flemings, ib. by a marriage of an heireſs of the houſe of Burgundy, this country becomes the property of the ſon of Maximilian, king of the Romans, a prince of the houſe of Auſtria, 351. Perkin Warbeck is avowed by the abovementioned Margaret, 377. it becomes the expected property of Charles, prince of Spain, iv. 14. where that prince ſettles every thing in peace, ib. a Flemiſh army, in conjunction with the Engliſh, invade France, 44, 45. Flanders is the only country in Europe where commerce and induſtry flouriſh, 62. and the Flemings the only people with whom England trades, 294. their artificers greatly ſurpaſs the Engliſh, 295. the extraordinary great number of their artizans in London and other cities of England, 296. the reformation principles begin to prevail there, v. 196. the Flemings are greatly alarmed at the arbitrary proceedings of Philip of Spain, now their ſovereign, 197. violently perſecuted by the duke of Alva, 199, 200. many of them fly to England, where they are protected by queen Elizabeth, 199. and introduce ſeveral uſeful manufactures into the kingdom, ib. ſome of its provinces revolt, and unite for mutual defence, 220. ſend an embaſſy to London, proffering to queen Elizabeth the ſovereignty of their provinces, 222. See *United Provinces*.

Fleetwood, his ſpeech in the houſe of commons, concerning the queen's prerogative, v. 182, 183. another ſpeech, 184.

———— Colonel, is made governor of Ireland, vii. 275. his advice to the protector, 282. eſtranges himſelf from him, 291. renounces all claim to the protectorſhip, 301. becomes head of the republican party, 303.

Flouden, battle of, iii. 465.

Folkland, what, i. 245.

Fontarabia, a fruitleſs expedition of the Engliſh to it, iii. 445.

Forbiſher, Sir Martin, his voyage, in connection with Sir Walter Raleigh, v. 485. his fruitleſs voyages for the north-weſt paſſage, 497.

Forreſt, a friar, a zealous preacher of the reformation, iv. 234. is condemned, and burnt, ib.

Forreſts, diſafforeſted by the king, ii. 149. by act of parliament, 304. extended, 506.

Fortreſſes, firſt built in England, i. 380. their number there, in the reign of Henry III. ii. 159.

Fotheringay Caſtle, Mary queen of Scots there tried, v. 296. condemned there, 308. and executed, 329.

Fox, Richard, a clergyman, his character, iii. 336. entruſted by Henry VII. with all his ſecrets, 335. his preferments, 336. his conduct on the acceſſion of Henry VIII. 431. recommended to the king by Wolſey, by whom he is ſupplanted, 454.

Fox, Edward, sent by Henry VIII. to treat with the pope concerning his divorce, iv. 92.

—— John, founder of the Quakers, his history, vii. 342.

France, invaded by Normans, i. 146. its king Charles grants them Nieustria, 147. the French language becomes fashionable in the court of England, 174. is divided and sub-divided into small principalities, 197. their king Philip is a minor at the time of the Norman invasion, 199. obtains of the conqueror terms of peace for Ralph de Guader a Norman rebel, 285, 286. a furious eagerness after crusades prevails there, 319. the French king, Philip the Gross, his transactions with Henry I. 359, 360. the methods he took to make Henry I. uneasy, ib. makes war with England, 361. accommodates his differences with Henry, ib. but still protects his nephew, the son of Robert, 364. puts him in possession of Flanders, 365. the French king, Lewis the VIIth, or the younger, betroths his sister Constantia, to the eldest son of Stephen, king of England, 378. divorces Eleanor, heiress of Poictou, 392, 393. its state, at the time of the accession of Hugh Capet, 397. the antient state of its armies, 398. the policy of its king above-named, 401. he affiances the princess Margaret, an infant in her cradle, to Henry, son of Henry II. 404. his partiality, 406. the marriage of the young prince and princess is solemnized, by order of king Henry II. 407. the French king makes war with England, ib. invites Becket to fix his retreat at Soissons, 431. protects a vassal of the dutchy of Guyenne against Henry I. 437. is present at a conference between Henry and Becket, 439. an anecdote relative to one of these conferences, 440. the French king demands satisfaction, on account of his daughter not being anointed along with young Henry her husband, 442. exhorts the pope to pronounce the most dreadful sentence of excommunication, against Henry, 450. instils disloyal principles into his son-in-law, 466. engages his vassals by an oath to adhere to his son-in-law, 469, 479. raises a great army in his favour, 470. which is defeated, 471. a conference between the two contending monarchs is abortive, 473. the French king invades Normandy, 478. his deceit there, is frustrated, ib. peace takes place between France and England, 479. the French king's superstition, and unhealthy state, 485. his son Philip assumes the government, 486. is baulked, with respect to the wardship of Brittany, claimed by him, 488. engages in a crusade, in conjunction with the king of England, 490. imposes a tax on his subjects for that purpose, ib. his deceitful conduct towards Henry II. 491. his success in war against Henry II. 494. makes peace with him, 495. the number of his troops engaged in the crusade, ii. 8. his agreement with Richard I. king of England, ib. both are obliged to shelter themselves in Messina, at once, 9. their quarrels there are in some measure composed, 10, 11. his arrival, and first transactions in Palestine, 14. his success there, 15. leaves Palestine, ib.

right of his mother, iii. 98. a dutchess dowager of which family, named Margaret, lives there, 345. and acquires great authority over the Flemings, ib. by a marriage of an heiress of the house of Burgundy, this country becomes the property of the son of Maximilian, king of the Romans, a prince of the house of Austria, 351. Perkin Warbeck is avowed by the abovementioned Margaret, 377. it becomes the expected property of Charles, prince of Spain, iv. 14. where that prince settles every thing in peace, ib. a Flemish army, in conjunction with the English, invade France, 44, 45. Flanders is the only country in Europe where commerce and industry flourish, 62. and the Flemings the only people with whom England trades, 294. their artificers greatly surpass the English, 295. the extraordinary great number of their artizans in London and other cities of England, 296. the reformation principles begin to prevail there, v. 196. the Flemings are greatly alarmed at the arbitrary proceedings of Philip of Spain, now their sovereign, 197. violently persecuted by the duke of Alva, 199, 200. many of them fly to England, where they are protected by queen Elizabeth, 199. and introduce several useful manufactures into the kingdom, ib. some of its provinces revolt, and unite for mutual defence, 220. send an embassy to London, proffering to queen Elizabeth the sovereignty of their provinces, 222. See *United Provinces*.

Fleetwood, his speech in the house of commons, concerning the queen's prerogative, v. 182, 183. another speech, 184.

——— Colonel, is made governor of Ireland, vii. 275. his advice to the protector, 282. estranges himself from him, 291. renounces all claim to the protectorship, 301. becomes head of the republican party, 303.

Flouden, battle of, iii. 465.

Folkland, what, i. 245.

Fontarabia, a fruitless expedition of the English to it, iii. 445.

Forbisher, Sir Martin, his voyage, in connection with Sir Walter Raleigh, v. 485. his fruitless voyages for the north-west passage, 497.

Forrest, a friar, a zealous preacher of the reformation, iv. 234. is condemned, and burnt, ib.

Forrests, disafforested by the king, ii. 149. by act of parliament, 304. extended, 506.

Fortresses, first built in England, i. 389. their number there, in the reign of Henry III. ii. 159.

Fotheringay Castle, Mary queen of Scots there tried, v. 296. condemned there, 308. and executed, 329.

Fox, Richard, a clergyman, his character, iii. 336. entrusted by Henry VII. with all his secrets, 335. his preferments, 336. his conduct on the accession of Henry VIII. 431. recommended to the king by Wolsey, by whom he is supplanted, 454.

Fox, Edward, sent by Henry VIII. to treat with the pope concerning his divorce, iv. 92.

—— John, founder of the Quakers, his history, vii. 342.

France, invaded by Normans, i. 146. its king Charles grants them Nieustria, 147. the French language becomes fashionable in the court of England, 174. is divided and sub-divided into small principalities, 197. their king Philip is a minor at the time of the Norman invasion, 199. obtains of the conqueror terms of peace for Ralph de Guader a Norman rebel, 285, 286. a furious eagerness after crusades prevails there, 319. the French king, Philip the Gross, his transactions with Henry I. 359, 360. the methods he took to make Henry I. uneasy, ib. makes war with England, 361. accommodates his differences with Henry, ib. but still protects his nephew, the son of Robert, 364. puts him in possession of Flanders, 365. the French king, Lewis the VIIth, or the younger, betroths his sister Constantia, to the eldest son of Stephen, king of England, 378. divorces Eleanor, heiress of Poictou, 392, 393. its state, at the time of the accession of Hugh Capet, 397. the antient state of its armies, 398. the policy of its king above-named, 401. he affiances the princess Margaret, an infant in her cradle, to Henry, son of Henry II. 404. his partiality, 406. the marriage of the young prince and princess is solemnized, by order of king Henry II. 407. the French king makes war with England, ib. invites Becket to fix his retreat at Soissons, 431. protects a vassal of the dutchy of Guyenne against Henry I. 437. is present at a conference between Henry and Becket, 439. an anecdote relative to one of these conferences, 440. the French king demands satisfaction, on account of his daughter not being anointed along with young Henry her husband, 442. exhorts the pope to pronounce the most dreadful sentence of excommunication, against Henry, 450. instils disloyal principles into his son-in-law, 466. engages his vassals by an oath to adhere to his son-in-law, 469, 479. raises a great army in his favour, 470. which is defeated, 471. a conference between the two contending monarchs is abortive, 473. the French king invades Normandy, 478. his deceit there, is frustrated, ib. peace takes place between France and England, 479. the French king's superstition, and unhealthy state, 485. his son Philip assumes the government, 486. is baulked, with respect to the wardship of Brittany, claimed by him, 488. engages in a crusade, in conjunction with the king of England, 490. imposes a tax on his subjects for that purpose, ib. his deceitful conduct towards Henry II. 491. his success in war against Henry II. 494. makes peace with him, 495. the number of his troops engaged in the crusade, ii. 8. his agreement with Richard I. king of England, ib. both are obliged to shelter themselves in Messina, at once, 9. their quarrels there are in some measure composed, 10, 11. his arrival, and first transactions in Palestine, 14. his success there, 15. leaves Palestine, ib.

the requeſt he makes to the Pope, on his way home, ib. his attempts to diſturb the peace of Richard's dominions during his abſence, 19. his behaviour on Conrade's being aſſaſſinated, 20. on hearing of the king of England's impriſonment, 25. is repulſed in his attempt on Rouen, 26. but corrupts prince John, ib. 27. his ambaſſadors, in vain, accuſe Richard of England, to the dyet of Ratisbon, 27. his letter to prince John, on hearing that the king of England was ſet at liberty, 31. the tranſaction of a ſhort war between him and England, 33, 34. after ſome fruitleſs efforts to diſturb John, now king of England, 42. the French king makes peace with him, 43. renews the war, 46. adjudges John to have forfeited all his fiefs and ſeignories in France, 50. defeats his army at Alençon, 50. in contempt of the Pope's injunction, lays ſiege to Chateau Galliard, 52, 53. takes it, 53. the kingdom of England is proffered to him by the pope, 71. he collects a great army and a fleet to take poſſeſſion of it, ib. is enraged at the agreement between the Pope and king John, but deſiſts from his undertaking, 75. on an application from the diſcontented barons in England, ſends his eldeſt ſon, prince Lewis, at the head of a great army, to their aſſiſtance, 98. an account of the military operations in that expedition, 151. a pacification being made, prince Lewis leaves this kingdom, 153. the French king's pretences about this expedition, 154. Lewis VIII. ſucceſſor of his father Philip, makes war with Henry III. 160. the ſucceſs of France in that war, 170. the character of Lewis IX. 193, 194. he obtains a ceſſion of Normandy and other provinces in France, then belonging to the king of England, 194. tries to perſuade earl Leiceſter to ſubmit to his ſovereign's authority, 199. in preſence of the ſtates of France and England, convened at Amiens in France, makes an award between the king and the diſcontented barons, 205. favours the queen's enterprize to relieve her huſband, 213. dies at Tunis in Africa, 225. the French language becomes general, 261. Philip the Hardy, ſucceſſor of Lewis IX. permits his ſubjects to avenge themſelves of the Engliſh, 268. an account of negociations between the two crowns, in order to prevent a rupture, 270. war breaks out between France and England, 271. the total conqueſt of Guyenne by the French, 272. an alliance between France and Baliol, ib. 273. the defection of the earl of Flanders, and his alliance with the Engliſh king, 294, 295. a French army invades Flanders, 307. peace is made with England by the award of pope Boniface, 308. and the earl of Flanders left to the mercy of Philip, ib. the French king refuſes to interpoſe his good offices in behalf of the Scots, 317. ſecretly encourages a conſpiracy againſt Edward II. 365. his cruelty to the knights Templars, 375. which is approved of by pope Clement V. 376. Edward Baliol leaves France, 394. an account of the French and their laws, 401, 402. the order of ſucceſſion to the French crown,

ib. 403. receives from the king of England homage at Paris for Guyenne, 405. prepares to repulſe an intended invaſion from England, 411. repulſes it, 412. but the French navy is beaten at ſea, 415. France is again invaded by England, 417. Tournay beſieged, ib. the French king defied by the king of England, 418, 419. a truce is made between England and France, 420. Charles of Blois, huſband of the heireſs of Brittany, ſolicits at that court the inveſtiture of that duchy, 428. 430. In the interim, the capital of the duchy is taken by the French king's eldeſt ſon, 430. military operations in Brittany, 431. the ſiege of the caſtle of Hennebone, ib. Charles of Blois's party attacks and carries Vannes, 433. and the Engliſh army there is over-awed by the French troops under the command of the eldeſt prince of France, then titular duke of Normandy, 434. the operations of the Engliſh army in Guyenne, 436. an Engliſh army, commanded by the king in perſon, lands in Normandy, 439. pillages that country, 440. the French forces ſurround the Engliſh, 442. oblige them to come to a battle at Crecy, 444. the attack begins, 447. the French army is routed, 449. the ſtate of France in the reign of Edward III. 463. the character of John, king of France, 464. he diſcovers the king of Navarre's correſpondence with the king of England, 465. throws him into priſon, 466. France is invaded by the prince of Wales, ſon of Edward III. ib. by his father in perſon, 467. who returns to defend England againſt the Scots, ib. the French king, John, marches againſt the prince of Wales, now in the heart of France, 469. attacks him at Poitiers, 470. is there diſcomfited and made priſoner, 472. the reception he met with from the prince of Wales, 473. his reception in England, 475. the diſorders that aroſe in France during his captivity, 476, 477. Charles the Dauphin, and ſtates of France, reject the treaty made between the king of England and his captive, the French king, 480. who is releaſed by the peace made at Bretigni, 485. the Dauphin becomes king by the death of his father, 487. his character, ib. the difficulties which he had to ſtruggle with, when he mounted the throne, 488. the diſorders that prevailed in France after the peace of Bretigny, 489. armies of banditti there, ib. French troops go to the aſſiſtance of Henry Triſtamare, brother of Peter, king of Caſtile, 490. theſe troops are defeated by the prince of Wales at Najara, 493. Other French troops place the above-named Henry on the throne of Caſtile, 494. the then French king, ſummons the prince of Wales to appear at his court in Paris, 496. over-runs the provinces in France belonging to the king of England, 497. a truce is made between the two crowns, 498. the character of the king, and ſtate of the kingdom of France at this period, 499. the operations of a new war between France and England, ib. the French fleet, intended for the invaſion of England, is diſperſed in a ſtorm, iii. 14. a truce is made with

with England, 28. renewed, 71. diviſions between the families of Orleans and Burgundy, are fomented by Henry III. 81. the ſtate of France, in the beginning of the reign of Henry V. of England, 101, 102. diſputes in it, about the legality of aſſaſſination or tyrannicide, 99. general violence reigns there, ib. theſe quarrels are fomented by Henry V. 100, 101. who invades France, 103. Harfleur taken by that prince, 104. the French army headed by Charles the Dauphin, eldeſt ſon of the former, give battle to the Engliſh at Azincour, 105, 106. are routed by them 107. a liſt of the killed, wounded, and priſoners, 108. a truce is made, 109. violent quarrels ariſe in the royal family, 110, 111. more ſucceſsfully invaded by the Engliſh, 112. the Dauphin and duke of Burgundy agree to oppoſe the Engliſh arms, 113. the ſtate of the public affairs are greatly altered, by the aſſaſſination of the duk of Burgundy, in the Dauphin's Preſence, 114. Paris is threatened, and the court withdraws from it, 115. the ſucceſſion to the French crown, and the immediate regency of the kingdom is transferred to Henry V. by the treaty of Troye, 116. the Engliſh are defeated at Baugé, 120. the Dauphin is chaſed beyond the Loire, 121. the ſtate of France, when Henry VI. king of England, a minor, came to the throne, 130. the character of the late dauphin, now the French king, 132. military operations between the French and the Engliſh regency, 135. a reſolution is taken to give the Engliſh battle at Verneuil, 137. victory declares againſt the French, 138. the French affairs begin to wear a more promiſing aſpect, 142, 143. the city of Orleans is beſieged, 144. a detachment ſent to intercept a convoy of proviſions, deſtined for the uſe of the beſiegers, is defeated, 146, 147. this battle, how called, 147. the garriſon is reduced to great difficulties, ib. the maid of Orleans makes her appearance there, 148. the ſiege is raiſed, 157. the coronation of the king at Rheims, 158. a further detail of military movements, 160. the young king of England crowned in Paris, 161. a further account of the maid of Orleans, ib.—166. hiſtory of the war reſumed, 166. the reconciliation of the French king and the duke of Burgundy, 168, 169. the Engliſh affairs decline in France, 171. their poſſeſſion there, how retained, 172. the war is carried on in a feeble and languid manner, 174. the duke of Orleans, a priſoner, taken on the field of Azincour, is releaſed, and reconciled to the duke of Burgundy, who pays his ranſom, 175. a truce is made with England, 176. New differences ariſe, 181. the ſtate of France, at this time, 182. a new war breaks out with England, 183. their power is expelled out of France, by the conqueſt of Guyenne, 185. the factious diſpoſition of Lewis, the dauphin, occupies the French king, ib. ſome Gaſcon lords offer to return to their allegiance to the king of England, 205. an Engliſh invaſion, occaſioned by this encouragement, is repulſed, 206. French troops invade England, 232. theſe forces, ſtrengthened

ſtrengthened by the junction of Lancaſtrians, are routed at Hexham, 233. the vaſſals of the French crown are alarmed at the dark and dangerous deſigns of Lewis XI. now their king, 240. who enters into a confederacy with the earl of Warwic, 248. and ſends him over to England, at the head of an army, 250. a league is formed againſt France, by Edward IV. and the duke of Burgundy, 264. in conſequence of this agreement, France is invaded by England, 265. a truce is made, 267. political remarks on this treaty, 269. the impolitic conduct of the French king, with reſpect to the heireſs of Burgundy, 271. the French king, Charles VIII. aſſiſts the earl of Richmond againſt Richard III. 307. a treaty is made with Maximilian, king of the Romans, whereby his daughter is affianced to the eldeſt ſon of Lewis, the French king, and divers provinces given to France as her dowry, 351. the policy of the French court on this occaſion, 352. the then ſtate of France, ib. 353. a French army, under the count Dunois, invades Brittany, 354. complains to England of the duke of Brittany, 355. the French army beſieges Nantz, 358. is conſtrained to raiſe the ſiege by a tumultuary army of Britains, 359. who are afterwards totally diſſipated by a French army at St. Aubin, 360. the court of France aſſumes the deſign of marrying the heireſs of Brittany to their young king, 365. by that marriage annexes Brittany to France, 367. but greatly provokes the king of the Romans, ib. 368. the great ſtrength of France, ariſing from the union of the great fiefs in the crown, 370. it is invaded by England, 372. purchaſes the emperor's friendſhip, by ceding to him two counties, ib. makes peace with England, 373. and with the king of the Romans, ib. the French troops ravage Italy at pleaſure, 387. make freſh attacks and conqueſts there, 438. their fleet is beaten by the Engliſh fleet on the coaſt of Brittany, 448. gain the victory at Ravenna in Italy, but are obliged to abandon all their conqueſts there, 449. another ſea-fight, 457. another, ib. France is invaded by an Engliſh army, 458. which is afterwards headed by the king in perſon, and the king of the Romans, 459. who beſiege Terouane, 460. the French army are beaten by the Engliſh at Guinegate, 461. Tournay is ſurrendered to them, 463. the French king obtains the friendſhip of the king of Navarre, 468. makes peace with England, 470. dies within three month after his marriage with the princeſs Mary of England, 471. the character of his ſucceſſor, Francis of Angouleſme, ib. his martial diſpoſition, iv. 9. he renews the treaty with England, ib. defeats the Swiſs near Milan, 10. purchaſes that duchy of its duke, 11. becomes an object of jealouſy to Henry VIII. ib. by whom his friendſhip is courted, for political reaſons, 14. obtains from Henry reſtitution of Tournay, 16. becomes a candidate for the imperial dignity, 20. of which he is diſappointed, 21. deſires an interview with Henry, 22. obtains it, 23. his behaviour on that occaſion, 25.

with England, 28. renewed, 71. diviſions between the families of Orleans and Burgundy, are fomented by Henry III. 81. the ſtate of France, in the beginning of the reign of Henry V. of England, 101, 102. diſputes in it, about the legality of aſſaſſination or tyrannicide, 99. general violence reigns there, ib. theſe quarrels are fomented by Henry V. 100, 101. who invades France, 103. Harfleur taken by that prince, 104. the French army headed by Charles the Dauphin, eldeſt ſon of the former, give battle to the Engliſh at Azincour, 105, 106. are routed by them 107. a liſt of the killed, wounded, and priſoners, 108. a truce is made, 109. violent quarrels ariſe in the royal family, 110, 111. more ſucceſsfully invaded by the Engliſh, 112. the Dauphin and duke of Burgundy agree to oppoſe the Engliſh arms, 113. the ſtate of the public affairs are greatly altered, by the aſſaſſination of the duk of Burgundy, in the Dauphin's Preſence, 114. Paris is threatened, and the court withdraws from it, 115. the ſucceſſion to the French crown, and the immediate regency of the kingdom is transferred to Henry V. by the treaty of Troye, 116. the Engliſh are defeated at Baugé, 120. the Dauphin is chaſed beyond the Loire, 121. the ſtate of France, when Henry VI. king of England, a minor, came to the throne, 130. the character of the late dauphin, now the French king, 132. military operations between the French and the Engliſh regency, 135. a reſolution is taken to give the Engliſh battle at Verneuil, 137. victory declares againſt the French, 138. the French affairs begin to wear a more promiſing aſpect, 142, 143. the city of Orleans is beſieged, 144. a detachment ſent to intercept a convoy of proviſions, deſtined for the uſe of the beſiegers, is defeated, 146, 147. this battle, how called, 147. the garriſon is reduced to great difficulties, ib. the maid of Orleans makes her appearance there, 148. the ſiege is raiſed, 157. the coronation of the king at Rheims, 158. a further detail of military movements, 160. the young king of England crowned in Paris, 161. a further account of the maid of Orleans, ib.—166. hiſtory of the war reſumed, 166. the reconciliation of the French king and the duke of Burgundy, 168, 169. the Engliſh affairs decline in France, 171. their poſſeſſion there, how retained, 172. the war is carried on in a feeble and languid manner, 174. the duke of Orleans, a priſoner, taken on the field of Azincour, is releaſed, and reconciled to the duke of Burgundy, who pays his ranſom, 175. a truce is made with England, 176. New differences ariſe, 181. the ſtate of France, at this time, 182. a new war breaks out with England, 183. their power is expelled out of France, by the conqueſt of Guyenne, 185. the factious diſpoſition of Lewis, the dauphin, occupies the French king, ib. ſome Gaſcon lords offer to return to their allegiance to the king of England, 205. an Engliſh invaſion, occaſioned by this encouragement, is repulſed, 206. French troops invade England, 232. theſe forces, ſtrengthened

ſtrengthened by the junction of Lancaſtrians, are routed at Hexham, 233. the vaſſals of the French crown are alarmed at the dark and dangerous deſigns of Lewis XI. now their king, 240. who enters into a confederacy with the earl of Warwic, 248. and ſends him over to England, at the head of an army, 250. a league is formed againſt France, by Edward IV. and the duke of Burgundy, 264. in conſequence of this agreement, France is invaded by England, 265. a truce is made, 267. political remarks on this treaty, 269. the impolitic conduct of the French king, with reſpect to the heireſs of Burgundy, 271. the French king, Charles VIII. aſſiſts the earl of Richmond againſt Richard III. 307. a treaty is made with Maximilian, king of the Romans, whereby his daughter is affianced to the eldeſt ſon of Lewis, the French king, and divers provinces given to France as her dowry, 351. the policy of the French court on this occaſion, 352. the then ſtate of France, ib. 353. a French army, under the count Dunois, invades Brittany, 354. complains to England of the duke of Brittany, 355. the French army beſieges Nantz, 358. is conſtrained to raiſe the ſiege by a tumultuary army of Britains, 359. who are afterwards totally diſſipated by a French army at St. Aubin, 360. the court of France aſſumes the deſign of marrying the heireſs of Brittany to their young king, 365. by that marriage annexes Brittany to France, 367. but greatly provokes the king of the Romans, ib. 368. the great ſtrength of France, ariſing from the union of the great fiefs in the crown, 370. it is invaded by England, 372. purchaſes the emperor's friendſhip, by ceding to him two counties, ib. makes peace with England, 373. and with the king of the Romans, ib. the French troops ravage Italy at pleaſure, 387. make freſh attacks and conqueſts there, 438. their fleet is beaten by the Engliſh fleet on the coaſt of Brittany, 448. gain the victory at Ravenna in Italy, but are obliged to abandon all their conqueſts there, 449. another ſea-fight, 457. another, ib. France is invaded by an Engliſh army, 458. which is afterwards headed by the king in perſon, and the king of the Romans, 459. who beſiege Terouane, 460. the French army are beaten by the Engliſh at Guinegate, 461. Tournay is ſurrendered to them, 463. the French king obtains the friendſhip of the king of Navarre, 468. makes peace with England, 470. dies within three month after his marriage with the princeſs Mary of England, 471. the character of his ſucceſſor, Francis of Angouleſme, ib. his martial diſpoſition, iv. 9. he renews the treaty with England, ib. defeats the Swiſs near Milan, 10. purchaſes that duchy of its duke, 11. becomes an object of jealouſy to Henry VIII. ib. by whom his friendſhip is courted, for political reaſons, 14. obtains from Henry reſtitution of Tournay, 16. becomes a candidate for the imperial dignity, 20. of which he is diſappointed, 21. deſires an interview with Henry, 22. obtains it, 23. his behaviour on that occaſion, 25.

25. war with England, 44. by whom France is invaded, ib. the French king's poſſeſſions in Italy, 45. the Venetians deſert his alliance, 53. he is menaced by a powerful league, ib. his dominions unſucceſsfully invaded by England, 55. the French monarch leads a great army into Italy, 56. which is repulſed, 58. the behaviour of his Swiſs auxiliaries, ib. reſumes a deſire to conquer Milan, 60. invades Italy for that purpoſe, 61. where his army is defeated, and he made a priſoner, 63. his laconic letter, on that occaſion, to his mother, 64. Francis is now aſſiſted by Henry VIII. 65. a treaty for Francis's liberty is made with Henry, 66. Francis rejects the emperor's propoſals, 71. and deſires to be removed to Madrid, ib. his conduct there, 72. is there viſited by the emperor, ib. is ſet at liberty, 75. his behaviour, when returned to his own dominions, 76. where he enters into a confederacy with England, the Pope, and ſtates of Italy, againſt the ambitious views of the Emperor, 77. makes a league with England, in order to recover, by force of arms, the Pope's liberty, 79, 80. a declaration of war, in conjunction with England, againſt the emperor, 80, 81. and mutual reproaches between the emperor and the French king, 81, 82. a ſecond interview with Henry, 121. and with the Pope, 125. ineffectually mediates between the Pope and Henry VIII. 126, 127. refuſes to Henry VIII. the duke of Guiſe's daughter, and offers him the choice of others, 219. breaks off all correſpondence with the Engliſh monarch, 220. invades the low-countries, and beats the imperial army, 259. France is invaded by an Engliſh army, 266. the progreſs of this army, 267, 268. ſends a great fleet to make a deſcent on England, 270. an account of this expedition, and other military operations between France and England, 271, 272. Peace between France and England, 275. terms thereof, ib. makes war with England, 358. military operations, ib. 359. a treaty of peace with England and Scotland, 368. a war again breaks out between Henry, the French king, England, and Spain, 462. military operations in that war, 463—467. Francis, the dauphin, is married to queen Mary of Scotland, 471. makes a treaty of peace with England, whereby Calais is ceded to France, v. 18. acceſſion of Francis, by the ſudden death of Henry, 23. he uſes the arms of England in right of his wife, ib. orders violent meaſures to be uſed in Scotland, 25, 26. French troops ſupport the queen-regent of Scotland, 27. a reinforcement is ſent into Scotland, 32. and French doctors of divinity, to combat the reformers, 33. the French court offers to England, reſtitution of Calais, upon condition of their queen not interpoſing in Scots affairs, 36. the French troops in Scotland fortify Leith, and are obliged by capitulation, to evacuate Scotland, 37. which the French court refuſes to ratify, ib. violent factions in France, 41. a regency ſettled for Charles IX. who comes to the crown by the death of Francis, 43. Mary

queen of Scots, and queen-dowager of France, ſets out for Scotland, 46. civil and religious wars in France, 69—73. a further account of the French inteſtine wars, 78, 79. and death of the duke of Guiſe, 79. an agreement between the contending parties is made, 80. a powerful confederacy is there formed againſt the Hugonots, 96. civil war again commenced between the Catholics and Hugonots, 191. a great battle there, ib. more military tranſactions there, 192. Hugonots ſecretly aſſiſted by queen Elizabeth, 193. King offers the duke of Anjou for a huſband to queen Elizbeth, 195. negotiations relative to marriage enſue, ib. fallacious pacifications with the Hugonots, often made, lull them aſleep, 208. maſſacre of Hugonots there, 210. ordered to be excuſed at the Engliſh court, 211. troops again levied by Hugonots, 214. Charles the IXth's death, 215. acceſſion of Henry, duke of Anjou, called Henry III. ib. who makes peace with the Hugonots, 216. Catholic league made, 217. profuſe liberality of courtiers, encreaſe the diſorders now in France, 218. animoſities encreaſe between the French monarch and the duke of Guiſe, 243. the duke of Alençon, now created duke of Anjou, renews his ſuit to queen Elizabeth, ib. 244. the French king aſſiſts the duke of Anjou with money to protect the ſtates, 246. Catholic league revived, 273. war with the Hugonots again, 369. murder of the duke of Guiſe, 370. aſſaſſination of Henry III. and acceſſion of Henry IV. king of Navarre, 371. who gains a great victory over the Catholics, 372. he is ſupported by queen Elizabeth, 373. 375. 388. the French king declares himſelf a Catholic, 385. concludes a peace with Spain, 403. raiſes France to a flouriſhing condition, 404. makes a journey to Calais, 450. and a league with England and Holland, 516. is murdered, 570. his ſucceſſor, Lewis XIII. gives the princeſs Henrietta in marriage to Charles prince of Wales, vi. 93. the Engliſh fleet ſent to aid him againſt the Hugonots mutiny, 146. war between France and England, 168. unſucceſsful on the part of England, 172, 173. Rochel taken in ſight of an Engliſh army and fleet ſent to its aſſiſtance, 203. peace with England, 218. the French king dies, vii. 255. is ſucceeded by Lewis XIV. an infant in his cradle, ib. the French miniſtry truckle to Oliver Cromwell, protector, 257. conclude an alliance with him againſt Spain, 287. give up Dunkirk to England, ib. declare for the Dutch againſt England, ib. the French fleet declines to engage with that of England, 418. national animoſities appear between France and England, 439. the French king's character, 438, 439. he invades Flanders, 440. makes peace at Aix-la-chapelle, 444. makes an alliance with England and Holland, 475. declares war againſt the Dutch, 490. joins his fleet with that of England, 495. his armies enter the Dutch territories, 497. over-run three provinces, 499. are recalled, 521. take Maeſtricht,

522. are sometimes successful, viii. 9. sometimes unsuccessful, 18. beat the prince of Orange at St. Omar, 26. take Ghent and Ypres, 39. the French king agrees to the peace at Nimeguen, 45. acts in Germany as if he was sole sovereign of Europe, 200. revokes the edict of Nantz, 235. furious persecution of Hugonots, ib. 236. the effect of this measure, 268, 269. invades Germany, 277. offers to assist James II. against his subjects, 278. remonstrates to the states against the prince of Orange's intended expedition in favour of Great-Britain, 279. receives king James II. in an affectionate and respectful manner, 295.

ancis, dauphin of France. See *France*.

——— duke of Brittany, his character, iii. 352. escapes to Nantz, 354. where he is soon afterwards besieged by the French, 358. and relieved by a tumultuous army of Bretons, 359. his sudden death, and the perplexed state of his dominions, 360.

——— king of France. See *France*.

Frank Almoigne, a tenure, what, and to what purpose invented, ii. 274.

Franks, an account of them, ii. 402. and of their customs relative to the succession to their throne, ib.

Frederic, elector Palatine of the Rhine, is married to princess Elizabeth of England. vi. 2. is chosen king of Bohemia, 42. defeated by the emperor, ib. put to the ban of the empire, 55. makes vigorous efforts to regain his dominions, 66. lays down his arms, 67.

———, emperor of Germany. See *Germany*.

Fruits, first. See *First fruits*.

Fulk, curate of Neuilly, his remarkable joke on king Richard I. ii. 6. how replied to by that prince, ib.

G.

GALEN, Van, defeats the English fleet, vii. 222.

Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, opposes the reformation, iv. 140. irritates the king against the queen, by accusing her of heresy, 280. heads the opposition against the reformation, 310. defends images and holy water, ib. 311. strenuously defends the old opinions, 313. is sent to the Fleet-prison, where he is harshly used, 313. his objections against the new homilies, ib. sent to the Tower for denying the king's supremacy, 348. meets with harsh treatment on a frivolous pretence, 369, 370. articles proposed to him in order to be a foundation for his deprivation, ib. his bishoprick sequestered, 370. his deprivation and close confinement, ib. set at liberty on the accession of queen Mary, 401. and restored to his see, 403. his generosity to Peter Martyr, 405. made prime minister and chancellor, 411. promotes the Queen's marriage with Philip, ib. his speech at opening the parliament, 423. by his prudence acquires great reputation, 434. promotes the persecution of heretics, 435. violent and imprudent measures after his death, 451.

Garter, Order of, inſtituted, ii. 462.
Gaſcoigne, chief juſtice of the King's Bench, impriſons the prince of Wales, iii. 92. how received by that prince when king, ib.
Gaunt, Mrs. her trial, viii. 226, 227.
Gaveſton, Piers, his ſudden riſe, ii. 338. his character, ib. is left guardian of the realm, while the king goes to France, 340. his baniſhment and inſolent return, 342. his ſecond baniſhment, 344. his return, 345. his death, 347.
Gavelkind, cuſtom of, i. 244. its nature, v. 575.
Geoffrey, brother of Henry II. invades Anjou and Maine, i. 403. reſigns his claim for a penſion, ib. dies, 404.
——— Duke of Normandy, father of Henry II. his extraordinary cruelty to the chapter of Seez, i. 409.
——— third ſon of Henry II. has Brittany allotted to him in his father's life time, i. 464. becomes diſloyal to his father, 467. at a conference between his father and the French king, appears in the train of the latter, 472. accommodates his differences with his father, 479. renews his undutiful behaviour, 488. is killed at Paris, ib.
——— natural ſon of Henry II. his dutiful regard to his father, living and dead, i. 495. his oath, when archbiſhop of Canterbury, to his brother, Richard I. on his departure to the Holy Land, ii. 7.
——— Archbiſhop of York, is thrown into priſon by Longchamp, ii. 18. how reſented by the nation, ib.
Gerard, his hereſy, how puniſhed, i. 452.
——— Balthaſar, aſſaſſinates the prince of Orange, v. 272.
——— his conſpiracy, vii. 245.
Germany, how divided and ſubdivided by the feudal inſtitutions, i. 197. Emperor of, Henry IV. encourages his vaſſals to embark in the Norman invaſion, 200. civil government of, how rent, 223. how improved after their ſettlement in the Roman provinces, 232. emperor of, defends his prerogative againſt papal uſurpations, 287. is excommunicated, ib. a furious eagerneſs after cruſades prevails there, 319. its emperor, Henry V. makes the pope a priſoner, 354. cauſes him to renounce, by a formal treaty, the right of inveſtitures, ib. emperor of, Frederic I. enters into a cruſade, 490. his bad ſucceſs, ii. 7. emperor of, Henry VI. obtains of the duke of Auſtria to deliver to him Richard I. of England, then his priſoner, 24. but refuſes the French king's requeſt relative to his royal priſoner, 25. his conduct to king Richard is exclaimed againſt by the dyet of Ratiſbon and the pope, 28. whereupon he releaſes him, 29. ineffectually orders him to be purſued and arreſted, 30. makes advances to gain his friendſhip, 33. and concludes with him an offenſive alliance againſt France, 34. emperor of, Otho, is excommunicated by the pope, 68. beaten by the French king, 79. the

nature of the German government explained, 103. alliances between German princes and Edward III. are formed, 407. who is made vicar of the German empire, 409. its emperor, Lewis, is detached from the alliance of England, 420. and revokes the title of vicar, granted to Edward III. ib. ſeveral German princes are diſcomfited in battle againſt Edward III. at Creey, 450. Wickliff's opinions carried into Germany, iii. 60. emperor of, Ferdinand, negotiates a treaty with France, 370. concludes it, 372. obtains a ceſſation of two French provinces, ib. emperor of, Maximilian, enters into a treaty with Henry VIII. 460. ſerves under him, and receives his pay, ib. enters into amity with France, and deſerts the alliance of England, 468. the character of this emperor, iv. 12. offers to reſign to Henry VIII. the imperial crown, 13. the death of this emperor, and election of Charles of Spain to the imperial dignity, 20. who viſits England, 23. makes war with France, 28. enters into an offenſive alliance with England againſt France, 29. the reformation begins in Germany, 38. the moderation of this emperor, on hearing the ſtate of the French king, now his captive, 63. on what terms he grants him his liberty, 74, 75. the imperial army ſack Rome, 78. and makes the pope a priſoner, ib. the emperor's hypocritical behaviour on hearing this news, ib. 79. receives a menacing embaſſy from France and England, 79. his behaviour to the French and Engliſh heralds, 81. ſets the pope at liberty, 88. overawes the pope in the buſineſs of Henry's divorce, 89. menaces the pope, and calls his title to the papal chair in queſtion, 91. adjuſts a treaty with him, 95. the fundamental article of this treaty, ib. makes a league with Henry VIII. 258. the advantages gained by this league this campaign, 259. progreſs of the war againſt France, 266, 267. peace between the empire and France, 268. the emperor declines to aſſiſt the Engliſh againſt the French, 359. an account of the civil wars in the empire, between the catholics and proteſtants, 410. the emperor attacks France, ib. ſignifies to Mary, queen of England, his intentions of matching with her his ſon Philip, 411. which is readily embraced, ib. obtains this marriage to be conſummated, 415. fruitleſsly attempts to procure ſupport from England againſt France, 431. on his reſignation is ſucceeded by his brother Ferdinand, king of the Romans, 456. the pope refuſes to crown him, ib. 457. and why, 457, 458. propoſes to enlarge his authority in the Netherlands, v. 196. ſends the duke of Alva to the Netherlands, 198. princes of, make an alliance with queen Elizabeth, 214. troops are levied in Germany for the aſſiſtance of the Hugonots of France, 215. German troops ſerve in France, under the king of Navarre, 371. Frederic II. emperor of, makes powerful alliances, and with whom, vi. 41. ſubdues Bohemia, and the Palatinate of the Rhine, 43, 44.

puts

puts the elector palatine of the Rhine to the ban of the empire, 55: deſpiſes the negotiations carried on by James I. of England, for the recovery of the Palatinate, 65. which is reſtored to the young palatine by the treaty of Weſtphalia, vii. 253. the emperor aſſiſts the Dutch againſt France, 510. is included in the peace of Nimeguen, viii. 45. oppreſſed by the French King, Lewis XIV. 200. joins in a league with Spain and Holland againſt France, 269.

Ghent, pacification formed, v. 224. the articles of agreement there made with queen Elizabeth, 225.

Gilbert, Sir Humphry, his ſpeech in the houſe of commons, relative to a motion there made, concerning the prerogative, v. 185. how ſuch ſpeeches were then regarded by the houſe of commons, ib. 186.

Giles, St. or St. Giles's, titular ſaint of Edinburgh, proceſſion of, interrupted by the reformers, v. 24.

Glamorgan, Earl, his tranſactions in Ireland, vii. 67.

Glendour, Earl. See *Wales*.

Glouceſter, Earl, forms the project of an inſurrection, i. 381. leaves England, ib. returns to the train of the empreſs Matilda, 384. commands in a battle againſt king Stephen, in which that prince is taken priſoner, 385, 386. becomes guarantee of the treaty between Matilda and the legate, archbiſhop of Wincheſter, 386. his ſon appears inclined to reſiſt the deſtruction of the fortreſſes appointed by Henry II. 402.

——— Duke, uncle of Richard II. his character, iii. 2. invades France, 6. keeps the king in great ſubjection, 14. impels the houſe of commons to impeach earl Suffolk, then chancellor, 16. obtains a commiſſion to fourteen perſons, all of his faction, to exerciſe ſupreme authority for the ſpace of a year, 18. his and his faction's audacious behaviour to the king, 20. their violent and arbitrary proceedings againſt the miniſtry, 21. he rejects the queen's interpoſition on her knees in behalf of Sir Simon Burly, 24. is removed from the council-board, 26. exclaims againſt the public meaſures, 29. enters into treaſonable conſpiracies againſt the king, 30. is ſeized, and hurried over ſeas into the French dominions, 32. is appealed againſt in the houſe of peers, 33. murdered in Calais, 35.

——— Humphrey, ſon of Henry IV. iii. 89. accompanies his brother to France, 116. is appointed regent of England by his brother on his death-bed, 122. inveſted by parliament with the dignity of guardian of the realm, on the event of the duke of Bedford's abſence, 130. his precipitate and impolitic conduct, relative to the duke of Burgundy, and the princeſs heireſs of Holland, 140. the pernicious effects of theſe proceedings, 141, 142. gives the duke of Burgundy's herald his own guards to protect him, 169, 170. oppoſes an accommodation with France, 176. his ruin is reſolved on

by the queen and Wincheſter's partizans, 178. his ducheſs's diſgrace augments the public eſteem of him, 179. he is found dead in his bed, ib. 180. an anecdote concerning him which greatly illuſtrates his character, 180.

Gloucester, uncle of Edward V. is appointed by Edward IV. regent of the realm, during the minority of Edward V. his nephew, iii. 280. reſolves on the ruin of the queen, 281. cauſes earl Rivers to be arreſted, 283. gets the duke of York into his hands, 285. is inſtalled by the council, protector of the realm, ib. his character, how covered from public view, ib. his firſt behaviour in the council, 287. his ſecond appearance there, ib. 288. his pretenſions to the crown, how founded, 290, 291. the expedients he made uſe of to work upon the people, 291, 292. mounts the throne under the name of Richard III. 294. cauſes his two nephews, the king and duke of York, to be murdered, ib. rewards the duke of Buckingham, 296. his title, how regarded by the nation, 298. a conſpiracy is formed againſt him by the duke of Buckingham, 299. whom he cauſes to be executed, 303. his title is recognized in parliament, 305. ſucceſsfully courts the queen dowager, ib. his dominions are invaded by the earl of Richmond, 307. his intrepid behaviour at the battle of Boſworth field, 308, 309. where he is ſlain, and his army routed, 310. his character, ib.

———— brother of Charles II. his death, vii. 366.

———— Earl of, meets ſecretly with the diſcontented barons, ii. 185. a rivalſhip ariſes between him and Leiceſter, 193. he ſecretly deſerts the barons, 195. dies, 199.

———— his ſon, diſpleaſed, retires from the rebel parliament, ii. 216. breaks with the rebel barons, 218. aſſiſts prince Edward to levy an army, 219. rebels, 224. reſigns ſome of his caſtles, and enters into a bond for the peace of the kingdom, 225. on the king's death is appointed, in parliament, one of the guardians of the realm, in conjunction with the archbiſhop of York, ſon of the king of the Romans, 236, 237. his quarrel with the earl of Hereford is judicially determined, 265.

Godfrey, Earl of Boulogne, engages in the holy war, i. 318. is choſen king of Jeruſalem, 334.

————'s murder, viii. 72. its effects on the nation, 73, 74. on the houſe of commons, 78. trials of the murderers, 91.

God's judgment, a method of trying cauſes among the Anglo-Saxons, i. 239. how and when practiſed, ib.

Godwin, Earl, his valour, i. 162. how rewarded, ib. he murders Alfred, eldeſt ſon of Ethelred, 167. remains neuter at the acceſſion of Edward the Confeſſor, 171. ſtipulates that Edward ſhall marry his daughter, ib. his exorbitant power, 174, 175. raiſes an army under a falſe pretence, 176. is obliged, with his ſons, to fly the

the kingdom, 178. makes up all differences with the king, 179. dies, ib.

Goodwin, Sir Francis, his caſe, v. 527, 528. compromiſed, 530.

Gordon, Lady Catharine, married to Perkin Warbeck, iii. 390. is made a priſoner, and generouſly treated by Henry VII. 400.

Goring, his treachery, vi. 347, 348.

Gourdon mortally wounds Richard I. king of England, ii. 35. his fate, 36.

——— a rebel baron encounters prince Edward, ii. 222. how generouſly treated by that prince, when conquered and taken, ib.

Gourney and Montravers, murderers of Edward II. ii. 370. their fate, 371.

Government, civil, Engliſh, an account of its riſe, iii. 319, 320. its pre-eminence, ib. the only rule of, 321. and changeable nature, ib. ſtate of, in the reign of queen Elizabeth, v. 472, 473. how then like that of Turkey, 479. ſtate of, in the reign of James I. vi. 99.

——— eccleſiaſtical, then in England, vi. 107. grows odious there, 291. is petitioned againſt by the city of London and others, 322. altered, vii. 31. changed again, 370.

——— eccleſiaſtical, in Scotland, in the reign of James VI. vi. 21, 22. altered, 271. changed again, vii. 376.

——— feudal, introduced into England, i. 270. how irregular, 484. See *Government* civil, in England.

Gowry, Earl, his conſpiracy againſt James VI. of Scotland, v. 252. diſappointed, 259. he is condemned by parliament, and executed, 260.

Gray, Lady Elizabeth, her hiſtory, iii. 236. ſhe is married to Edward IV. 237. the honours heaped on her family, 238. her father and one of her brothers murdered by rebels, 243. her party is oppoſed by the duke of Buckingham, 280. her ruin is reſolved on by the duke of Gloceſter, 281. ſhe flies to a ſanctuary with her ſecond ſon, 283. delivers up her ſon to the duke of Gloceſter's meſſengers, 285. conſents to marry the duke of Gloceſter, now Richard III. 306.

——— Lady Jane, propoſed by Northumberland to Edward VI. as heir to the throne, iv. 387. married to lord Guilford Dudley, 388. her character, 395, 396. is with difficulty prevailed on to aſſume the title of queen, ib. proclaimed in London and the neighbourhood, 397. is deſerted by the people, 399. chearfully returns to a private life, ib. is confined, 400. as is her father and huſband, ib. both are condemned to die, 401. ſhe is ordered to prepare for death, 419. her execution, 420, 421. and laſt ſpeech, ib.

——— Lady Catharine, ſiſter to the above, married to the earl of Hartford, v. 63. her ſufferings on that account, ib. and death, ib.

——— Lord Governor of Ireland, hiſtory of his government there, v. 416.

Greenland discovered, vi. 124.

Greenville, Sir John, vice admiral, his ship is the first English man of war taken by Spain, v. 376. his gallant behaviour on that occasion, ib.

Gregory the Great, Pontiff of Rome, his intentions concerning Great Britain, i. 32. his intemperate zeal, 33.

——— VII. Pontiff of Rome, i. 286. he excommunicates the emperor of Germany, 287. his measures with other sovereigns, 281. he prohibits the marriage of priests, 290. his scheme for an union of christendom, 315.

——— IX. Pope, his decretals, a character of them, ii. 234.

Gresham, Sir Thomas, a merchant, how employed by queen Elizabeth, v. 496. builds the Royal Exchange, 503.

Gualo, the pope's legate, his method of punishing the English clergy for rebellion, ii. 154.

Guelph and *Ghibeline*, factions in Italy, how engendered, i. 288.

Guedo, Legate of Rome, excommunicates the rebel barons, ii. 214. becomes pope under the name of Urban IV. ib.

Guinegate, battle of, iii. 461.

Guise, Duke of, commands the French in recovering Calais from the English, iv. 465, 466. his great influence in the French government, v. 41. his authority, how counterballanced after the king's death, 43. heads the catholic party, 69. his violent proceedings against the Hugonots, 70. makes an alliance with Philip of Spain against them, 71. while meditating a mortal blow against them, is assassinated by Poltrot, 79.

——— his son, succeeds him in the command of the catholics against the Hugonots, v. 192. his great character, and wherein he differed from his father, 193. acquires great interest at the court of France, 216. forms a party against the king, 217. and a league for the suppression of the Hugonots, ib. is supported by Philip of Spain, 218. his animosity against the French monarch encreases, 243. he revives the catholic league, 273. is assassinated by order of the French king, 370.

Gunilda, a christian princess, her prophecy, i. 150, 151. her violent and painful death, ib.

Gunpowder, invention and influence of, in the art of war, iii. 428.

Gurth, brother of king Harold, his advice to that prince, i. 205, which is rejected, 207. attends his brother in the battle with duke William of Normandy, 209. is there slain, 210.

Guy, earl of Flanders. See *Flanders*.

Guyenne and Poictou, French provinces mortgaged to William Rufus, king of England, i. 328.

——— by sentence annexed to the French crown, ii. 270. conquered, 272.

Gyllingham, a general council ſummoned there by Edward the confeſſor, i. 171.

H.

HABEAS Corpus Act paſſed, viii. 104. a recapitulation of it, 165. how neceſſary in a mixed monarchy, ib.

Haddington taken and fortified by the Engliſh, iv. 333. beſieged by the Scots and French, 334. the French attempt to ſurprize it, but are repulſed, 336, 337. it is deſerted and diſmantled by the Engliſh, 358.

Hales, puniſhed by queen Elizabeth, for writing againſt queen Mary's title to the crown of England, v. 82.

Hales, Sir Edward, his caſe, viii. 236. tried and adjudged in favour of the king, 237.

Halidown-hill, battle of, ii. 399.

Hallifax, Marquis, his character, viii. 170.

Hambden, John, his caſe, vi. 251. judgment is entered againſt him, 254. he dies of his wounds received in battle againſt the king, 455. his character, ib.

——— another, his trial and ſentence, viii. 193.

Hamilton, Patrick, burnt in Scotland for hereſy, iv. 233, 234. his reſolution, and how regarded, 234.

——— Marquis, treats with the covenanters, vi. 267. is made commiſſioner to a Scots parliament, 270. calls a general aſſembly, 270. enters England at the head of a Scots army, vii. 131. is routed, ib. tried as earl of Cambridge by a high court of juſtice, 158. beheaded, ib.

——— Earl, joined with Leſly in the chief command of the Scots army, is mortally wounded at Worceſter, vii. 203.

——— Duke, oppoſes Lauderdale, viii. 50. repairs to London with the Scots complaints, 59. how received, ib.

Hampton Court, conference there concerning queen Mary's conduct, v. 137, 138.

——— conference, in the reign of James I. concerning religion, v. 522.

Hanſe towns, their complaints, how replied to, v. 499.

Harcourt, his trial, viii. 108.

Hardicanute, or Canute the Hardy, ſon of Canute the great, by queen Emma, i. 165. ſeizes the kingdom of England, 168. dies, 170.

Harfleur beſieged and taken by Henry V. iii. 104.

Harold, ſirnamed Harefoot, ſucceſſor of Canute the great, comes to an agreement with Hardicanute, i. 166. dies, 167.

——— ſon of earl Godwin, ſucceeds him in his governments and office of ſteward of the houſehold, i. 180. his character, ib. he over-runs Mercia, ib. 181. obtains the dukedom of Northumberland for his brother, 182. encreaſes his popularity, and eſtabliſhes his

his power, 186. on his journey to Normandy is taken priſoner by the count of Ponthieu, ib. 187. demanded by, and ſent to William duke of Normandy, 187. feigns a compliance with the views of the Norman, 188. ſubdues the Welch to the obedience of England, 189. deſerts his brother Toſti's intereſt, 190. and marries Morcar's ſiſter, ib. openly aſpires to the ſucceſſion, 191. on the death of Edward the confeſſor mounts the vacant throne, 193. receives intelligence of his brother's intrigues abroad, 194. refuſes to yield the throne to William Duke of Normandy, 195. defeats his brother's invaſion, 203. ſends a meſſage to the duke of Normandy, now invading England, 205. gives him battle, 208. in which he is defeated and ſlain, 210.

Hartford, Earl of, privately marries lady Catherine Gray, without queen Elizabeth's conſent, v. 63. how ſeverely treated by that princeſs on that account, ib.

Harrington, his character, vii. 355.

Harriſon's trial, vii. 365.

Harry, Great, the firſt ſhip in the Engliſh navy, built, iii. 427.

Harvey, his character, vii. 355, 356.

Haſtings, a Daniſh chieftain, invades England, i. 90. agrees to depart, 92.

——— battle of, i. 207—210. its conſequences, 246.

——— Lord, his reply to the duke of Gloceſter in council, iii. 288. ordered to be ſummarily executed, 289.

Hatfield, a remarkable ſynod there, i. 66. its acts, 67.

Hatton, Sir Chriſtopher, a man that never followed the profeſſion of the law, made chancellor, v. 341. his behaviour, ib.

Havre de Grace and Dieppe taken poſſeſſion of by the Engliſh, v. 72. who ſoon after abandon the latter, ib. the former beſieged by the French, 81. ſurrenders to them, ib.

Hawkes, Thomas, burnt for hereſy in queen Mary's reign, iv. 444. his fortitude on that occaſion, ib.

Hayward, an author, in what manner he incenſed queen Elizabeth, v. 477. and how ſhe menaced him, 478.

Helie, Lord ap Fleche, a ſmall town in Anjou, gives William Rufus great inquietude, by invading Normandy, i. 326. repulſes William Rufus in an attack on his ſmall territory, 327.

——— de St. Saen is made tutor, and why, by Henry I. to William, ſon of his elder brother, Robert, i. 347. withdraws his pupil to the court of the duke of Anjou, 358.

Hengiſt and Horſa, heads of the Saxons that come into Britain, their deſcent, i. 19. their treachery, 20. the death of the latter, ib. the former's ſucceſs and death, 22.

Henrietta, princeſs of France, is married to Charles I. of England, vi. 137. See *Queen conſort of king Charles* I.

Henrietta,

Henrietta, princeſs of England is married to the duke of Orleans, vii. 367. dies, 374.

Henries, Kings of France. See *France*.

Henry, duke of Anjou and king of Poland, becomes king of France, v. 216. attempts in vain to reconcile the violent parties in the kingdom, ib. See *France*.

Henry, emperor of Germany. See *Germany*.

—— Prince, third ſon of duke William the Conqueror, rebels againſt his elder brother, duke of Normandy, i. 309. is reduced, 311. becomes king of England under the name of Henry, 335. his engagements at his acceſſion, 336. which are reduced into a charter, 337. he depoſes the biſhop of Durham, 339. his conduct to Anſelme, 341. his marriage with Matilda, daughter of Malcolm the third, king of Scotland, ib. his kingdom invaded by his elder brother Robert, 343. and though the differences are accommodated, he proſecutes Robert's adherents after his departure, 344. invades Normandy, 345. ſlays in battle his brother Robert, and defeats his army 346, 347. conquers Normandy, 347. his diſputes with Anſelme about inveſtitures, 348. his meſſage to Rome, 350. further differences concerning the ſame ſubject, and effects thereof, 351, 352. is threatened by the pope, 355. theſe affairs are accommodated, 356. he ſends Engliſh biſhops to a general council convoked at Rheims, 360. his charge to them at their departure, ib. accommodates all differences with the French king, 361. his only ſon, William, periſhes at ſea, 362. his regard to the Engliſh, 363. he marries Adelais, daughter of Godfrey, duke of Lovaine, and niece of Calixtus, pope, 364. gives his daughter Matilda, empreſs dowager in marriage to the eldeſt ſon of Fulk, duke of Anjou, ib. his adminiſtration conſidered, 365. his prudence in guarding againſt the encroachments of Rome, 367. how laws againſt the marriages of prieſts were executed his reign, 366, 367. viſits Normandy, where a grandſon is born to him by the empreſs Matilda, 369. the method he took to enſure the ſucceſſion of the Engliſh throne to the empreſs hi daughter, ib. his character, 369, 370, 371.

Henry II. grandſon of the former, by the empreſs Matilda, is born, i. 369. the Engliſh throne ſettld on his mother, and eventually on him, is uſurped by Stephen, ſon of the count of Blois, 375, 376. young Henry is made knight by his great uncle, David, king of Scotland, 392. By the death of his father, Geoffrey, duke of Normandy, is inveſted in the dutchies of Normandy, Anjou, and Maine, ib. marries Eleanor, heireſs of Poictou, 393. ſucceeds to the Engliſh crown, by the death of Stephen, 394. his large poſſeſſions on the continent, 399. the influence which his reſidence in England had on his intereſt in France, 401. he arrives in England, 402. his adminiſtration there, ib. compromiſes his brother's claim on Anjou and Maine, 403. makes the rebellious Welch ſubmit, 404. his large acquiſitions in France, 405. makes war with the king of France, 407. cauſes a marriage to be ſolem-

nized betwen his ſon and Margaret, princeſs of France, though both infants, ib. quarrels with his clergy 408. allows pope Alexander to exerciſe his authority within his dominions, 409. makes Thomas a Becket chancellor, 410. greatly aggrandizes him, 412. his familiarity with the chancellor, ib. cauſes him to be elected archbiſhop of Canterbury 413. a quarrel ariſes between this prince and Becket, 415. obliges Becket to diſcharge a military tenant of the crown, excommunicated without his previous conſent, 416. ſummons a national ſynod of prelates, 420. cauſes the conſtitutions of Clarendon to be there enacted, ib. prevails on Becket to ſign and append his ſeal to them, 423. inſtigates a law-ſuit againſt Becket, 424. ſummons a ſynod of prelates and barons, ib. 425. obtains of them to condem Becket, 426. makes demands of money on Becket, 427. inhibits all appeals to the pope, 432, 433. propoſes other meaſures of oppoſition to eccleſiaſtical uſurpations, 436. is obliged to appeal to the pope, ib. reſolves to accommodate matters with the pope, 438. is oppoſed by Becket in all his endeavours towards a reconciliation, 439. his compromiſe with Becket, 440. his converſation with the French king about Becket, ib. aſſociates with himſelf in the royalty his ſon prince Henry, 441. his exclamation, on ſight of the excommunicated prelates, 445. effects thereof, on Becket, 446. his perplexity on hearing of Becket's tragical end, 448. the means he uſed to appeaſe the pope, 449. his behaviour during this conteſt, 452. undertakes an expedition againſt Ireland, 453. obtains of the pope a grant of that iſland, 456. gives his ſubjects leave to aſſiſt the expelld king of Leinſter, 458. lands in Ireland, 460. ſubdues it, ib. returns, 462. is thoroughly reconciled to Rome, 463, 464. ſettles on his children the portions deſtined for them, 464, 465. cauſes his ſon to be crowned anew, together with his ſpouſe, 465. is perplexed by his children, 467. obtains of the pope to excommunicate their partizans, ib. 468. arms againſt them, ib. gains great advantages over the armies that appear in that cauſe, 471, 472. holds a conference with the French king, and his diſloyal ſons, 472. his humble conduct on that occaſion, ib. his then behaviour to the church 473. the ſucceſs of his armies in England, 474. his remarkable pennance at Canterbury, 475, 476. the ſucceſs of his armies againſt the Scots king, 476, 477. and Engliſh rebels, 477. againſt the French king, 478. his honourable accommodation with his enemies, 479. his equitable laws, 481. his prudence in providing for the kingdom, after demolition of the fortreſſes, 482, 483. one of his moſt equitable laws concerning the goods of a vaſſal, 484. on what occaſion enacted, ib. his behaviour towards France, during Philip's minority, 486. his grief, at his ſon's death, 487. the effects of his ſon Geoffrey's death, 488. a new breach with France, and his ſon, 491, his bad ſucceſs in this war, 494. the hard peace that enſued, 494. and his ſorrowful death, 495. his character, 496. the ſtate of his court,

court, with respect to literature and politeness, 497. the notions that prevailed in his reign, among his barons, with respect to liberty and religion, 498. his temper, how changed into rigorous, 499. his reputation in foreign courts, 500. commutes military services, 501. and remits Danegelt, ib. an account of his children, 502, 503.

Henry III. his coronation, when an infant, ii. 147. his guardians grant, in his name, a new charter, 148. and quell insurrections, 155, 156. he enters on the exercise of the government, 158. quells insurrections of mutinous barons, ib. 159. makes war with France, 159. the then weakness of the government exemplified, 160, 161. his character at that time, 161. his barons come armed to parliament, 164. his marriage, and love of foreigners, 166. his barons, how affected by this behaviour of the king, 167. further effects of his imprudence in this respect, 168. his bad success in war, 169. and want of œconomy, 170. his behaviour to the monks of Christ-church of Canterbury, on the vacancy of that see, ib. tumults arise on promoting Italian clergymen, 172. he accepts of the Sicilian crown from the pope, 175. his expedient to raise money for the Sicilian war, ib. 176. resigns that crown into the hands of the pope, 177. his discontented barons complain of breaches of the great charter, 180. the king's sarcastical answer, 182. he renews the great charter, 183. quarrels with the earl of Leicester, 185. summons a parliament, 186. in which the barons appear armed 187. another at Oxford, in which the unlimited authority of twenty-four barons is settled, ib. he cedes Normandy, and other French provinces, to the French king, by a formal treaty, 194. is absolved by the pope, from his oath to observe the provisions of Oxford, 196. resumes his authority, 198. obtains the resumption of his authority, to be confirmed in parliament, ib. repulses the rebellious Welch, 200, 201. hostilities are commenced against him by the mutinous barons, under the earl of Leicester's direction, 201. an ignominious accommodation is extorted from him, 203. the quarrel breaking out afresh, it is submitted to the arbitration of the French king, 204. the French king's equitable award, made in presence of the states of France and England, is despised by the mutinous barons, 205. the success of the royalists in war, when headed by king and prince, against the rebel barons, 206, 207. battle of Lewes and Mise there, 208—211. the violence to which the royal family and the kingdom are obliged to submit, 211, 212. the proceedings of a parliament of rebel barons, summoned by Leicester, 213. another, in like manner, is summoned, to which two knights of each shire, and two deputies from each borough, are called, 215. the arbitrary proceedings of this parliament, 216, 217. his son, prince Edward, is released on ignominious terms, 218. the royalists headed by the prince, engage Leicester's party at Evesham, 220. the king's life is there saved by the prince, ib. victory declares in favour of the royalists, 221. the clemency of the victors, 222, 223. the king's clemency

to the earl of Glocester, after quelling a new rebellion raised by him, 224. the king's death, 226. his children, 227. his character, and most remarkable laws, 228.

Henry IV. is placed on the throne, iii. 50, 51. calls a parliament in six days, 52. a consideration of his title to the crown, 66. an insurrection against him, 68. is quelled, 69. he prosecutes Lollards, 70. an insurrection arises against him in Wales, 72. invades Scotland, 73. the earl of Northumberland, rebels against him, 74. the earl's son gives the king battle at Shrewsbury, 76. in which the king gains the victory, ib. 77. this rebellion is quelled, ib. Northumberland pardoned ib. the earl of Nottingham, and archbishop of York rebel, 78. this rebellion is quelled by an artifice, ib. 79. king Henry gets into his power, James, prince of Scotland, afterwards James I. of Scotland, 81. foments divisions in France, ib. 82. procures a settlement of the crown upon himself and his heirs, 85. rejects the addresses of the house of commons, relative to the temporalities of the church, 86. his death and character, 88. his children, 89.

Henry V. eldest son and successor of the former iii. 90. his riotous life in his youth, ib. 91. his behaviour at his accession to the chief justice of the king's bench, who had imprisoned him in his youth, 92. how he managed the several parties that then divided the nation, 93. defeats a conspiracy of Lollards, 94, 95. enacts severe laws against them, 96. foments the differences that arise in France, during the minority of Charles VI. 98. prepares for war against France, ib. 102. punishes the conspirators in favour of the earl of March, ib. 103. takes Harfleur, 104. draws up his army for battle, at Azincourt, 106. routs the French, headed by the princes of the blood of France, 108. grants a truce to France, 109. invades it again, 112. is very successful there, 116. obtains the succession, and immediate regency of France, by the treaty of Troye, marries the princess Catherine of France, 118. his forces, commanded by the duke of Clarence, are defeated at Baugé, 120. his army, commanded by the king in person is very successful, 121. his death and character, 123. an account of his family, 124. his revenues, 126. his civil administration, 127.

Henry VI. successor of Henry V. a minor, the government, during his minority, is settled by the parliament, iii. 129. he is crowned king of France, at Paris, 161. his marriage with Margaret of Anjou is agreed on, 177. a parliament is summoned at Edmond's-bury, 179. the then state of king and kingdom, 186, 187. the then state of the public revenues, 191. he banishes the duke of Suffolk, 195. the topics of the king's partizans, 198. the power of his adherents keeps the nation in suspence, 200. the duke of York's first armament is dissipated, 204, 205. Henry's expedition against France, repulsed, 205. he is divested, by the parliament, of the exercise of his

his sovereign authority, 206, 207. taken prisoner in a battle at St. Albans, 208. re-instated in his royal power by the house of peers, 209. a party of his partizans commanded by the earl of Salisbury, defeat the Yorkists under lord Audley, at Blore-heath, 211. made prisoner by the earl of Warwick, in a battle at Northampton, 213. the judgment of the house of peers, between him and the duke of Lancaster, 214, 215. an army is raised for him in the north, by the queen, 216. which defeats the duke of Lancaster's army, headed by the duke himself, 216, 218. he is deposed by the decree of a mixed multitude, assembled in St. John's fields, 220. his army is routed at Touton, 227. he flies with his queen into Scotland, ib. 228. his army is routed at Hexham, 223. he is thrown into the Tower, 234. released by the earl of Warwic, and proclaimed king, 254. falls again into the hands of his enemies, 259. and expires in the Tower, 262.

Henry VII. his accession, iii. 322. his title to the throne, 323, 324. prejudice against the house of York, 327. his joyful reception in London, 328. his coronation embellished by the institution of yeomen of the guards, then made, 330. sweating sickness then in London, ib. gets the crown entailed, by the parliament, on him, and the heirs of his body, 332. obtains of the pope to confirm his title, 333. gets the duties of tunnage and poundage settled on him for life, 334. his marriage with the princess Elizabeth, only daughter of the late king, and heiress of the house of York, ib. his policy, with respect to the clergy, 336, ib. while he makes a progress to the north, an insurrection is formed against him, 337. which is soon quelled, ib. discontents arise, and why, 338. Simnel Lambert's insurrection is formed against him, 340. which first breaks out in Ireland, 341. causes the queen-dowager, mother of the queen-consort, to be imprisoned, 343. the methods he used to convince the people that Simnel was an impostor, 343, 344. his dominons in England, are invaded by the impostor Simnel, 345, 346. whose army he defeats at Stoke, 346. the rigours he practised after the victory, 347. causes the ceremony of the coronation of the queen-consort, to be performed, 348. makes Simnel a scullion, 349. makes a seven-years truce with Scotland, 350. offers his mediation between France, and the duke of Brittany, 358. his sound politics, and solid judgment, discovered, in his conduct on that occasion, 359. obtains a supply from his parliament, under pretence of enabling him to assist the Bretons, 361. another insurrection is formed in the North, ib. which is suppressed, 362. levies a few troops for Brittany, 363. an account of the proceedings of this feeble succour, during their short stay in Brittany, ib. 364. how he was blinded in relation to the affairs of Brittany, 366. his misconduct in this important transaction, how occasioned, 368. issues a commission for levying a benevolence, ib. his artful speech to his parliament, 369. how regarded by men of penetration, 370. an invasion of France, 372. and how

he routs the Lancaſtrian army headed by the earl of Warwick, prepares the minds of his ſubjects for reception of the news of a ſecret treaty of peace, carried on between the two courts, in the midſt of theſe hoſtile appearances, ib. the treaty of peace is declared, 373. how likely to continue, ib. another impoſtor, of the name of Perkin Warbec, is ſet up againſt him, 374. who tries his fortune in Ireland, 376. and is credited abroad, and by many of the Engliſh nobility, 377, 378. Henry's prudent procedure in detecting the impoſture, 379. puniſhes the lower conſpirators, 379, 380. his reſentment againſt the arch duke Philip on this account, how diſplayed, 381. cauſes lord Stanly to be convicted and beheaded, 382. the effect of this meaſure on the nation, and on the conſpirators, 383. an invaſion of Kent, by the impoſtor is fruitleſsly attempted, 384, 385. a parliament ſummoned, 385. an account of the wiſe laws then made, ib. 386. whereby the king's authority is fully eſtabliſhed in all his dominions, 387. complains to his parliament of the Scots irruption, and obtains a ſubſidy, in order to enable him to act againſt them, 391. an inſurrection in the weſt, patroniſed by lord Audley, 392. its progreſs to London, 393, 394. where it is diſcomfitted upon Blackheath, and the leaders puniſhed with death, 395, 396. a Scots invaſion, ib. truce with Scotland, 397. Perkin, the impoſtor, invades Cornwall with his Engliſh followers, 399. where he is favoured by an inſurrection, ib. which is ſoon diſſipated, and the impoſtor taken, 400. and ordered for execution, 402. the king alſo orders the earl of Warwic for execution, 403, has a perſonal interview with the arch-duke Philip, at Calais, 404. receives a nuncio from the pope, concerning an expedition to the holy land, 405. marries the prince of Wales, to the infanta Catherine of Arragon, 406. and the eldeſt princeſs Margaret, his daughter, to James of Scotland, ib. gives full ſcope to his avarice, and practiſes the moſt unjuſtifiable oppreſſions, 407, 408. levies a new benevolence, and purſues more oppreſſive meaſures, 410. how diſturbed then, by the tranſactions in Spain, 411. the reception he gave to the king of Caſtile, by ſtreſs of weather, drove into Weymouth, ib. 412. extorts from him the delivery of the earl of Suffolk, a refugee in his dominions, 414. whom he impriſons in the Tower on his arrival, ib. the departure of the king of Caſtile, ib. the king's ſickneſs, 415. his death, and character, 416. his laws, and the authority of the ſtar-chamber, conſidered, 418—426 inclusive: during this reign a paſſage is opened to the Eaſt-Indies, by diſcovery of the Cape of Good-hope, 426. Newfoundland is alſo diſcovered, 427. and the ſhip, called Great Harry, or the firſt ſhip in the Engliſh navy built, ib. Conſtantinople was, during this reign, taken by the Turks, 427. and divers inventions were then found out in Europe, whereby learning was greatly advanced, 428. an univerſal joy at his death, 429.

Henry VIII. while prince of Wales, compelled to a marriage contract with his elder brother's widow, the infanta Catharine, iii. 406. his acceſſion, on the death of his father, how acceptable to the nation, 429, 430. his character, and perſon, ib. the choice of his miniſters, how prudently made, 430, 431. the then chief competitors for his favour, 431. cauſes the oppreſſive miniſters of the former reign, Empſon and Dudley, to be tried, 432. and executed, 434. his marriage with the infanta Catharine celebrated, ib. the then ſituation of foreign affairs, ib.—444. makes war with France, 444. is deceived by his father-in-law, 445, 446. ſends Dorſet with forces to his aſſiſtance, 446. who returns, 448. his fleet beats the French navy, ib. enabled by a poll-tax, impoſed in the parliament, to levy a great army, 450. receives preſents from the pope, brought to the Thames in a veſſel under the papal banner, ib. enters into a war with Scotland, 451. is greatly influenced by Wolſey, 454. and makes him his prime miniſter, 455. his fleet retires from that of France, 457. in perſon, invades France, 459. defeats the French army at Guinegate, 461. his behaviour to the city of Tournay, 463. in his abſence, his Engliſh dominions are invaded by the Scots, 464. and his army headed by the earl of Surry, routs the Scots at Flouden, 465, 466. peace with Scotland enſues, 467. becomes ſenſible of the raſhneſs of his undertaking againſt France, ib. exclaims againſt the emperor and Ferdinand of Spain, for deſerting his alliance, 468. makes peace with France, 470. gives his ſiſter Mary in marriage to the French king, ib. who, after his death, marries the duke of Suffolk, 472. Henry's adminiſtration at home and abroad, iv. 4, 5, 6. encourages malecontents in Scotland, 7. refuſes the imperial crown, offered to be reſigned to him by the emperor Maximilian, 13. his friendſhip is courted by the French king, 14, 16. he reſtores Tournay to that prince, 16. is informed by Warham, and otherwiſe aſſured of the diſcontents of his people, at Wolſey's adminiſtration, 19. makes ineffectual pretenſions to the imperial throne, now vacant by the death of the emperor Maximilian, 20. holds the ballance of power between France and the new emperor, 22. agrees to an interview with the French king at Calais, ib. 23. is viſited by the emperor before his departure, 23. the interview at Calais between the kings of France and England, 24. the mutual confidence theſe princes then repoſed in each other, 26. Henry viſits the emperor, and engages him to paſs ſome days with him at Calais, 27. mediates between the emperor and the French king, 29, 30. concludes an alliance with the emperor againſt France, ib. cauſes the duke of Buckingham to be tried, condemned, and executed, 30, 31. writes a book againſt Luther, 39. and obtains the title of *Defender of the Faith* to be conferred on him, ib. is again viſited by the emperor in England, 43. declares war againſt France, and ſends the earl of Surry

Surry over to invade it, 44. marches an army into Scotland, under Surry's command, 45, 46. the progress of this war, 47—49. the arbitrary methods he took to raise money, 49. calls a parliament, 50. from whom he obtains a scanty subsidy, 51. his reason for not attacking France at this time, 55. but soon after invades it, ib. concludes a treaty with the emperor against France, 60. embraces the alliance of France, 65. how he then behaved to the emperor, ib. 66. stipulates from France a yearly pension, 67. levies a tax without consent of parliament, ib. whereby the people are greatly discontented, ib. 68. insurrections, ib. 69. but the offenders are pardoned, and discharged, ib. the effects of his absolute authority, 69. is invited to accede to a confederacy against the emperor, 77. makes a league with France, and renounces all claim to that crown, 80. his herald, jointly with that of France, denounces war against the emperor, 81. how replied to by the emperor, ib. entertains scruples, concerning the legality of his marriage with queen Catharine, 84, 85. which are fortified by Wolsey and other prelates, 85. and by a new passion for Anne Boleyn, 86. applies to the pope for a divorce, 87. receives a commission to Wolsey, and another prelate, to examine the validity of the king's marriage, and of the pope's dispensation, 90. the king's divorce is opposed by the emperor, 91. sollicits another commission from the pope, 93. which is in part complied with, ib. the king's patience is greatly tried by the pope and Campiggio, now joined with Wolsey on the commission, 94. he presents himself, together with the queen, before the commissioners, 95, 96. the justice he then did the queen, 97. obtains of the legates to declare the queen contumacious, ib. the cause is evoked to Rome, 98. the effects of this measure on the king, ib. he resolves on Wolsey's ruin, and orders him to depart from York palace, 100. seizes his rich furniture, 101. orders him to be indicted in the star-chamber, 102. the articles of the charge, ib. 103. causes sentence to be pronounced against him, on the statute of provisors, 103. but afterwards pardons him, and restores him part of his furniture, 104. obtains of the parliament a discharge of debts contracted since the beginning of his reign, 106. and is pleased with the disposition now appearing in his parliament, to reduce the power and privileges of the ecclesiastics, ib. is agitated with anxieties, and tempted to break off all connexion with Rome, 108. is delighted with Cranmer's proposal, 110. and employs agents to collect the judgments of all the universities in Europe, ib. obtains of the convocation, and all the universities, to pronounce his marriage invalid, 112, 113. orders Wolsey to be arrested, and conducted to London, in order to be tried for high treason, 114. but regrets his death, and speaks well of his memory, 115. summons a parliament and convocation, 116. orders a bill to be drawn, to moderate the abuses of deeds in trust,

118. is cited to appear at Rome, 120. at an interview with the French king, adviſes him to break off all connexion with Rome, 121. and privately celebrates his marriage with Anne Boleyn, ib. proceeds by gradual ſteps, jointly with his parliament, to looſen the connections with the ſee of Rome, ib. 122. and publickly owns his marriage, 122. obtains of archbiſhop Cranmer, to annul his marriage with the infanta Catharine, and to ratify that celebrated with Anne Boleyn, 123. and cauſes Anne Boleyn to be crowned, ib. enrages the conclave of Rome by theſe ſteps, 125. ſhakes off all reverence for the apoſtolic ſee, ib. and is excommunicated at Rome, 127. obtains of his parliament, to enact laws deſtructive of the pope's authority, 128. 129. and to confirm his marriage with Anne Boleyn, 129. and to declare him ſupreme head, on earth, of the church of England, 131. a rebellion ariſes in Ireland, 133. which is ſoon ſuppreſſed, ib. 134. tries in vain to gain the Scots king to his intereſt, 135. the character of his miniſters, 140. is enabled, by the courtſhip paid him, both by catholics and proteſtants, to aſſume an unmeaſurable authority, 141. how he treated proteſtants and monks, 142 how inſtigated to take vengeance on monks, 149. ſuppreſſes ſome monaſteries, ib. perſecutes opponents, and cauſes them to be condemned to the flames, 151, 152. whereby he incenſes the conclave to ſuch a degree, that they excommunicate him, 152. makes it the object of his policy, to incapacitate the emperor to wreak his reſentment on him, 153. and invites over German divines, 154. the queen Catharine dies, ib. and the emperor tries to detach him from the alliance of France, 155. is indifferent about the emperor's advances, 156. but ſomewhat diſquieted about Scotland, 157. reaſons why his domeſtic peace ſeems to be endangered by innovations in religion, 158. appoints Cromwell vicar-general, 159. terrifies ſome monaſteries to ſurrender their charters into the king's hands, 161. cauſes the parliament to ſuppreſs others, ib. 162. cauſes a new tranſlation of the bible to be made, 163, 164. the diſputes that thereon ariſe, 164, 165. is diſguſted with his queen, Anne Boleyn, 166. determines to ſacrifice her, on account of his paſſion for Jane Seymour, 168. the firſt appearance of his jealouſy, ib. he receives a letter from the queen, 170, 171. which has no influence on his unrelenting mind, 172. cauſes her to be tried and condemned to death, 173, 174. and executed, 175. his regard for his two children, the princeſſes Mary and Elizabeth, 176, 177. his ſpeech to his next parliament, how received, 177. gains a new acceſſion of power to the crown, 179. is encouraged by the convocation to break with Rome, ib. 180. corrects the articles of religion, framed by the convocation, 182. diſcontents ariſe among the people, 184, 185. which break out in an inſurrection, 185. ſends an army againſt the rebels under the duke of Norfolk, 188. forwards their diſperſion, by promiſing

miſing a general pardon, 189. but keeps his army on foot, 190. another inſurrection ſuppreſſed, of which ſome are puniſhed, and the reſt pardoned, ib. 191. a prince is born to him, and his queen dies, 191. ſends an embaſſy into Germany, in order to cement an union among German princes, 192. ſuppreſſes the greater monaſteries, 193, 194. diſcovers impoſtures there, 195, 196. the number of monaſteries, colleges, and hoſpitals, ſuppreſſed, 197. the topics then inſiſted on to quiet the populace, 199, 200. how repreſented in the pope's bull againſt him, now publiſhed, 201. is enraged at cardinal Pole, but diſſembles his anger, ib. 202. declines the general council ſummoned by the pope to meet at Mantua, 205. his notion of hereſy, 206. diſputes with Lambert in Weſtminſter-hall, 207. condemns him to the flames, 209, 210. authoriſes other cruelties of the like nature, 210, 211. and calls a parliament, 211. in which the ſix articles are eſtabliſhed, 212. his behaviour to Cranmer, and other biſhops, in conſequence of this law, 213. obobtains of the parliament, to equalize proclamations to laws, ib. 214. his violent hatred of cardinal Pole, and his relations, 215. gets the ſurrender of monaſtries confirmed in parliament, 216, 217. his matrimonial projects, after the death of Jane Seymour, 218, 219. marries Anne of Cleves, and diſlikes her, 220, 221. induced, by political views, to conſummate his marriage with Anne of Cleves, 222. complains to the parliament, of the diverſity of religions, 223. an account of the only religious order now in England, ib. 224. his deceitful behaviour to Anne of Cleves and Cromwell, 224, 225. cauſes Cromwell to be arreſted at the council board, and committed to the Tower, 226. and executed, 227. divorces Anne of Cleves, ib. 228. marries Catharine Howard, 230. cauſes the counteſs of Saliſbury to be ſummarily beheaded, without a previous trial, 232. ſuppreſſes an inconſiderable inſurrection in Yorkſhire, ib. deſires an interview with his nephew the Scots king, at York, 235. diſcovers the queen's lewdneſs, 236. cauſes her to be attainted in parliament, 239. and beheaded, 240. obtains extraordinary laws to be paſt, concerning religion, 242. cauſes books to be publiſhed, recommending to the people his ſyſtem of religion, ib. clears the churches of plays and interludes, 245. enters into a war with Scotland, 246. the progreſs of this war, 247, 248. routs the Scots army at Solway, 249. projects the ſcheme of uniting England and Scotland, by marrying the prince of Wales to the young queen of Scotland, 250. and ſends home the Scots priſoners without ranſom, ib. makes a treaty with Scotland, 252. is diſpleaſed with the behaviour of the Scots, 254. forms an offenſive league with the emperor againſt France, 255. obtains of his parliament to grant him ſupplies, and gratify his humour in religious affairs, 257, 258. the ſucceſs of a campaign againſt France, 259. how far his intereſts are concerned in Scots affairs, ib. 260. obtains of his parliament

parliament such laws as he pleases to dictate, 262, 263. sends a fleet and army to invade Scotland, 265. the success of another campaign in France, 266, 267. of one in Scotland, 268. obtains of his parliament more subsidies, and more laws suitable to his humour and their prostitute spirit, 273. his speech on dissolving them, ib. 274. makes peace with Scotland and France, 275. his domestic administration, 276. persecutes all who differ from him, 277. the peril the queen then fell into, and how she escaped it, 278, 279. his tyrannical temper bursts out against the duke of Norfolk, 282. causes Surry to be tried and executed, 284. obtains an attainder against the duke of Norfolk, 284, 285. who escapes by the king's death, 285. the circumstances attending his death, 286. his character, 287, 288. the number of his parliaments, 289. his wise laws, 291, 292. his commercial policy, 294, 295. the encouragement he gave to letters and learned men, 299, 300. protected cardinal Beaton's murderers, 320.

Henry, son of Adila, daughter of William the Conqueror, his history, i. 374. aids his brother to mount the English throne, 376. in quality of legate, assembles a synod at Westminster, 383. accuses his brother to the synod, ib. agrees with the empress Matilda, 386. his speech at her coronation, 387. secretly instigates the Londoners to revolt, 388, 389. besieges Matilda in Winchester, 390. is deprived of his legatine commission, by pope Eugenius III. 391. pronounces sentence against Becket in a synod, 426.

——— eldest son of Henry II. is affianced to Margaret, princess of France, i. 404. married to her, 407. crowned in his father's life-time, without the princess, 441, 442. again crowned with her, 465. his character, ib. his disloyalty to his father, 466. how supported in his undutiful behaviour, 471. join's the French king in Normandy, 478. accommodates his differences with his father, 479. renews his undutiful behaviour, 486. dies, 487.

——— II. of France, succeeds to the French crown, iv. 315. his character, ib. 316. determines to assist Scotland, 316. attempts to recover Boulogne, 358. makes peace with Englaud, 368. v. 16. and with the emperor, 18. causes his son and daughter-in-law to assume the arms of England, 19. is killed in a tournament, 20. See *France*.

——— III. makes war with the Hugonots, v. 369. is forced to fly from Paris, ib. See *France*.

——— Prince, son of James I. dies, vi. 1. his character, ib. 2.

Heptarchy commenced, i. 26. ended in the union of the kingdoms that composed it, 61.

Hereford, Earl, heads the Norman barons in a conspiracy against William the Conqueror, i. 281. his punishment, 284.

——— Duke, accuses the duke of Norfolk in the parliament, and accepts a challenge from him to a single combat, iii. 37, 38. is

banished for ten years, 39. becomes duke of Lancaster by the death of his father, 40. embarks for England in order to recover this great succession, unjustly seized by Richard II. 41. becomes master of the kingdom during Richard's absence in Ireland, 42. makes himself master of the king's person after his return, 43. extorts a resignation from him, 44. obtains of the parliament to depose him, 49, 50. is placed on the throne, 51. See *Henry* IV. of England.

Heretics, and *Heresy*, obstinate, first punished in England by burning to death, i. 433. an extraordinary commission granted to extirpate them, by queen Mary, iv. 446. a more expeditious and summary method than by inquisition appointed for suppressing them, 448. how determined in queen Elizabeth's reign, v. 10, 11.

Hereward, a nobleman of East Anglia, shelters himself and followers in the isle of Ely, i. 266. saves himself there, when other insurgents yield, 267. protects earl Morcar there, 278. is restored to William the Conqueror's favour, 279.

Herries, Lord, sent by queen Mary with a submission of her cause to queen Elizabeth, v. 134. her fluctuating conduct on that occasion, 135. is appointed by queen Mary to be one of her commissioners to confer with those of queen Elizabeth about her conduct, 137. refuses to answer Murray's charge against her, 143.

Hertford, Marquis of, his character and descent, vi. 437. named a general, and assembles forces for the king, ib. grants a commission to Hopton, 450. is sent with prince Maurice into the West, 453. fights Waller at Roundwaydown, 454. is harassed by Waller, and relieved by Wilmot, one of the king's generals, ib.

Hexham, battle of, iii. 233.

Higford, Secretary to the duke of Norfolk, put under arrest, v. 203. discovers his master's conspiracy against the queen, ib. 204.

High Commission, Court of. See *Commission ecclesiastical*.

Hierarchy Canons and liturgy. See *Episcopacy* and *Episcopal habits*.

Hobbes, his character, vii. 355.

Holland, a province in the Low Countries, with other towns and provinces, is forced to revolt from the Spaniards by the tyranny of the duke of Alva, v. 219. an union of them is formed, 220.

Hollis, forcibly holds the speaker in the chair till a remonstrance is read, vi. 215. his sentence in the King's Bench, 216. his behaviour in prison, ib. his character, 313. his temper, vii. 15.

Holmby, King Charles I. brought there, vii. 82. there seized by Joyce, 90. and carried to the head quarters, 91.

Homelden, Battle of, iii. 73.

Homilies, Twelve, composed in order to be read to the people, iv. 312. objections to them, 313.

Honorius, Pope, his avarice, ii. 171.

Hooper, biſhop of Gloceſter, burnt for hereſy in his dioceſe in queen Mary's time, iv. 441. refuſes the queen's pardon, ib. his conſtancy under his ſufferings, ib.

—— another refuſes to be conſecrated in the epiſcopal habit, v. 157.

Hope Good, Cape of, or the Cape of Good Hope, found out, iii. 426.

Hopton, Sir Ralph, produces his commiſſion from the earl of Hertford, vi. 450. in Cornwal levies forces for the king, ib. commands a diviſion of the army at the battle of Stratton, 452. aſſembles an army for the king, vii. 8. is defeated by Waller, ib.

Horn Caſtle, battle of, vi. 470.

Horſa and Hengiſt. See *Hengiſt* and Horſa.

Hotham, Sir John, his ſpeech in Strafford's caſe, vi. 306. is declared a traitor at the head of the garriſon of Hull makes a progreſs into the ſouthern parts of Yorkſhire, 449. enters into a correſpondence with the king's party, 469. depoſed from his government of Hull, 470.

Howard, Lady Catherine, becomes the object of Henry VIIIth's affection, iv. 225. is married to him, 230. her incontinency diſcovered, 236. confeſſes her guilt, 238. is attainted of high treaſon by the parliament 239. executed on Tower-hill, 240.

Hubba, a Daniſh conqueror, his image how uſed by the Danes, i. 85.

Hubert, archbiſhop of Canterbury, high juſticiary, ſummarily puniſhes Longbeard, a lawyer, ii. 39. aſſiſts John to mount the Engliſh throne, 42. dies, 43.

—— de Burgh, with the biſhop of Wincheſter, joint juſticiary, is aſſociated alſo with him in the government, ii. 155. obtains of the pope to declare Henry III. of full age, 148. his character and adminiſtration, 162. his diſpoſition, 163.

—— otherwiſe French, executed for the murder of lord Darnly, v. 145. accuſes queen Mary as acceſſary to it, ib.

Hudibraſs, author of, his character, viii. 326.

Hugh, earl, a Norman, his treachery, i. 151.

Hugonots in France, a league is formed to extirpate them, v. 191. they take arms and oppoſe the Catholics, ib. and oblige the court to an accommodation, ib. are defeated at Jarnac, 192. ſecretly aſſiſted by queen Elizabeth, 193. defeated at Moncontour, ib. rally and force the king to a new accommodation, 194. are lulled into a ſtate of ſecurity by the French king, 208. barbarouſly maſſacred all over the kingdom, 210. the reſt fly to proteſtant countries and demand aſſiſtance, 214. are aſſiſted by many proteſtant princes of Germany, 215. a new peace is made with them by the French king, 216, 217. perſecuted in the Low Countries, 219. ſolicit aſſiſtance from queen Elizabeth, 222. are relieved by accident, 223. war is declared againſt them by the king of France, 369. they form a confederacy with the king of Navarre, 371. a fleet and an army are ſent to their aſſiſtance, vi. 172. which are defeated at the iſle of Rhee, 173. and

Rochelle is beſieged, ib. another is ſent to relieve that town, 199. but returns without effecting it, ib. 200. a greater prepared for its relief, 200. in ſight of which it ſurrenders, 203.

Hume, Lord, the chief cauſe of the duke of Albany being created regent of Scotland, iv. 5. is ungratefully treated and put to death by the duke, 8. his death revenged, ib.

—— Lord, joins in a confederacy againſt queen Mary and Bothwell, v. 124. is the firſt that raiſes forces againſt her, ib.

Hunter, his extraordinary love for his father, iv. 444. is burnt for a heretic, ib.

Huntington, Earl, is created duke of Exeter, iii. 35. degraded from his ducal title, 52. conſpires againſt Henry IV. 68. is put to death, 69.

Hyde, Sir Thomas, his character and behaviour in parliament, vi. 313. is created earl of Clarendon. See *Clarendon*, earl.

—— created earl of Rocheſter, viii. 171.

I.

JAMAICA conquered, vii. 262.

James I. of England, his acceſſion, v. 511. makes a treaty with France and Holland, 516, 517. diſcovers Raleigh's conſpiracy, 517. cauſes a conference to be held at Hampton-Court, 522. calls a parliament, 523. by proclamation forbids out-laws to be choſen, 527. in like manner annuls monopolies and wardſhips, 533, 534. promotes an union of England and Scotland, 535, 536. prorogues the parliament, 538. calls it to ſit, 545. diſcovers the gunpowder-plot, ib. prorogues it further, 550. aſſembles the parliament, 552. aſſumes the ſtile and title of King of Great Britain, 554. prorogues the parliament further, 556. convenes it, 559. quarrels with it, 560. marries the princeſs Elizabeth to the Elector Palatine of the Rhine, vi. 2, 3. reſtores Eſſex to his blood, 6. creates Suffolk and Northampton earls, ib. diſſolves the parliament, 12. a ſpecimen of his diſcourſe at table, 14. gives up to the Dutch the cautionary towns, 19. viſits Scotland, 21. his propoſals there, 26, 27. returns diſappointed, 28. releaſes Sir Walter Raleigh from the Tower, 31. ſends him on an expedition, 32. ſigns a warrant for his execution, 35. his notions about his ſon's marriage, 39. his opinion of his ſon-in-law's affairs, 43 negotiates with Spain about a marriage and the recovery of the Palatinate, 45. demands loans, 46. calls a parliament, ib. prorogues it, 54. impriſons two commoners, ib. tears a proteſtation out of the journal of the houſe, 59. he diſſolves his parliament in anger, 60. impriſons the leading members, ib. the regard paid to him by foreign courts, 65, 66. expects recovery of the Palatinate by negotiations with Spain, 67. makes large conceſſions in favour of Catholics, 69. and ſecretly employs an agent with the pope of Rome, 68. diſcharges popiſh recuſants impriſoned, ib. conſents

to the prince's journey to Spain, 73. obtains a diſpenſation, and on what terms, for his ſon's marriage with the infanta, 77. breaks off the treaty with Spain, 81. calls a parliament, 82. orders Buckingham to give an account of the marriage-treaty to parliament, 84. conſents that ſubſidies ſhall be paid into, and diſpoſed of by a committee of parliament, 85. to an act againſt monopolies, 86. makes an alliance with Holland againſt Spain, 92. treats with France about a marriage, 93. grants to France the ſame conditions as were agreed on with Spain, 94. ſends an army under count Mansfield for the recovery of the Palatitinate, 95. dies, 97. his character, ib. his character as an author, 135.

James II. of England. See *York*, duke of.

——— eldeſt ſon of James II. born, viii. 265. ſent with his mother to France, 291.

——— I. of Scotland. See *Scotland*.

——— II. of Scotland. See *Scotland*.

——— III. of Scotland. See *Scotland*.

——— IV. of Scotland countenances Perkin of Warbeck, iii. 389. makes an inroad into England, 390. makes a truce with England, 397. marries Margaret, eldeſt ſiſter of Henry VIII. 406. takes part with France againſt England, 452. ravages it with a great army, 464. is defeated by the Engliſh, 465. his fate uncertain, 466 467. See *Scotland*.

——— V. takes the government upon him, iv. 134. mortifies the Douglaſſes, ib. aids France, and marries one of their princeſſes, 157. is diſſuaded from meeting the king of England at York, 235, 236. ſends excuſes to that prince, 236. and endeavours, in vain, to appeaſe him, 247. prepares for war, and gets the better of the Engliſh in a ſkirmiſh, ib. his nobility refuſe to follow him into England, 248. his forces are defeated at Solway, ib. 249. his afflicted ſtate, 249. death and character, ib. See alſo *Scotland*.

James VI. his birth and baptiſm, v. 102, 103. the crown reſigned to him by his mother, queen Mary, 127. his coronation, ib. takes the government into his hands at eleven years of age, 234. his familiarity with Lenox, 235. comes under Gourie's power, 252. his behaviour to the Engliſh and French ambaſſadors under theſe circumſtances, 254. eſcapes from his keepers, 259. his correſpondence with queen Elizabeth on that ſubject, ib. 260. calls a parliament, 260. makes a treaty with queen Elizabeth, 284. interpoſes with her in behalf of his mother, now under ſentence of death, 315. this interpoſition, how received, 317. his behaviour on hearing of his mother's death, 334, 335. marries a princeſs of Denmark, 366. brings the queen to Scotland, 367. three catholic lords conſpire, againſt him, 386. his inability to puniſh them, how accounted for, ib. 387. the care he took to enſure his ſucceſſion to the Engliſh throne,

throne, 437. entertains a correſpondence with the earl of Eſſex, 439. ſends ambaſſadors into England, and with what view, 449. enters into a correſpondence with ſecretary Cecil, 450. is verbally declared by queen Elizabeth her ſucceſſor, 468. his acceſſion to the Engliſh throne, and hereditary right thereto, 511. See *James* I. of England.

James, prince of Scotland, eldeſt ſon of David, is made a priſoner by the king of England, Henry IV. iii. 81. he becomes king of Scotland by the death of his father, ib. ineffectually ſends orders to his general in France to leave the partizans of the Orleans party, 120. he is reſtored to his liberty, 135. murdered, ib.

Jarnac, battle of, v. 192.

Jaqueline, Counteſs, heireſs of Holland, her character, iii. 139. is diſguſted with her huſband, the duke of Brabant, ib. enters into a marriage-contract with the duke of Glouceſter, 140. the unfortunate event of that meaſure, 142.

Iceni, their queen, Boadicea, takes arms againſt the Romans, i. 9. is conquered, ib.

Ida, a Saxon prince, conquers Northumberland and other places, i. 26.

Jefferies, judge, his cruelties, viii. 226. is appointed chancellor, 234. declines in the royal favour, 256. is deſtroyed by a mob, 292.

Jerom of Prague burnt for hereſy by the council of Conſtance, iii. 125.

Jeruſalem, a kingdom erected in favour of Godfrey of Boulogne, i. 334. it is ſubdued by the Turks, 489. great diſputes ariſe about the title of this nominal kingdom, ii. 15.

Jeſuits, an account of their principles and connexion with the court of Rome, v. 242. ſome of them executed, ib. 243. a ſevere law enacted againſt them in England, 263. their zeal againſt queen Elizabeth, 288. tried in the court of King's Bench, v. 154.——five, their trials, viii. 109.

Jews, their character, ii. 3. a maſſacre of them, ii. 4. how tyrannized over, 138. another maſſacre of them, 202. how exacted on, 231. grievouſly oppreſſed by Edward I. 239, 240.

Image worſhip, when and how introduced into Britain, i. 62—65.

Impriſonments, arbitrary, condemned by the houſe of commons, vi. 181. prevented for the future by the petition of right. See *Petition* of right.——of members of the houſe of commons, 215. of ditto, 289.

Ina, a Saxon prince, his wiſe laws, i. 234.

Incloſures, miſchief of, iv. 298. inſurrections on account of them, 354, 355. endeavours to redreſs the grievance complained of as occaſioned by them, ib.

Indemnity, general, granted in England, vii. 360, 361. in Scotland, 449. renewed in Scotland, viii. 115.

Independents, their rise and character, vii. 18. their leaders, 20. they exult in the triumph of the army over the parliament, 105. their power in the house of commons, 118. their state at the commencement of the commonwealth, 163. they subdue the parliament, 227.

——— preachers, their behaviour antecedent to the new model, vii. 23. their behaviour at the time of the king's trial, 144.

Indies, East and West, discovered, iii. 426.

Indulgence published, vii. 396. remonstrated against, 399. its effects, 400. extended to nonconformists of all kinds, 486, 487. recalled, 514. adopted in Scotland, viii. 47. renewed in England, 249. ordered to be read in churches, 259.

Indulgences, Papal, the sale of them brings great profit to the Pope, i. 37. abuses committed by those entrusted to sell them, ib. 38.

Innocent III. Pontiff of Rome, in vain orders the French king to stop the progress of his arms against king John, ii. 52, but obtains a truce of him, 57. the pope's politic conduct on this occasion considered, ib. 58. causes cardinal Langton to be chosen archbishop of Canterbury, 61. his finesse on that occasion, ib. 62. after some fruitless messages to king John, lays the kingdom under an interdict, 64. the effects of the interdict, ib. 65. the pope's behaviour to the emperor Otho, 68. excommunicates king John, 70. offers to the French king the kingdom of England, 71. receives, by a legate, John's submission, 72. and homage for his kingdom, 74. condemns the great charter, and excommunicates the barons, 94. suspends Langton, archbishop of Canterbury, 95.

——— IV. Pontiff of Rome, his avaritious administration, ii. 173. carried to an excessive degree, 174. offers the Sicilian crown to Henry III. 175. his grants to that prince, ib. absolves Henry III. and the English nation from the oath to observe the provisions of Oxford, 196. and annuls the acts of a national council, ib. dispatches his legate to England, with orders to excommunicate the rebel barons, 214.

Insurrections, i. 91, 93, 105, 107, 114. of English, who massacre the Danes, 150. of earl Godwin against Edward the Confessor, 175. suppressed, 177. of Kentishmen against William the Conqueror, 258, 259. at Exeter, against the Conqueror, 260. in the North, ib. in Devonshire, 265. in various parts of England, 266. of Norman barons, 284. in Brittany against Henry II. 471. of barons against John, ii. 85. compromised by the grant of the great charter, 86. of barons against the ministry of Henry III. ii. 164, 165. of the earl of Leicester and his associates against Henry III. 185—221. of William Wallace in Scotland, 309—323. of Robert Bruce in Scotland, 323—338. against Edward II. 365—368. of disbanded soldiers in France, 488. of Castilians against Peter of Castile,

throne, 437. entertains a correſpondence with the earl of Eſſex, 439. ſends ambaſſadors into England, and with what view, 449. enters into a correſpondence with ſecretary Cecil, 450. is verbally declared by queen Elizabeth her ſucceſſor, 468. his acceſſion to the Engliſh throne, and hereditary right thereto, 511. See *James* I. of England.

James, prince of Scotland, eldeſt ſon of David, is made a priſoner by the king of England, Henry IV. iii. 81. he becomes king of Scotland by the death of his father, ib. ineffectually ſends orders to his general in France to leave the partizans of the Orleans party, 120. he is reſtored to his liberty, 135. murdered, ib.

Jarnac, battle of, v. 192.

Jaqueline, Counteſs, heireſs of Holland, her character, iii. 139. is diſguſted with her huſband, the duke of Brabant, ib. enters into a marriage-contract with the duke of Glouceſter, 140. the unfortunate event of that meaſure, 142.

Iceni, their queen, Boadicea, takes arms againſt the Romans, i. 9. is conquered, ib.

Ida, a Saxon prince, conquers Northumberland and other places, i. 26.

Jefferies, judge, his cruelties, viii. 226. is appointed chancellor, 234. declines in the royal favour, 256. is deſtroyed by a mob, 292.

Jerom of Prague burnt for hereſy by the council of Conſtance, iii. 125.

Jeruſalem, a kingdom erected in favour of Godfrey of Boulogne, i. 334. it is ſubdued by the Turks, 489. great diſputes ariſe about the title of this nominal kingdom, ii. 15.

Jeſuits, an account of their principles and connexion with the court of Rome, v. 242. ſome of them executed, ib. 243. a ſevere law enacted againſt them in England, 263. their zeal againſt queen Elizabeth, 288. tried in the court of King's Bench, v. 154.——five, their trials, viii. 109.

Jews, their character, ii. 3. a maſſacre of them, ii. 4. how tyrannized over, 138. another maſſacre of them, 202. how exacted on, 231. grievouſly oppreſſed by Edward I. 239, 240.

Image worſhip, when and how introduced into Britain, i. 62—65.

Impriſonments, arbitrary, condemned by the houſe of commons, vi. 181. prevented for the future by the petition of right. See *Petition* of right.——of members of the houſe of commons, 215. of ditto, 289.

Ina, a Saxon prince, his wiſe laws, i. 234.

Incloſures, miſchief of, iv. 298. inſurrections on account of them, 354, 355. endeavours to redreſs the grievance complained of as occaſioned by them, ib.

Indemnity, general, granted in England, vii. 360, 361. in Scotland, 449. renewed in Scotland, viii. 115.

Independents, their rise and character, vii. 18. their leaders, 20. they exult in the triumph of the army over the parliament, 105. their power in the house of commons, 118. their state at the commencement of the commonwealth, 163. they subdue the parliament, 227.

——— preachers, their behaviour antecedent to the new model, vii. 23. their behaviour at the time of the king's trial, 144.

Indies, East and West, discovered, iii. 426.

Indulgence published, vii. 396. remonstrated against, 399. its effects, 400. extended to nonconformists of all kinds, 486, 487. recalled, 514. adopted in Scotland, viii. 47. renewed in England, 249. ordered to be read in churches, 259.

Indulgences, Papal, the sale of them brings great profit to the Pope, i. 37. abuses committed by those entrusted to sell them, ib. 38.

Innocent III. Pontiff of Rome, in vain orders the French king to stop the progress of his arms against king John, ii. 52, but obtains a truce of him, 57. the pope's politic conduct on this occasion considered, ib. 58. causes cardinal Langton to be chosen archbishop of Canterbury, 61. his finesse on that occasion, ib. 62. after some fruitless messages to king John, lays the kingdom under an interdict, 64. the effects of the interdict, ib. 65. the pope's behaviour to the emperor Otho, 68. excommunicates king John, 70. offers to the French king the kingdom of England, 71. receives, by a legate, John's submission, 72. and homage for his kingdom, 74. condemns the great charter, and excommunicates the barons, 94. suspends Langton, archbishop of Canterbury, 95.

——— IV. Pontiff of Rome, his avaritious administration, ii. 173. carried to an excessive degree, 174. offers the Sicilian crown to Henry III. 175. his grants to that prince, ib. absolves Henry III. and the English nation from the oath to observe the provisions of Oxford, 196. and annuls the acts of a national council, ib. dispatches his legate to England, with orders to excommunicate the rebel barons, 214.

Insurrections, i. 91, 93, 105, 107, 114. of English, who massacre the Danes, 150. of earl Godwin against Edward the Confessor, 175. suppressed, 177. of Kentishmen against William the Conqueror, 258, 259. at Exeter, against the Conqueror, 260. in the North, ib. in Devonshire, 265. in various parts of England, 266. of Norman barons, 284. in Brittany against Henry II. 471. of barons against John, ii. 85. compromised by the grant of the great charter, 86. of barons against the ministry of Henry III. ii. 164, 165. of the earl of Leicester and his associates against Henry III. 185—221. of William Wallace in Scotland, 309—323. of Robert Bruce in Scotland, 323—338. against Edward II. 365—368. of disbanded soldiers in France, 488. of Castilians against Peter of Castile,

tile, 491, 492. of the common people, headed by Tyler and Straw, iii. 9. of lords againſt the miniſtry, 20, 21. a general inſurrection againſt Rich. II. 42, 43. of earls againſt Hen. IV. 68, 69. of Welch againſt the ſame prince, 71, 72. of Northumberland, 74—80. againſt Henry VI. 196, 197. of the duke of York againſt the ſame prince, 204. of Yorkiſts againſt him, 207—219. of Henry VI. againſt Edward IV. 229, 230. of the queen of Henry VI. againſt Edward IV. 232, 233. in Yorkſhire againſt Edward IV. 242, 243. in Lincolnſhire againſt the ſame monarch, 246. of Warwick and Clarence, 251, 252. of Edward IV. againſt Henry VI. reſtored, 257—263. of the earl of Richmond againſt Richard III. 307, 309. in Ireland againſt Henry VII. 342, 343. of Lambert Simnel, 345, 347. in the North againſt Henry VII. 361, 362. in the Weſt againſt the ſame prince, 392—396. of reformers againſt the Romiſh church in Germany, iv. 38. begun againſt Henry VIII. but ſoon ſuppreſſed, 69. in Lincolnſhire againſt Henry VIII. on account of religion, 185. in the North on the ſame account, 186—189. in various parts againſt Edward VI. 354—357. of lady Jane Gray againſt queen Mary, 395—399. Wiat's inſurrection againſt queen Mary, 417, 418. in Scotland, by the leaders of the reformers againſt the queen regent, v. 27—37. againſt the queen of Scots, and Bothwell, her huſband, 121, 123. againſt queen Elizabeth, 168, 169. of Flemings in the Low Countries, againſt the duke of Alva, 219—221. of the Iriſh in Ireland, againſt queen Elizabeth, 417—428. 453—456. Eſſex's inſurrection againſt that princeſs, 441—444. of Reynolds againſt James I. 557. quelled, ib. in Bohemia, vi. 42. of Papiſts in Ireland, 362. notice of it received, 378. the care of ſuppreſſing it committed to the houſe of commons, 384. money levied, and men enliſted for that ſervice, ib. men impreſſed for that purpoſe, 414. a ceſſation of arms between king Charles I. and the Iriſh inſurgents, 480. they are ſubdued by Ireton, vii. 213. of Scots againſt king Charles I. vi. 272. a pacification propoſed, 276. hoſtile meaſures renewed, 280. the king's army is routed, 295. advances again againſt the Scots, 296. a treaty is ſet up at Rippon, 297. the king obliges himſelf to pay them, 298. their arrears are diſcharged by the houſe of commons, 359. and the inſurgents return home, ib. arm againſt the king, 476. receive him at Newark, viii. 75. reſolve to deliver him to the Engliſh parliament, 80. are paid their arrears, ib. retire home, 85. in an inſurrection againſt the parliament of England, enter England under Hamilton, 131. are diſcomfited, ib. of Millenarians. See *Millenarians*—of Royaliſts. See *Royaliſts*. of levellers, 173. ſuppreſſed, ib. of diſbanded ſoldiers in Ireland, viii. 113. of Monmouth in England, 219. quelled, 222. of Argyle in Scotland, 231. an univerſal inſurrection againſt James II. 289.

Intereſt of money, how high in the reign of Henry III. ii. 230. ſettled at ten per cent. in the reign of Henry VIII. iv. 299.

Inquiſition, eſtabliſhed in England by queen Mary, iv. 447. exceeds in ſeverity, thoſe in other places, 448.

Inverlochy, battle of, vii. 49.

Inverneſs, battle of, vii. 50, 51.

Joan d'Arcos. See *Orleans*, maid of.

John, fourth ſon of Henry II. his father's kindneſs to him, i. 464, 465. his tranſactions in Ireland, 485. his father's grief, on ſeeing his name among thoſe of the rebels, 495. marries Aviſa, daughter of the earl of Gloceſter, ii. 2. his brother, king Richard I. his extraordinary kindneſs to him, ib. ſummons a council of nobles during his brother's abſence in the holy land, 18. is diſſuaded by queen Eleanor from liſtening to the French king's advice, 19. is corrupted by the French king, 25. on the king's return his poſſeſſions in England are forfeited, 31. his behaviour at Evreux, 33. his pardon, ib. ſucceeds his brother on the Engliſh throne, 40. ſuppreſſes the revolt in favour of his nephew, 42. makes a treaty of peace with the French king, 44. gets his nephew into his own hands, ib. his ſecond marriage occaſions commotions, 45. his weak and faithleſs conduct, 46. makes his nephew a priſoner, 48. murders him, 50. his fiefs in France forfeited, ib. his army is defeated in France, ib. 51. his ſtupidity and indolence, 52. plans his flight from France, 54. his behaviour in England, on his arrival, 56. by the pope's mediation, obtains a truce, 57. influences the canons of Chriſt's church Canterbury, to chuſe John de Gray, biſhop of Norwich, archbiſhop of Canterbury, 58, 59. diſpatches twelve monks to ſupport the election at Rome, 60. the ſucceſs of this embaſſy, 61. his kingdom is laid under an interdict, 64. his behaviour on that occaſion, 65. his behaviour to his barons at that time, 67. is excommunicated, 69. the effects of this ſentence, ibid. 70. his ſubjects are abſolved from their oath of allegiance, ib. the French king prepares to ſeize his kingdom, as being granted to him by the pope, 71. he promiſes an abſolute ſubmiſſion to the pope, 72. reſigns his kingdom to God, St. Peter, and St. Paul, and to pope Innocent and his ſucceſſors, 73. does homage to Pandolf, the pope's legate, for his dominions, 74. his fleet deſtroys all the French ſhips in their harbours, 76. his meeting with Langton and the exiled prelates, 77. his tranſactions in France, immediately ſubſequent to this affair, 78, 79. diſcontents are encouraged by Langton among the barons, 80. his anſwer to the barons, in a body, demanding a renewal of Henry I's charter, 82. his kindneſs to the clergy at that time accounted for, ib. the pope's anſwer to the joint application of king and barons, 83. hoſtilities between the king and barons, 86. the great charter is granted, ib. war is renewed with great ſucceſs on the king's part, 96. the ba-

rons obtain assistance from the French king, 97, 98. the misfortunes that befel him in his further contests with his subjects, 98, 99. his death and character, 99, 100. an account of his children, 101.

John, Don of Austria, appointed governor of the Netherlands, v. 224. is forced to agree to terms of peace with the protestants, ib. soon breaks the agreement, ib. 225. his ambitious and extensive views, 225. is cut off by poison, 226.

—— king of France. See *France*.

Johnson, an author, his character, vi. 132.

Joseph, Michael, heads an insurrection in the West, iii. 392. is defeated, and executed, 595.

Joyce, seizes the king at Holmby, vii. 90. brings him to the head quarters of the army, 91.

Ireland, state of, before the conquest in Henry II's time, i. 454. the sovereignties then there, 455. it is granted by the pope to Henry II. 456. a war there, between the king of Leinster and Meath, 457, 458. the former is expelled, ib. the effects of this expulsion, 459. it is subdued by Henry II. 460. its state then, 461. palatinates are there erected, ib. its chieftains are enraged, 485. insurrections there are quelled by Richard II. in person, iii. 28. a revolt there, in the reign of Henry VII. iii. 341, 342. the authority of the English government established there by Poynings's law, 386. another sedition there, suppressed, iv. 133. 134. it is erected into a kingdom, 241. an invasion of Spaniards there, repulsed, v. 237. its state before Tyrone's rebellion, 411. the absurdity of the English constitutions there, 412. the effect of its animosities against the English, 414. its usual revenue, ib. a recapitulation of its history, 415—419. Oneale's rebellion there, 415. which spreads by means of a victory obtained by the Irish, ib. and is encreased by Essex's ill success, 422, 423. a truce is agreed on with the rebels, 424. they over-run more than half the kingdom, 428. Mountjoy's success against them, 429. he defeats the Irish and Spaniards, 455. the rebellion is wholly suppressed, 466. and Tyrone surrenders himself to Mountjoy, ib. state of, under James I. 574. an insurrection there, vi. 368. the insurgents attempt to surprise Dublin, 371. massacre the protestants, 372. pretend authority from the king and queen, 378. state of, during the civil war, 477. continues to obey Ormond, 478. a cessation of arms between the king and the insurgents, 479. forces from it, land to aid the king, 480. some of them desert, ib. the rest are dissipated by Fairfax, vii. 7. state of, at the demise of Charles I. 166. Dublin and the garrisons held by Ormond, are delivered to the parliament's army, 168. and Ormond leaves Ireland, 169. returns, and levies an army there, 170. his army is routed by Jones, who commands for the parliament, 176. the garrisons revolt to Cromwell, 177. who breaks the

the courage of the Iriſh, and almoſt ſubdues the iſland, 194. it is wholly ſubdued by Ireton, 213. its civil government is truſted with commiſſioners, 214. Cromwell's adminiſtration there, 274. ſtate of, at the reſtoration, 333, 334. in the beginning of Charles II's reign, 454. an inſurrection there, ſuppreſſed, 457. the effects of the act prohibiting the importation of Iriſh cattle, 458. ſtate of, in 1681, viii. 157. Ormond's adminiſtration there, ib. 158. attacked in parliament, 159. a plot of papiſts in Ireland, pretended in England, 161. ſtate of, in 1687, 252. it is ſubjected to the catholics there, ib. their adminiſtration in Ireland, 253.

Ireland, a man ſo called, is tried, viii. 89. condemned, ib.

Ireton, Colonel, his behaviour at Naſeby, vii. 57. his character, 113. his ſpeech on the vote of non-addreſſes, 116. is made commander in chief in Ireland, 194. ſubdues it, 213. dies there, ib.

Iſabella, daughter of the count of Angouleſme, married to John, king of England, ii. 44. commotions are occaſioned by this marriage, ib. 45. her children by the king, 101. after his death is married to the count de la Marche, to whom ſhe was formerly betrothed, 167.

——princeſs of France, married to Edward II. ii. 340. her character, ib. ſhe is denied a lodging for one night, by lord Bedleſmere, a mutinous baron, 358. goes to Paris, to adjuſt ſome differences between her huſband, and Charles the Fair of France, 362. her fineſſe to avoid the king's journey to Paris, 363. where ſhe conſpires with the exiled barons againſt the king, in favour of her ſon, ib. 364. whom ſhe affiances to Philippa, daughter of the earl of Holland, 365. and raiſes an army to invade her huſband's dominions, 366. the ſucceſs of her invaſion, ib. 367. ſhe ſummons a parliament in the king's name, now a priſoner, 368. loſes the public eſteem, 369. becomes the object of univerſal hatred, 388. is confined, and her revenue reduced, 392.

——princeſs of France, is affianced to Richard II. iii. 28. reſtored to the French king, 71.

Iſabella, Queen of Caſtile, and wife of Ferdinand, king of Arragon, dies, iii. 410. her daughter, and heireſs of this marriage, is married to the arch-duke Philip, ib.

Italy, its defenceleſs ſtate, iii. 387. is invaded, and ravaged by the French, ib. ſtate of, at the acceſſion of Henry VIII. 435. the French are expelled, iv. 59. they invade it again, 61.

Judges, how they held their offices in queen Elizabeth's reign, v. 478.

Julius II. Pope, his character, iii. 437. his attempts againſt the Venetians, 438, 439. and againſt the French, 441. his policy, 443. his joy on the defeat of the French, 449. his death, 450.

—— III. his joy, on receiving the ſubmiſſion of England, iv. 428.

Juries, their riſe, i. 98.

Jury, Grand, of Middlesex, abruptly dismissed, and why, by the chief justice of the King's Bench, viii. 125. proceedings thereon in the house of commons, 142.

Justice, stopt by special warrants, by Edward III. ii. 506.

Justices of the peace, their rapine complained of, v. 478.

Justiciary, Chief, that office abolished in England, ii. 331.

Justinian, Emperor, his pandects found, iii. 314. utility of, in Europe, 315.

Juxon, Doctor, made bishop of London, vi. 239. high treasurer, ib. resigns the treasurer's staff, 331. attends the king to the scaffold, vii. 147. is examined by the council of general officers, on the import of the king's last word, 150.

K.

KENDRID, king of Mercia, his valour, i. 49. his death, ib.

Kenrick, a Saxon chieftain, beats the Britains in battle, i. 24. dies, 25.

Kent, a kingdom established in Britain, i. 29. christianity there introduced, 30. it is united with Wessex, 41.

—— Earl of, a prince of the blood, enters into a conspiracy with the queen against the king, ii. 365. pursues the king to Bristol, 367. is made one of the lords of the regency of Edward III. 384. unites in councils with Lancaster and Norfolk, 389. is beheaded, in consequence of a sentence past on him in parliament, 390. his son is created duke of Surry, iii. 35. degraded, 52. conspires against Henry IV. 68. is summarily beheaded, ib.

—— Joan of, burnt for heresy, iv. 349.

—— maid of, her imposture, iv. 146. gains great credit, 147. is discovered, and she is punished, 148, 149.

Ker, a tanner, heads an insurrection in Norfolk, iv. 356. his arbitrary proceedings, ib. 357. is defeated, taken, and hanged, 357.

Kildare, Deputy of Ireland, is called to answer for his conduct, iv. 133. is executed, with his five uncles, 134. his son is forced to surrender, and punished, ib.

Kilsyth, battle of, vii. 63.

King, his courts, how constituted, ii. 109, 110. his usual stile settled by parliament, iv. 262. his power and revenues. See *Anglo-Norman government*.

Kings, Norman, the means used to preserve their independency, ii. 114. their power, 124. their protection, how obtained, 135. the authority of their edicts, 139.

King's Bench, Court of, exacts bonds from members of parliament, for not attending, iv. 433. some submit and pay the fines set on them by the court, ib. others traverse, ib. judgment of, in the case of persons imprisoned by the king and council, vi. 166. in that of members of parliament, 216. one of the judges of, seized on the bench,

bench, 311. its chief juſtice abruptly diſmiſſes a grand jury, viii. 125. proceedings thereon, in the houſe of commons, 142.

Kirk, colonel, his cruelties, viii. 224, 225.

Kirkaldy, of Grange, holds the caſtle of Edinburgh for queen Mary, v. 207. is forced to ſurrender to a party of Engliſh, 208. is tried and executed, ib.

Knight, a title, whence imported, and how uſeful, ii. 142.

——— four, ordered to be choſen out of each county, in order to repreſent in parliament, the ſtate of their reſpective counties, ii. 187. they remonſtrate againſt the ſlow proceedings of the twenty-four barons, 192. and claim the interpoſal of Edward, prince of Wales, ib. two out of each county ordered to be ſummoned to parliament, 215.

——— thirty, a tournament of, ii. 462. the victors prize, ib.

——— Templars, tortured in France, ii. 375. ſeveral of them cruelly executed, ib. oppreſſed all over Europe, 376.

Knight's fees, what, and how many make a barony, ii. 117. how many in England in the time of the Conqueror, ii. 274. and how leſſened, ib.

Knox, John, a famous reformer, iv. 320. approves of the aſſaſſination of cardinal Beaton, ib. arrives in Scotland from Geneva, v. 26. inflames the people againſt popery, ib. they are entirely guided by him, 31. his furious zeal, and inſolence to queen Mary, 51, 52. is called to anſwer the council for his inſolence, and acquitted, 55.

L.

LABOUR, its price in vain attempted to be reduced by the parliament, ii. 512.

Laity are incenſed againſt the uſurpations of Rome, ii. 509. their diſpoſition then how conformable to that of thoſe in the reign of Edward III. ib.

Lambert, his diſpute with Henry VIII. and ſeveral biſhops, concerning the real preſence, iv. 207, 208. is condemned and burnt, with ſeveral circumſtances of cruelty, 210.

——— Colonel, is diſappointed of the lieutenancy of Ireland, vii. 171. his commiſſion is revoked by the protector, 284. he appears againſt Richard Cromwel, 303. ſuppreſſes an inſurrection againſt the rump, 310, 311. becomes Monk's rival, 318. is confined in the Tower, by the rump, reſtored, 322. eſcapes out of the Tower, 335. is retaken, ib. his trial, 390. condemnation, 393. is reprieved, ib.

Lancaſter, Duke of, his ſeaſonable advice to Edward III. ii. 482. by his marriage with a princeſs of Caſtile, becomes heir of that title, 494. the adminiſtration of the kingdom of England is committed to him, 499. his authority during the minority of Richard II. iii. 2. his character, ib. the effect of his pretenſions to the crown of Caſtile, 5. conducts an army into Brittany, 6. is diſappointed in his enterprize

enterprize on the crown of Caſtile, 14. returns from Spain, 26. obtains the duchy of Guienne, 27. renounces that duchy, ib. differs with his brothers, ib. approves the confinement of his ſon, 32. dies, 40.

Lancaſter, ſon of the former Henry. See *Hereford*.

——— Earl, his character, ii. 340. becomes head of a confederacy of barons againſt Gavaſton, 341. is appointed hereditary ſteward of England, 342. raiſes an army, 345. cauſes Gavaſton's head to be ſtruck off, 347. makes an accommodation with the king, ib. his party new models the miniſtry, 353. is ſuſpected of holding a ſecret correſpondence with the Scots invaders, 354. his adherents again take arms, 356. in arms, obtain of the parliament to baniſh the Spenſers, 357. and get a pardon for their violences, 358. he is taken in arms by the king's party, 359. and beheaded, 360. his character, ib.

——— Earl, brother and heir of the former, enters into a conſpiracy with the queen againſt Edward II. ii. 366. the king is put into his cuſtody, 367, 368. taken out of his hands, 370. his attainder is taken off, 383. he is appointed guardian of young Edward, 384.

Landais, Peter, a man of low ſtation, becomes favourite of Francis duke of Brittany, iii. 352. the effect of this meaſure among his nobles, ib.

Land, how divided among the Anglo-Saxons, i. 241. their value, 243.

Landſdown, battle of, vi. 453.

Lanfranc, a Milaneſe monk, promoted to the ſee of Canterbury, i. 275. his character, ib. the earl of Northumberland diſcovers to him in confeſſion a conſpiracy againſt William the Conqueror, 283. which he adviſes him to reveal to the king, ib. crowns William Ruſus, 306. dies, 308.

Langborne's trial, viii. 109.

Langſide, battle of, v. 130.

Langton, Cardinal, is by the pope's orders appointed archbiſhop, ii. 61. his adherents are treated with ſeverity by the king, 62. his conference with the king, 65. his behaviour to that prince, on his being reconciled to Rome, 77. the final iſſue of that affair, 78. adviſes the diſcontented barons to inſiſt on a renewal of Henry I's charter, 81. inſtigates them to make this demand in a body, ib. on his refuſal to publiſh the pope's ſentence of excommunication againſt the diſcontented barons, is cited to Rome, and ſuſpended, 95.

Latimer, Biſhop, impriſoned ſoon after queen Mary's acceſſion, iv. 403. is carried to Oxford to diſpute about tranſubſtantiation, 414. burnt there for hereſy, in the ſame fire with the biſhop of London, 443.

——— Lord, the firſt peer impeached in England, iii. 16.

Laud, Biſhop of London, his character, vi. 223, 224. encourages innovations, 224. is made archbiſhop of Canterbury, 239. aboliſhes

lectures,

lectures, 246. is impeached, 307. is executed by an ordinance the long parliament, vii. 38, 39. an apology for him, 41.
Lauder taken and fortified by the Engliſh, iv. 333.
Lauderdale, Duke, his intereſt with king Charles II. vii. 373. his religious ſentiments, 374. his character, 471. his removal from the king's councils and preſence are addreſſed for, viii. 40. his ſeverities in Scotland, 49. are oppoſed by duke Hamilton, 50. his adminiſtration and private deportment, 52. the effects of his private and public conduct, 55. he declines in the royal favour, 114.
Laurentius, a chriſtian biſhop, reclaims Eadbald, king of Kent, i. 38, 39.
Law, Common, its ſuppoſed foundation, i. 99. ſtate of, among the Anglo-Saxons, 205. ſtate of, at the death of Richard II. with reſpect to repreſentation in ſucceſſion, ii. 40.
—— civil, how improved, iii. 314. why not received in England, 315.
—— feudal, introduced into England, i. 270. its rules with reſpect to ſucceſſion, 373. origin of, ii. 102. its progreſs, 105.
—— martial, ſtate of, in queen Elizabeth's reign, v. 474, 475.
—— Salian, ii. 401, 402.
—— Saxon, iii. 316. its abſurdities, ib.
League, Catholic, formed in France, v. 217. revived, 273. the duke of Mayenne becomes head of it, it is entirely aboliſhed, 389.
—— ſolemn, and covenant. See *Covenant*, Scots.
—— triple, vii. 445.
Learning, how ſecured, during the ignorant ages, iii. 312. how extinguiſhed, and when revived in England, 316. great improvements therein, 427, 428. ſtate of, in the reign of James I. v. 551. at the time of his death, vi. 129. at the reſtoration of king Charles II. vii. 352, 353. from the reſtoration to the revolution, viii. 321, 322.
Lead, ſtaple of, fixed, ii. 513.
Leather, a duty granted on it for the firſt time, ii. 414. ſtaple of, fixed, 513. the duties on it, granted to the king for life, iii. 109.
Legatine Court, erected by cardinal Wolſey, iv. 18. its extenſive power, ib. and great tyranny, 19.
Legates a Latere, a deſcription of their power and authority, i. 369.
Leiceſter, Earl of, his behaviour at a conference between the kings of England and France, i. 472. its effects, 473. he is made a priſoner, 474.
—— another, defends Rouen againſt the French king, ii. 26.
—— another, his hiſtory, and petulant behaviour to king Henry III. ii. 183. his turbulent complaints of breaches of the great charter, 184. his ſpeech in a ſecret meeting of barons, 185. is made preſident of the twenty-four barons, choſen in parliament to reform the ſtate, 187. retires to France, 193. proteſts againſt

the ceſſion of Normandy, 194. joins in a conſpiracy of barons against the king, 199. returns ſecretly to England, 201. countenances an open rebellion, 203. cauſes the king to ſubmit to ignominious terms of peace, 204. heads the rebel barons, when renewing the war, after the French king's award, 207. leads on the army of the rebel barons, at the battle of Lewes, 208. makes the king and royal family priſoners in the field of battle, 210. his tyranny over the whole kingdom, 211. ſummons a parliament of rebel barons, 213. another ſuch compoſed of two knights of each ſhire, and two deputies from each borough, ib. the tyrannical proceedings of this aſſembly, 216. the ignominious terms on which he releaſes prince Edward, 218. commands in a battle at Eveſham againſt the prince, 220. in which he is ſlain, together with his eldeſt ſon, ib. his character, ib. his widow and children are baniſhed the kingdom, 223. their manners abroad, ib.

Leiceſter propoſed as a huſband to queen Mary, by queen Elizabeth, v. 84. his character, ib. 85. declines the propoſal, and aſpires to marry queen Elizabeth, 85. is appointed one of the commiſſioners to enquire into queen Mary's conduct, 142. is ſent into Holland in order to aſſiſt the ſtates, 278. is reprimanded by queen Elizabeth, for accepting the title of governor and captain-general of the United Provinces, ib. the account of his expedition, 281. he returns to England, ib. a breach between him and the Hollanders, 339. he reſigns his authority in Holland, 340. is reſtored to the queen's favour, 341. dies, 374. his magnificence, 503.

Leinſter, King of, expelled, i. 457. his negotiations abroad, 458. his death, 459.

Leipſic, battle of, v. 220.

Leith, fortified by the French, iv. 337. v. 32. relieved by the Engliſh and Scots army, 37.

Leo III. Pope, crowns Alfred, i. 80.

—— X. his character, iii. 450. has recourſe to the ſale of indulgences, to repair his exhauſted treaſures, iv. 37. his death, 42.

Leofric, Duke of Mercia, his family quarrels with Harold, ſon of earl Godwin, i. 180.

Leoffwin, brother of Harold, attends him in the battle with the Norman conqueror, i. 209. is there ſlain, 210.

Leopold, Duke of Auſtria. See *Auſtria*.

Lennox, Earl of, ſent from France into Scotland, to ſupport cardinal Beaton, iv. 255. becomes the head of the reformers, and oppoſes the cardinal, 261. raiſes an army, but is forced to ſubmit to him, ib. flies into England, and is careſſed by Henry VIII. 265. recalled into Scotland, with his ſon lord Darnly, v. 88. the reſentment of queen Elizabeth, at his ſon's marriage negotiation, how diſplayed, ib. implores of queen Mary, juſtice againſt the murderers of his ſon, late her huſband, 110. names ſeveral ſuſpected acccomplices, ib.

ib. his requeſt, relative to a delay of the trial, is denied, 111. a proteſt is entered in his name againſt the trial, ib. claims the regency of the young prince, 127. accuſes queen Mary of the murder of her huſband, before the Engliſh commiſſioners at Hampton-court, 143. is choſen lieutenant, and regent of the kingdom, on Murray's death, 175. receives inſtructions from Sir William Cecil, 177. is ſeized, and put to death by queen Mary's party, 207.

Lennox, Earl of, his behaviour to the king of Scotland, v. 236. is diſcountenanced by queen Elizabeth, ib. retires to France, 253. dies there, ib.

Lenthal, choſen ſpeaker of the houſe of commons, of the long parliament, vi. 303. repairs to the army at Hounſlow-heath, with the badges of his office, vii. 103. is conducted to Weſtminſter, in triumph, by the army, 104. his anſwer to the officers, deſiring him to call the rump to reaſſume their ſeats, 306. is ſtopt, and conducted home, by Lambert, when going to the houſe, 311. ſummons the expelled rump, to reſume their power once more, 321.

Leſly, Norman, his bravery in battle againſt the Engliſh, iv. 269. heads the aſſaſſins of cardinal Beaton, 318.

—— Biſhop of Roſs, one of queen Mary's commiſſioners, appointed to confer with thoſe of queen Elizabeth, v. 137. refuſes to anſwer Murray's charge againſt her, 143. is examined, and confronted with Norfolk, before the council, 168. complains to the Engliſh council, of unfair dealings, to the prejudice of queen Mary, 178.

—— General of the Scots covenanters, created earl Leven, vi. 364.

—— another, appointed general of the Scots covenanted army in Scotland, vii. 195. is beaten at Dunbar, 197. marches ſouthwards, 202. is routed at Worceſter, 203.

Levellers. See *Agitators*.

Levingſtone, Lord, one of queen Mary's commiſſioners, appointed to confer with thoſe of queen Elizabeth, v. 137.

Lewellyn, Prince of Wales, is repulſed by prince Edward, ii. 201. his character, 243. after being pardoned he rebels again, ib. ſubmits, 245. takes arms again, 246. his dominions, after a great ſlaughter of his partizans, are annexed to the Engliſh crown, 247.

Lewes, battle of, ii. 208. the victory is gained by the barons, 209.

Lewis, eldeſt ſon of Philip the French king, is ſent into England, at the head of a great army, ii. 98. See *France*.

—— King of France, his attempts againſt the Venetians, iii. 438. and againſt the pope, 441. loſes his conqueſts in Italy, 449. his marriage and death, 471. See *France*.

—— Duke of Orleans. See *Orleans*.

—— Emperor of Germany. See *Germany*.

Liberty, civil, how eſtabliſhed, iii. 320.

Libraries, many plundered and deſtroyed by the reformers, iv. 371.

Lidington. See *Maitland*.

Lilla, an officer of king Edwin's guards, his extraordinary fidelity, i. 43.
Lilburn, puniſhed in the ſtar chamber, for a ſeditious libel, vi. 250 the ſentence is reverſed, and damages decreed to him, 316. thrown again into priſon, vii. 174. is acquitted by a jury, 245.
Limoges. See *Vidomar*.
Lincoln, battle of, i. 385. where king Stephen is taken, 386. beſieged by the protector, ii. 151. taken and pillaged, 152.
——— Biſhop of, is fined in the ſtar-chamber, vi. 248, 249.
——— Earl of, forms a deſign againſt Henry VII. iii. 344. goes to conſult with his friends in Germany, ib. goes with a body of troops to Ireland, and invades England, 346. is killed at the battle of Stoke, 347.
Lincoln's Inn, a puritan there, writes againſt the French marriage in queen Elizabeth's reign, v. 248. his puniſhment, and extraordinary loyalty, ib.
Lindſey, Lord, joins in the plot to murder David Rizzio, v. 99. ſent by the aſſociated lords to queen Mary, with three inſtruments for her to ſign in the caſtle of Lochleven, 127.
Liſle, Lady, her trial, viii. 226.
Litany, New, uſed in Engliſh, by order of Henry VIII. iv. 275. ordered to be read in Engliſh, by queen Elizabeth, v. 7.
Loans, or benevolences, firſt exacted, ii. 506. ſtate of, in queen Elizabeth's reign, v. 480. See *Benevolences* or *Loans*.
Lochleven Caſtle, Queen Mary ſent a priſoner to, v. 123. ſhe eſcapes from thence, 129. the earl of Northumberland confined there, 170.
Ledington, Secretary, favours queen Mary at the conference with the Engliſh commiſſioners, v. 141. his propoſal to the duke of Norfolk, concerning her, ib.
Lollards, are headed in England by Wickliffe, iii. 56. ſcreened by the duke of Lancaſter, 58. encreaſe in England, 60. one of them is ordered to be burnt, 70. are favoured by the houſe of commons, 87. another Lollard burnt, ib. a conſpiracy of Lollards, headed by lord Cobham, 94. attempts to ſeize the king, ſevere laws are enacted againſt them, 96.
London, a Roman colony, is reduced to aſhes, i. 8. and the inhabitants put to the ſword, ib. it is rebuilt, 89. and a regular militia eſtabliſhed there, ib. the Danes take up their winter quarters there, 81. a meeting of the eſtates appointed there twice a year, 99. an eccleſiaſtical ſynod there, 286. its proceedings, ib. a charter granted to it, 371. biſhop of, ſuſpended by the pope, 443. complains to the king at Baieux, 445. its conſequences, 446. ſtate of, in the reign of Richard I. ii. 38. another charter granted to it, 120. its imports, ib. an extraordinary commotion between the Londoners and the inhabitants of Weſtminſter, 156, 157. great diſorders there, 202. a plague there, 462. charter of, ſeized by Richard II. iii. 28. reſtored, ib. an inſurrection there againſt the duke

duke of Lancaſter, 58. it is appeaſed by the biſhop of London, ib. the joyful reception of Henry VII. there, 328. ſweating ſickneſs there, 330. biſhop of, burnt for hereſy, 443. alacrity of, to oppoſe the invincible Armada, v. 345. an account of the ſtrangers in it, in queen Elizabeth's reign, 502. another plague there, 523. ſtate of, in king James I. time, vi. 120. plague there, 144. petitions the king for a parliament, 296. petitions the parliament for an alteration in church government, 322. ſtate of, at the commencement of the civil war, 430. declares for the parliament, ib. militia, joins the parliament's army, 444. occaſions a breach between the parliament and army, vii. 103. ſtate of, under the rump, reſtored, 321. rebels againſt the rump, 326. another plague there, 417. a great fire there, 425. repaired, ib. diſputes there, about the nomination of ſheriffs, viii. 171. a quo warranto is iſſued againſt it, 174. judgment entered againſt its charter, 176. which is reſtored on hard conditions, ib. 177. its biſhop is ſuſpended, 248.

Longchamp, Biſhop of Ely. See *Durham*.

Longueville, a French duke, priſoner in England, propoſes to Henry VIII. the marriage of the princeſs Mary to Lewis, king of France, iii, 469, 470. which is approved of, and takes effect, 471.

Lords, Houſe of, their proceedings with reſpect to ſettling the plan of government during the minority of Richard II. iii. 3, 4. proceedings concerning earl Suffolk, impeached at their bar by the houſe of commons, 16. who is condemned to loſe his office, 18. condemn Sir Nicholas Brembre, and Sir Robert Treſilian, impeached by the houſe of commons, 22. condemn the other judges, and lord Beauchamp of Holt, Sir James Berners, Sir John Saliſbury, and Sir Simon Burley, 23. condemn the archbiſhop of Canterbury, and the earls of Arundel and Warwick, 34. great animoſities in the houſe of peers, 68. they ratify a ſentence againſt a Lollard, 70. reinſtate Henry VI. in his ſovereign authority, 209. their ſentence between Hen. VI. and the duke of Lancaſter, 214. condemn to death the duke of Clarence, brother of Edward IV. 275. approve of a bill for moderating the liberty of diſpoſing of land in truſt, iv. 118. which never paſſed into a law, ib. jury of, try queen Anne Boleyn, and others, 173. a committee choſen to frame articles of religion, 211. a bill renewing rigorous ſtatutes of treaſon formerly abrogated, 381. how altered before it paſſed into a law, 382. a money-bill introduced into this houſe, ib. its fate and effect, ib. refuſe a petition of the houſe of commons, relative to the power of ordination, v. 266. reject a bill againſt purveyancing, 358. engage the commons, at a conference, to encreaſe their grant of a ſupply, 382. interpoſe for earl Briſtol, not called to the houſe of peers, vi. 152. and for Arundel, ſent to the Tower, 157. frame a petition of right, 186. paſs that ſent up by the commons, 193. reject that prohibiting

biting clergymen to hold civil offices, 322. receive an impeachment from the attorney general againſt lord Kimbolton and five members of the houſe of commons, 402. conſent to the ordinance about the militia, 420. and to war againſt the king, 425. the houſe divides, ib. and the majority go to the king at York, 426. the reſidue at Weſtminſter take the ſolemn league and covenant, 475. aſſent to put up preſbytery all over England, vii. 71. temporize with the army, 98. their proceedings fluctuating, 104. ſend propoſitions to the king, 115. refuſe their aſſent to the vote, declaring the king guilty of high-treaſon, 138. are voted uſeleſs by the houſe of commons, ib. aſſume their antient authority, 337. agree with the houſe of commons about reſtoring the king, ib. remonſtrate againſt the indulgence, 399. receive a letter from the earl of Clarendon, 436. which they tranſmit to the houſe of commons, ib. amend a money-bill, 478. adviſe the king to recall the indulgence, 515. paſs a bill for paſſive obedience, viii. 7. diſpute with the houſe of commons about juriſdiction, 13. agree with that houſe in their votes about the popiſh plot, 77, 78. refuſe to commit the earl of Danby upon his being impeached, 87. and afterwards commit him to the Tower, 96. renew their vote about the popiſh plot, &c. 98. reject the excluſion bill, 136. condemn Strafford, 139. paſs the bill for eaſe of proteſtant diſſenters, 145. refuſe to receive Fitz-Harris's impeachment, 150. their votes about Monmouth's invaſion, 219. vote a reverſal of Strafford's attainder, ib. meet in the convention, 300. have a free conference with the houſe of commons, 304. agree with them in their vote about the vacancy of the throne, 306. and to ſettle the crown on the prince and princeſs of Orange, 309.

Lorn, Lord, gets a gift of his father's forfeiture, vii. 376. is condemned to die, 448. is pardoned, ib. created earl of Argyle, viii. 163. tried again for high-treaſon, ib. condemned, 165. eſcapes to Holland, 166. invades Scotland in the reign of James II. 230. is retaken and executed, 231.

Lothaire, elder brother of Egbert, depoſes Edric, his nephew, and ſon of Egbert, i. 40. is afterwards ſlain in battle by the depoſed prince, ib.

Loudon, Lord, his letter is intercepted, vi. 280. its effects, 281. he is created an earl, 364.

Louis, King of France. See *France*.

Lovel, Viſcount, raiſes an inſurrection againſt Henry VII. iii. 337. ſoon abandons it, and eſcapes into Flanders, ib. is ſuppoſed to have fallen in the battle of Stoke, 347.

Lorraine, Cardinal, uncle of Mary, queen of Scots, diſſuades her from being reconciled to the reforming lords of Scotland, v. 95. joins in a confederacy to deſtroy the proteſtants, 96.

Low-Countries, ſtate of, in the reign of Henry VIII. iii. 351. See *Flanders*, *Flemings*, and *United Provinces*.

Ludovico, Duke of Milan, joins in a league with the emperor and others againſt France, iii. 387. the effect of this confederacy, 388. his dominions are ſubdued by the French, 404. See *Milan*.

Ludlow, Colonel, ſucceeds Ireton in the chief command of Ireland, vii. 214. finiſhes the conqueſt of that kingdom, ib. is ſucceeded by Fleetwood, 275.

Luther, Martin, declaims againſt indulgences, and ſeveral errors of the church of Rome, iv. 38. is protected by the elector of Saxony, ib. anſwers a book wrote againſt him by Henry VIII. 39. his doctrines ſpread all over Europe, and why, 40. treats Henry indecently, and afterwards apologizes for it, 139, 140. many of his diſciples ſettle in England, 373.

Lutzen, Battle of, vi. 220.

Luxemburgh, Duke, breaks in upon the prince of Orange's intrenchments, vii. 511. beats him at St. Omers, viii. 26. but is worſted at St. Denis, 44.

Luxury, ſtate of, in the reign of Edward III. ii. 513.

M.

MACBETH, a powerful nobleman, murders Duncan, king of Scotland, i. 181. uſurps the crown, ib. is ſlain, ib.

Macgill, Sir James, appointed one of the commiſſioners to manage a treaty with queen Elizabeth, concerning queen Mary, v. 177.

Mackrell, Dr. heads an inſurrection againſt Henry VIII. iv. 185. is abandoned by the inſurgents, taken, and executed, 186.

Madrid, treaty of, between the emperor and the French king, iv. 73.

Maeſtricht taken by the French king, vii. 522.

Magdalen College, its caſe, viii. 257. maſter and fellows are expelled, 258.

Magna Charta. See *Charter*, Great.

Magnus, King of Norway, his attempt on England is repulſed, i. 330.

Mahomet I. the firſt tranſactions of that prophet, and his followers, i. 314.

Maine, a rebellion there, i. 280. it is quelled, ib.

Majors General, their power deſcribed, vii. 252. abridged, 277.

Maitland, of Lethington, ſent by the congregation to ſolicit aſſiſtance from queen Elizabeth, v. 34. is ſecretary of ſtate, and confident of queen Mary, when ſhe arrived in France, 48. again ſent to ſolicit queen Elizabeth's friendſhip, 57.

Malcolm, King of Scotland, obtains a gift of Cumberland, i. 113. his homage for it, to the crown of England, 114. See *Scotland*.

Malta, Knights of, their order is diſſolved, and revenues ſeized by Henry VIII. iv. 224.

Manchester, Earl, speaker of the house of peers, and a general of the parliament's army, is seconded in the military affairs by Cromwell, vii. 9. his character, 21. his dispute with Cromwell, ib. 22. resigns his command in the army, 27. meets the army at Hounslow-heath, with the ensigns of his office, as speaker of the house of peers, 103. is by them conducted to Westminster, 104, 105. becomes zealous for the restoration, 333.

Manners, state of, in the thirteenth century, ii. 142, 143. in the reign of Edward II. 378, 379. in queen Elizabeth's reign, v. 490. between the restoration and revolution, viii. 319.

Mansfeldt, Count, his expedition, vi. 95.

Manufactures, state of, in queen Elizabeth's reign, v. 502. their state in the reign of James I. vi. 122.

Manwaring, Doctor, impeached, vi. 195. his sentence, ib. its consequences, ib.

March, Count, is disobliged by king John, ii. 44. rebels against him, ib. is aided by the French king, 46. made a prisoner, 48.

——— Earl, made a prisoner in Wales, iii. 72. the conspirators in his favour are punished, 103. is forgiven, ib. though having a better right to the crown than Henry V. 124.

Margaret, maid of Norway, acknowledged queen of Scotland, ii. 250. See *Scotland*.

——— of Anjou, princess, married to Henry VI. iii. 178. she connects herself with Winchester's party, ib. succeeds to Suffolk's power in the ministry, 195. appears to be imperious, 202. her party unable to resist the duke of York's, consents to his being created regent, 206. wrest the power out of his hands, 209. are seemingly reconciled to the Yorkists, 210. the queen's character, 216. she collects an army on behalf of her husband, ib. which defeats the Yorkists, 217. but is routed at Touton, 226. she flies with her husband into Scotland, 227. solicits assistance at the court of France, 232. is routed at Hexham, and, together with her son, protected by robbers, 233, 234. escapes to Flanders, 234. returns to England, after Warwick's defeat, 256. her army is defeated at Tewksbury, 261. she is made a prisoner, and her son slain, 262. her death and character, 270.

——— Princess of England, eldest daughter of king Henry VII. is married to James IV. of Scotland, iii. 406. is created regent during the infancy of her son, 467. married to the earl of Angus, iv. 5. deprived of the regency, ib. goes with the young king into England, 7. procures a divorce from Angus, and marries another nobleman, 134. who violently opposes the Douglasses, ib.

Marignan, battle of, iv. 10.

Marlbridge, statutes of, ii. 229.

Marre, Earl, chosen regent of Scotland on the death of the earl of Lennox,

Lennox, v. 207. is forced to conclude a truce with the queen's party, and dies of grief for the diſtracted ſtate of his country, ib.

Marſham, Sir George, an anecdote of, vi. 242, 243.

Marſton Moor, battle of, vii. 11.

Martin II. Pope of Rome, ſummons a general council at Placentia, i. 316. another at Auvergne, ib. the occaſional uſe he made of the armies aſſembled for cruſades, 320.

——— V. acknowledged pope by almoſt all the kingdoms of Europe, iii. 125.

Martyr, Peter, obtains leave to depart from England, on the acceſſion of queen Mary III. iv. 405. is generouſly treated by biſhop Gardiner, ib. the indignity done to his wife's corps, ib.

Martyrs, in queen Mary's time, their numbers and conſtancy, iv. 444, 445. effects therof, ib. great numbers of, in England, and other countries, 448, 449.

Mary, daughter of Henry VIII. and queen Catharine, ſcruples concerning her legitimacy, iv. 85. is hardly treated by her father, 176. declared illegitimate, 177. reſtored by the parliament to her right of ſucceſſion, 268. her remarkable obſtinacy in the catholic religion, 350—372. her chaplains impriſonment, 372. the council argue with her, ib. her great firmneſs in oppoſition, ib. 373. deſigns to eſcape to the emperor but is prevented, 373. her right of ſucceſſion ſet aſide, in favour of lady Jane Gray, 391. her title to the crown, 393, 394. on hearing of king Edward's death, writes to the council to proclaim her in London, 395. many reſort to her, and declare for her, 397. is proclaimed in London, and generally acknowledged, 400. arrives at the Tower, and affects popularity, 401, 402. her attachment to the catholic religion, 403. impriſons many reformed biſhops, &c. 404. her legitimacy confirmed by parliament, 407. deliberates concerning her marriage, 408, 409. the cauſe of her animoſity againſt her ſiſter Elizabeth, ib. ſolicits the pope for a national reconciliation to the holy ſee, 409. is married to the arch-duke Philip, 415. the articles of the marriage contract, ib. the nation is generally diſſatisfied with it, 416. becomes extremely odious by her tyrannical proceedings, 422, 423. aims at a power to diſpoſe of the crown, 424. is thwarted in this by the parliament, ib. her great impatience for her huſband's arrival, 425. and exceſſive fondneſs after he came, 427. expoſes herſelf greatly, with reſpect to her pregnancy, 432. the effects of her barbarous cruelty, 444, 445. grants a commiſſion to extirpate hereſy, 445, 446. ſends an embaſſy to the pope, ſoliciting the reconciliation of the holy ſee, 449. reſolves to reſtore the church lands in the hands of the crown, 451. is deeply affected by her huſband's indifference and neglect of her, 452. her tyrannical and avaritious extortions, ib. 453. is unable to promote the war with France, ſolicited by her huſband, 458. by an artifice obtains of

Manchester, Earl, speaker of the house of peers, and a general of the parliament's army, is seconded in the military affairs by Cromwell, vii. 9. his character, 21. his dispute with Cromwell, ib. 22. resigns his command in the army, 27. meets the army at Hounslow-heath, with the ensigns of his office, as speaker of the house of peers, 103. is by them conducted to Westminster, 104, 105. becomes zealous for the restoration, 335.

Manners, state of, in the thirteenth century, ii. 142, 143. in the reign of Edward II. 378, 379. in queen Elizabeth's reign, v. 490. between the restoration and revolution, viii. 319.

Mansfelt, Count, his expedition, vi. 95.

Manufactures, state of, in queen Elizabeth's reign, v. 502. their state in the reign of James I. vi. 122.

Manwaring, Doctor, impeached, vi. 195. his sentence, ib. its consequences, ib.

March, Count, is disobliged by king John, ii. 44. rebels against him, ib. is aided by the French king, 46. made a prisoner, 48.

—— Earl, made a prisoner in Wales, iii. 72. the conspirators in his favour are punished, 103. is forgiven, ib. though having a better right to the crown than Henry V. 124.

Margaret, maid of Norway, acknowledged queen of Scotland, ii. 250. See *Scotland*.

—— of Anjou, princess, married to Henry VI. iii. 178. she connects herself with Winchester's party, ib. succeeds to Suffolk's power in the ministry, 195. appears to be imperious, 202. her party unable to resist the duke of York's, consents to his being created regent, 206. wrest the power out of his hands, 209. are seemingly reconciled to the Yorkists, 216. the queen's character, 216. she collects an army on behalf of her husband, ib. which defeats the Yorkists, 217. but is routed at Touton, 226. she flies with her husband into Scotland, 227. solicits assistance at the court of France, 232. is routed at Hexham, and, together with her son, protected by robbers, 233, 234. escapes to Flanders, 234. returns to England, after Warwick's defeat, 256. her army is defeated at Tewksbury, 261. she is made a prisoner, and her son slain, 262. her death and character, 270.

—— Princess of England, eldest daughter of king Henry VII. is married to James IV. of Scotland, iii. 406. is created regent during the infancy of her son, 467. married to the earl of Angus, iv. 5. deprived of the regency, ib. goes with the young king into England, 7. procures a divorce from Angus, and marries another nobleman, 134. who violently opposes the Douglasses, ib.

Marignan, battle of, iv. 10.

Marlbridge, statutes of, ii. 229.

Mary, Earl, chosen regent of Scotland on the death of the earl of Lennox,

Lennox, v. 207. is forced to conclude a truce with the queen's party, and dies of grief for the distracted state of his country, ib.
Marsham, Sir George, an anecdote of, vi. 242, 243.
Marston Moor, battle of, vii. 11.
Martin II. Pope of Rome, summons a general council at Placentia, i. 316. another at Auvergne, ib. the occasional use he made of the armies assembled for crusades, 320.
——— V. acknowledged pope by almost all the kingdoms of Europe, iii. 125.
Martyr, Peter, obtains leave to depart from England, on the accession of queen Mary III. iv. 405. is generously treated by bishop Gardiner, ib. the indignity done to his wife's corps, ib.
Martyrs, in queen Mary's time, their numbers and constancy, iv. 444, 445. effects therof, ib. great numbers of, in England, and other countries, 448, 449.
Mary, daughter of Henry VIII. and queen Catharine, scruples concerning her legitimacy, iv. 85. is hardly treated by her father, 176. declared illegitimate, 177. restored by the parliament to her right of succession, 264. her remarkable obstinacy in the catholic religion, 350—372. her chaplains imprisonment, 372. the council argue with her, ib. her great firmness in opposition, ib. 373. designs to escape to the emperor but is prevented, 373. her right of succession set aside in favour of lady Jane Gray, 391. her title to the crown, 393, 394. on hearing of king Edward's death, writes to the council to proclaim her in London, 395. many resort to her, and declare for her, 397. is proclaimed in London, and generally acknowledged, 400. arrives at the Tower, and affects popularity, 401, 402. her attachment to the catholic religion, 403. imprisons many reformed bishops, &c. 404. her legitimacy confirmed by parliament, 407. deliberates concerning her marriage, 408, 409. the cause of her animosity against her sister Elizabeth, ib. solicits the pope for a national reconciliation to the holy see, 409. is married to the arch-duke Philip, 415. the articles of the marriage contract, ib. the nation is generally dissatisfied with it, 416. becomes extremely odious by her tyrannical proceedings, 422, 423. aims at a power to dispose of the crown, 424. is thwarted in this by the parliament, ib. her great impatience for her husband's arrival, 425. and excessive fondness after he came, 427. exposes herself greatly, with respect to her pregnancy, 430. the effects of her barbarous cruelty, 444, 445. grants a commission to extirpate heresy, 445, 446. sends an embassy to the pope, soliciting the reconciliation of the holy see, 449. resolves to restore the church lands in the hands of the crown, 451. is deeply affected by her husband's indifference and neglect of her, 452. her tyrannical and avaritious extortions, ib. 453. is unable to promote the war with France, solicited by her husband, 458. by an artifice obtains of

of the council to agree to a war with France, 462. violent extortions to ſupport it, ib. 463. ſends an army to Flanders, 464. commits ſeveral perſons of diſtinction to the Tower, ib. murmurs againſt her, on account of the loſs of Calais, 465. gets freſh ſupplies from the parliament, 472, 473. ſends a fleet and army againſt France, 474, 475. her death and character, 477.

Mary, Queen of Scots, her birth, iv. 249. propoſals to marry her to the heir of the crown of England, 250. ſeveral arguments to enforce this, 322, 323. is ſent to France, 335. is married to the Dauphin, 470. ſigns three remarkable papers on that occaſion, 471. the cauſe of diſguſts between her and queen Elizabeth, v. 19. aſſumes the arms and title of queen of England, ib. 20. refuſes to ratify the treaty of Edinburgh, 40. on the death of her huſband, king of France, lays aſide the arms of England, 44. but refuſes to renounce her title to the crown of England, ib. is denied a paſſage thro' England, in her way to Scotland, ib. her ſpeech to the Engliſh ambaſſador on that occaſion, ib. 45. eſcapes from the Engliſh fleet, and arrives in Scotland, in company with many French courtiers, 46. her ſorrow on leaving France, 47. is received in Scotland with univerſal ſatisfaction, ib. 48. her agreeable and engaging accompliſhments, and attempts to reſtore police in the country, and gain the affections of the reformers, 48. is ſeverely inſulted and abuſed by the reformers, on account of her offenſive religion, 49. which is the ſource of her ſubſequent errors, 53. how abuſed by the clergy for this reaſon, ib. 54. ſolicits queen Elizabeth's friendſhip, 57. which that princeſs declines to grant, ib. 58. great profeſſions of friendſhip between theſe queens, 82. an interview propoſed between them at York, 83. which queen Elizabeth declines, ib. ſeveral perſons propoſed to her in marriage by her French friends, ib. the earl of Leiceſter propoſed to her for a huſband by queen Elizabeth, 84. which occaſions a difference between them, 85. ſends an ambaſſador to London, to make up the breach, ib. 86. her attachment to her religion expoſes her to many inconveniencies, 89. her anſwer to the general aſſembly's remonſtrance on that account, 90. is married to lord Darnly, 91. which occaſions diſcontents among the nobility and people, ib. ſhe raiſes forces againſt the malecontents, 93. drives them from place to place, and at laſt into England, ib. pardons Chatelerault conditionally, 94. inclined to be reconciled to the reſt, but diſſuaded by advice from France, 95. calls a parliament in order to their forfeiture, 96. beſtows an extraordinary degree of confidence and favour on David Rizzio, 97. uſes all her endeavours to ſave him from his aſſaſſins, 100. her ſtrong reſentment againſt the murderers, and particularly againſt her huſband, 101. eſcapes with him to Dunbar, ib. returns to Edinburgh, and by the intereſt of Bothwell is prevailed to lay aſide her intenſions for revenge, 102. is delivered of a ſon and notifies

notifies his birth to queen Elizabeth, ib. the great vigour hereby diffused among her partizans, 103, 104. is greatly influenced by Bothwell, 108. disgusted with her husband, ib. is said to have given him poison, and suspected of joining with Bothwell in his murder, ib. 109. continues her familiarity with Bothwell and other suspected persons, 110. orders Lenox to make good his charge, ib. refuses to delay the trial at Lenox's request, 111. after Bothwell's acquital he is recommended to her as a husband by her nobles, 112, 113. is seized by Bothwell, and carried to Dunbar, 113, 114. soon grants him a pardon for this and all his other crimes, 114. is conducted to Edinburgh, and shews herself at liberty, in presence of the courts of justice, 116. creates Bothwell duke of Orkney, and orders the bans of marriage to be published in the church, ib. which a protestant clergyman refuses to comply with, ib. is married to Bothwell by a protestant bishop, 117, 118. few of the nobility countenance it, and it is opposed by the courts of England and France, 118. this marriage brings a general odium on the country, ib. 119. and considered, with other circumstances, as a strong presumption of her guilt, ib. her great imprudence and bad conduct, ib. 120. a confederacy of nobles and others raise forces against her, 121. flies with Bothwell to Dunbar, but is obliged to yield herself up a prisoner, 122. her strong attachment to Bothwell is discovered, ib. is sent a prisoner to the castle of Lochleven, where she is treated with severity, 123. the English ambassador is denied access to her, 126. four different proposals concerning her, ib. signs three different instruments without examining them, 127. declared an accomplice in her husband's murder, and condemned to perpetual imprisonment by the parliament of Scotland, 128. her dismission of the crown confirmed in parliament, ib. a faction is formed in her favour, ib. escapes from Lochleven, and raises an army, 129, 130. which is defeated by the associated lords, 130. flies into England, and craves of queen Elizabeth protection and access to her presence, 131. queen Elizabeth declines, and why, to accept a visit from her, 134. is attended in the castle of Carlisle by messengers from queen Elizabeth, to whom she submits her cause, ib. is moved to Bolton castle, 137. appoints commissioners to confer with those of queen Elizabeth, ib. her complaints against her enemies, 138. with their answers, and complaints against her, ib. 139. her reply to Murray's charge, ib. 140. appears satisfied that the conferences are transferred to Hampton Court, 142. refuses to answer Murray's charge against her, 143, 144. again desires admission to queen Elizabeth's presence, and proposes to make her defence to her only, ib. her love-letters to Bothwell are produced, 144. whereupon her commissioners break off the conferences, 146. her conduct censured, ib. evidences of the authenticity of these letters to Bothwell, ib.—149. charges Murray

Murray with the murder of the king, 150, 151. is removed to Tutbury, 152. declines a propoſal made by queen Elizabeth to her, 153. makes two offers to that princeſs, which are not accepted, ib. her anſwer to the propoſal of marriage with the duke of Norfolk, 163. is carried to Coventry, and more cloſely confined, 168. gains the admiration of all about her, by her modeſty, and the dignity of her behaviour, 171. her diſſimulation with queen Elizabeth, 172. was inferior to her in perſonal conduct and diſcretion, as well as in power, ib. her party becomes maſters of Edinburgh on the death of the regent, 174. is forced to make conceſſions to queen Elizabeth, ib. ſeveral propoſals made to her by queen Elizabeth, which ſhe agrees to, 176, 177. is convinced of queen Elizabeth's inſincerity, 178. is ſuſpected to have procured the pope's excommunication againſt queen Elizabeth, ib. approves of Rodolphi's ſcheme for ſubverting queen Elizabeth's government, 201. and renews her correſpondence with the duke of Norfolk, ib. her guilt is diſcovered by queen Elizabeth, and ſhe is called to account for her conduct, 205, 206. the parliament petition for her trial, 206. her adherents are forced to ſubmit to the king's authority, 207. her letter to queen Elizabeth, concerning Gourie's conſpiracy, 255. how attended to by that queen, 258. in what light ſhe is regarded by queen Elizabeth, ib. the effects of the harſh treatment ſhe receives from queen Elizabeth, upon her depoſition, 286, 287. her letter to queen Elizabeth, concerning the falſe reports ſpread upon that princeſs, 287. ſhe aſſents to Babington's conſpiracy, 293. her trial is propoſed, 295. the treatment ſhe then met with, 296. and removal to Fotheringhay caſtle, ib. what paſſed between her and the commiſſioners appointed to try her, before her trial came on, 297, 298. the beginning of the trial, 299. an account of her intercepted letters, relative to the charge then againſt her, ib. 300. her conſpiracy againſt her ſon, ib. 301. the proof againſt Mary conſidered, 303, 304. a curious incident that happened at the trial, 306, 307. her ſentence, 308. the execution of the ſentence is ſolicited by parliament, 310. her behaviour, when informed of theſe ſolicitations, 313. an account of her laſt letter to queen Elizabeth, ib. 314. queen Elizabeth's courtiers perſuade her, and for what reaſon, to order queen Mary for execution, 318, 319. her execution is reſolved on, 320. and a warrant for it ſecretly drawn out, 321. in what manner ſhe behaved, on receiving an account that ſhe was to die next morning, 322. her behaviour through that evening, 323. and next morning, before ſhe went to the hall, where ſhe was to die, 324, 325. her behaviour in the hall, 327. her conſtancy in her religion, 328. her execution, 329. and character, 330.

Mary, a Princeſs of England, ſiſter of Henry VIII. is married to the French king, iii. 471. becomes a widow by his death, within three

three months after the marriage, ib. is afterwards married to the duke of Suffolk, 472.

Mary, daughter of king Charles I. married to the prince of Orange, vi. 360. embarks for Holland, 415. See *Orange*.

——— daughter of the duke of York, is married to the prince of Orange, viii. 34. See *Orange*.

Maſs, and Maſſes, a maſs book reviewed by Henry VIII. iv. 244. maſſes, private, aboliſhed by act of parliament, 329. reſtored by queen Mary, 403. aboliſhed by parliament, in queen Elizabeth's time, v. 12.

Maſſacres, of Jews in England, ii. 3, 4. of Hugonots in France, v. 210. at Amboyna, vi. 125. of Proteſtants in Ireland, 372, 373. See *Omale*, Sir Phelim.

Maſſey, Governor of Gloceſter, for the parliament, refuſes to ſurrender it to the king, vi. 460. makes a vigorous defence, till relieved by Eſſex, 466.

Maſters, Richard, a prieſt, promotes the impoſture of the maid of Kent, iv. 146, 147. is puniſhed, for it 148.

Matilda, daughter of Malcolm III. of Scotland, is married to Henry I. of England, i. 341.

——— daughter of Henry I. married to Henry V. emperor of Germany, i. 363. after his death married to Geoffrey, eldeſt ſon of the count of Anjou, 364. recognized ſucceſſor to the Engliſh throne, by the barons, ib. is delivered of a ſon, named Henry, afterwards king of England, 369. is again recognized ſucceſſor to the crown, ib. the oaths taken on that occaſion, are overlooked, 377. and Stephen uſurps the throne, to which ſhe was provided ſucceſſor, ib. her huſband concludes a truce with Stephen, 378. ſhe is with her huſband, expelled from the government of Normandy, ib. ſhe lands in England 384. an inſurrection there in her favour, ib. her partizans make Stephen priſoner, 386. ſhe agrees with the pope's legate, ib. is crowned Queen of England, 387. the Londoners revolt againſt her, 389. ſhe exchanges Stephen, for earl Robert, her brother, 390. retires into Normandy, 392. in her ſon's reign, ineffectually diſſuades him from promoting Becket to the ſee of Canterbury, 413.

Matrimony, the Engliſh clergy are forbid to marry, i. 367. again allowed, iv. 346.

Matthew, count of Boulogne. See *Boulogne*.

Matthews, Toby, his caſe, v. 531.

Maurice, prince of Orange. See *Orange*.

——— prince, younger ſon of the elector palatine of the Rhine, offers his ſervice to king Charles I. vi. 439. commands a body of cavalry at Roundway-down, 453. is detached to Devonſhire, 459. in vain beſieges Plymouth, vii. 1. then Lyme with the ſame ſucceſs, 9. aſſiſts

ſiſts the king to disband Eſſex's forces, 16. is ſhipwrecked, and periſhes, in a hurricane, 212.

Maximilian, king of the Romans, his intereſt in the Low Countries, how acquired, iii. 351. his pretenſions, and troubles there, ib. finds that the mutinous Flemings are fomented by the court of France, ib. treats with the duke of Brittany for the marriage of his daughter, an heireſs, 354. makes a league with Henry VII. 363. marries the heireſs of Brittany, by proxy, after the duke's death, 364. is depriwed of his wife, by her actual marriage with the French king, 367. vents his rage in indecent terms, 368. his levity and vain-glory, how ſupported, 370. is not ready to aſſiſt Henry VII. when invading France by concert with him, 372. is comprehended in a treaty of peace between France and England, 373. but makes a ſeparate peace, ib. leagues with the republic of Venice, for the recovery of the Milaneſe, 388. joins with the French king, to recommend Warbec to James IV. of Scotland, 389. becomes jealous of the French king's ſucceſs in ſubduing Milan, 404. by what means he maintained his authority in the empire, when he ſucceeded to the imperial crown, 436, 437. makes a treaty with France and Arragon, for recovery of a part of the Milaneſe, 437, 438. adheres for ſome time to the French alliance, 442. his embaſſadors ſign a treaty with Henry VIII. againſt France, but he diſavows them, 452. receives money from Henry VIII. but fails in his engagement to him, 459. ſerves under him in the Low Countries, and receives his pay, 460. adviſes him to lay ſiege to Tournay, 463. is ſeduced from the alliance of England, and embraces the friendſhip of France, 468. is ready to embrace every propoſal, attended with an offer of money, iv. 11. invades Italy, but is repulſed, 13. offers, for money, to reſign to Henry the imperial crown, ib. dies, 20. the conſequences of his death, ib. 21.

——— duke of Milan, re-inſtated, iii. 449. is taken under the protection of the Swiſs, iv. 10. diſguſted with them, and puts himſelf into the hands of the French king, 11. obtains a league of the Italian powers to be formed for ſecuring him in the poſſeſſion of the Milaneſe, 53. on the approach of the French army, flies to Lodi, 61. and the French ſeize Milan, ib.

Mayenne, duke of, becomes head of the catholic league in France, v. ii. 371.

Mazarine, cardinal, his character, vii. 257. his behaviour to the protector, ib. his extraordinary complaiſance to him, 288. his behaviour to king Charles II. then in exile, 314.

Meal-tub-plot, viii. 121.

Mediterranean, a ſea-fight there, vii. 222.

Melvil, Robert, ſent by the congregation to ſolicit ſuccours from queen Elizabeth, v. 34. ſent with three inſtruments for queen Mary to ſign

in Lochleven-caſtle, 127. propoſes to queen Mary, her marriage with the duke of Norfolk, 163.

——— Sir James, ſent by queen Mary, to make up a breach between her and queen Elizabeth, v. 85, 86. his character and addreſs, in executing that commiſſion, 86, 87. ſent by queen Mary, to inform queen Elizabeth of the birth of a Scots prince, 102, 103.

Men, able-bodied, their number in England in queen Elizabeth's time, v. 501.

——— armed, their number then, ib.

Mercia, a kingdom, firſt eſtabliſhed, i. 25. king of, defeats the king of Northumberland, 45. unites that kingdom with his own, ib. is ſubjected to Eaſt-Angli, 47, 48. riſe of, 48. becomes ſubject to kindred, 49. his hiſtory, 50. further hiſtory of, 51, 52. is ſubjected to Egbert, 52. and thereby united with the new ſtate erected by him, ib.

Methven, in Perthſhire, battle of, ii. 329.

Michelſon, her character, vi. 273. her doctrines, 274.

Middleſex, earl of, impeached, vi. 87. his ſentence, ib. his fine remitted, ib.

Middleton, general of the Scots royaliſts in the mountains, vii. 200. is created an earl, 374, and made commiſſioner of the firſt parliament, after the reſtoration, ib. the king is diſguſted with his violent adminiſtration, and diſplaces him, 451.

Milan, a duchy in Italy, ſubdued by the French king, iii. 504. part of it, by treaty, delivered to the Venetians, 438. abandoned by them, 439. reſumed, 440. the Milaneſe is governed by a French lieutenant, 441. the council of Piſa transferred to Milan, and removed from thence, 443. in confederacy with the Swiſs, revolts from France, and Maximilian, ſon of its duke Ludovico, is reinſtated, 449, 450. the French claim to Milan, offered to Spain, as a dowry to a French princeſs, 468. the battle of Marignan there, iv. 10. in which the Swiſs are beaten, ib. Milan is reduced under the obedience of France, and reſigned to that crown, by its duke, 11. is invaded by the emperor, who is there repulſed by the French, 12, 13. a league is made between the emperor and the pope, for expelling the French out of this duchy, 13. they are expelled, by the loſs of a battle there, 45. a fruitleſs expedition undertaken by France to recover it, 57. another French expedition, to recover it, headed by the French king, 61. the plague there, ib. by the fate of the battle of Pavia, it comes under the power of the emperor, ib. it is taken poſſeſſion of by him, 72. who threatens the duke Francis with the forfeiture of that duchy, ib. a confederacy of Italian powers with the French king, is formed, for reſtoring its duke, 76, 77. who is once more threatened by the emperor with a proſecution, in order to a forfeiture, 81. reſtored to Francis Sforza, 107. by his death, devolves to the emperor, 156. its duke Francis

Francis dies without iſſue, ib. and the duchy again ineffectually pretended to by the French king, ib.

Milldmay, Sir William, his ſpeech in parliament, v. 232.

Militia, firſt raiſed in England, in king Alfred's reign, i. 89. feudal, deſcription of, ii. 273. how uncertain, 274. effects of its being diſuſed, 280. computed number of, in queen Elizabeth's reign, v. 501. plan of, formed, vi. 413. brought into parliament, 414. delayed by the king, 415, 416. other means uſed to bring it about, 416—418. an ordinance concerning it, aſſented to by both houſes, 420. a proclamation is iſſued by the king, againſt this ordinance, ib. each ſide publiſhes to the nation, a defence of their reſpective meaſures, 422. more votes about it, 424. eſtabliſhed in all counties, by the protector, vii. 268. in Scotland, by act of parliament, viii. 49, 50. ſtate of, from the reſtoration to the revolution, 316.

Mill, Walter, the laſt perſon burnt for hereſy in Scotland, v. 23, 24.

Millenarians, their principles, vii. 161. they govern the ſtate 235. conſpire againſt Cromwell, 289. againſt king Charles II. 371. are ſuppreſſed, 372.

Milton, his character, vii. 351, 352.

Miniſtry, of Richard II. expelled, iii. 21. of Henry VIII. 430. character of, iv. 140, 141. how retained in obedience by the king, 141. of Edward VI. 302. altered. 365. of Elizabeth, v. 5.

——— firſt, of king Charles II. vii. 358. altered by the introduction of the cabal, 469. undergoes another conſiderable alteration, viii. 10. further changed, 99. ſtate of in 1669, 119. in 1682, 170. firſt of king James II. 211. altered, 242. further changed, 256.

Miſe of Lewes, what, ii. 211.

Mitchel, his caſe, viii. 53. his execution, 55.

Model, new, introduced into the army, vii. 52. laid aſide by tacit conſent, and why, 93.

Monarchy, diſſolved, vii. 138. reſtored, 336.

Money, its value among the Anglo-Saxons, i. 242. intereſt of, in the reign of Henry III. ii. 230. denomination of, altered, iii. 123.

——— current, its computed amount in queen Elizabeth's time, v. 503.

Moncontour, battle of, v. 193.

Monk, George, lieutenant-general, ſubdues Scotland, vii. 214. commands, under Blake, in a ſea-fight, 223. beats Tromp, 243. a hiſtory of his life, 315, 316. he declares for a free parliament, 317. marches to London, 323—325. declares in the city for a full and free parliament, 325—327. his behaviour in the city, 327. cauſes the ſecluded members to be received into the houſe, 328. obtains of the long or rump parliament to diſſolve itſelf, 329. and call a free parliament, 330. cauſes the king's letters to be delivered

livered to both houſes of parliament, 336. meets the king, at his arrival, at Dover, 338. is created duke of Albemarle, 359. See *Albemarle*.

Monks and Monaſteries, the cauſes of the imperfections in their hiſtories, i. 28. a hiſtory of them, 115. their introduction into England, 125. are greatly alarmed at the progreſs of the reformation, iv. 145, 146. detected in a conſpiracy, 146. ſuffer greatly by the impoſture of the Maid of Kent, 149. the encreaſe of them, a radical inconveniency in popery, 159. are greatly incenſed againſt king Henry, ib. great diſorders are diſcovered among them, 160. the leſſer monaſteries are ſuppreſſed by the parliament, 161. their poſſeſſions granted to the king, 162. the ſuppreſſion of theſe, cauſes great diſcontents among the people, 184. the greater ſuppreſſed, 193. many abſurd and ridiculous things found in them, 194, 195. and impoſtures diſcovered in them, 195—197. the amount of their revenue, 197. how diſpoſed of by the king, 199, 200. the ſuppreſſion of them is greatly regretted by the people, 351: ſome erected by queen Mary, 451. and ſuppreſſed by queen Elizabeth, v. 10.

Monmouth, Duke, his character, viii. 94. his illegitimacy declared, ib. he defeats the covenanters at Bothwell-bridge, 114. is greatly careſſed in England, 122. conſpires againſt the king, 178. his conſpiracy is diſcovered, 183. he is pardoned, 197. but ordered to depart the kingdom, 198. he invades England, 219. his conduct on that occaſion, 220. he is defeated, 222. made a priſoner, 223. executed, ib.

Monopolies, firſt erected, ii. 506. petitioned againſt by the houſe of commons, v. 401. the number and importance of the commodities given over to monopoliſts, 456, 457. a bill introduced into the lower-houſe, for aboliſhing them, 458. the queen promiſes to cancel the moſt grievous of them, 459. their ſtate, at the acceſſion of James I. 534. called in by proclamation, ib. revived, vi. 51. remonſtrated againſt, ib. aboliſhed by act of parliament, 86. revived by the king's authority, 235. aboliſhed again, by act of parliament, 312.

Monothelites, their hereſy condemned in Britain, i. 66, 67.

Montmorency, Conſtable of France, commands at the battle of St. Quintin, iv. 463. is defeated, and taken priſoner, 464. his reaſon for oppoſing the marriage of the Dauphin with Mary, queen of Scots, v. 33. is deprived of all power, by the influence of the houſe of Guiſe, 41. recalled to court, on the death of the king, 43. joins the duke of Guiſe in perſecuting the Hugonots, 69. is taken priſoner in a battle againſt them, 73. makes peace with the catholics, and is ſet at liberty, 79. is killed at St. Dennis, in a battle againſt the Hugonots, 191.

Francis dies without iſſue, ib. and the duchy again ineffectually pretended to by the French king, ib.

Milldmay, Sir William, his ſpeech in parliament, v. 232.

Militia, firſt raiſed in England, in king Alfred's reign, i. 89. feudal, deſcription of, ii. 273. how uncertain, 274. effects of its being diſuſed, 280. computed number of, in queen Elizabeth's reign, v. 501. plan of, formed, vi. 413. brought into parliament, 414. delayed by the king, 415, 416. other means uſed to bring it about, 416—418. an ordinance concerning it, aſſented to by both houſes, 420. a proclamation is iſſued by the king, againſt this ordinance, ib. each ſide publiſhes to the nation, a defence of their reſpective meaſures, 422. more votes about it, 424. eſtabliſhed in all counties, by the protector, vii. 268. in Scotland, by act of parliament, viii. 49, 50. ſtate of, from the reſtoration to the revolution, 316.

Mill, Walter, the laſt perſon burnt for hereſy in Scotland, v. 23, 24.

Millenarians, their principles, vii. 161. they govern the ſtate 235. conſpire againſt Cromwell, 289. againſt king Charles II. 371. are ſuppreſſed, 372.

Milton, his character, vii. 351, 352.

Miniſtry, of Richard II. expelled, iii. 21. of Henry VIII. 430. character of, iv. 140, 141. how retained in obedience by the king, 141. of Edward VI. 302. altered. 365. of Elizabeth, v. 5.

——— firſt, of king Charles II. vii. 358. altered by the introduction of the cabal, 469. undergoes another conſiderable alteration, viii. 10. further changed, 99. ſtate of in 1669, 119. in 1682, 170. firſt of king James II. 211. altered, 242. further changed, 256.

Miſe of Lewes, what, ii. 211.

Mitchel, his caſe, viii. 53. his execution, 55.

Model, new, introduced into the army, vii. 52. laid aſide by tacit conſent, and why, 93.

Monarchy, diſſolved, vii. 138. reſtored, 336.

Money, its value among the Anglo-Saxons, i. 242. intereſt of, in the reign of Henry III. ii. 230. denomination of, altered, iii. 123.

——— current, its computed amount in queen Elizabeth's time, v. 503.

Moncontour, battle of, v. 193.

Monk, George, lieutenant-general, ſubdues Scotland, vii. 214. commands, under Blake, in a ſea-fight, 223. beats Tromp, 243. 2 hiſtory of his life, 315, 316. he declares for a free parliament, 317. marches to London, 323—325. declares in the city for a full and free parliament, 325—327. his behaviour in the city, 327. cauſes the ſecluded members to be received into the houſe, 328. obtains of the long or rump parliament to diſſolve itſelf, 329. and call a free parliament, 330. cauſes the king's letters to be delivered

livered to both houſes of parliament, 336. meets the king, at his arrival, at Dover, 338. is created duke of Albemarle, 359. See *Albemarle*.

Monks and Monaſteries, the cauſes of the imperfections in their hiſtories, i. 28. a hiſtory of them, 115. their introduction into England, 125. are greatly alarmed at the progreſs of the reformation, iv. 145, 146. detected in a conſpiracy, 146. ſuffer greatly by the impoſture of the Maid of Kent, 149. the encreaſe of them, a radical inconveniency in popery, 159. are greatly incenſed againſt king Henry, ib. great diſorders are diſcovered among them, 160. the leſſer monaſteries are ſuppreſſed by the parliament, 161. their poſſeſſions granted to the king, 162. the ſuppreſſion of theſe, cauſes great diſcontents among the people, 184. the greater ſuppreſſed, 193. many abſurd and ridiculous things found in them, 194, 195. and impoſtures diſcovered in them, 195—197. the amount of their revenue, 197. how diſpoſed of by the king, 199, 200. the ſuppreſſion of them is greatly regretted by the people, 351. ſome erected by queen Mary, 451. and ſuppreſſed by queen Elizabeth, v. 10.

Monmouth, Duke, his character, viii. 94. his illegitimacy declared, ib. he defeats the covenanters at Bothwell-bridge, 114. is greatly careſſed in England, 122. conſpires againſt the king, 178. his conſpiracy is diſcovered, 183. he is pardoned, 197. but ordered to depart the kingdom, 198. he invades England, 219. his conduct on that occaſion, 220. he is defeated, 222. made a priſoner, 223. executed, ib.

Monopolies, firſt erected, ii. 506. petitioned againſt by the houſe of commons, v. 401. the number and importance of the commodities given over to monopoliſts, 456, 457. a bill introduced into the lower-houſe, for aboliſhing them, 458. the queen promiſes to cancel the moſt grievous of them, 459. their ſtate, at the acceſſion of James I. 534. called in by proclamation, ib. revived, vi. 51. remonſtrated againſt, ib. aboliſhed by act of parliament, 86. revived by the king's authority, 235. aboliſhed again, by act of parliament, 312.

Monothelites, their hereſy condemned in Britain, i. 66, 67.

Montmorency, Conſtable of France, commands at the battle of St. Quintin, iv. 463. is defeated, and taken priſoner, 464. his reaſon for oppoſing the marriage of the Dauphin with Mary, queen of Scots, v. 33. is deprived of all power, by the influence of the houſe of Guiſe, 41. recalled to court, on the death of the king, 43. joins the duke of Guiſe in perſecuting the Hugonots, 69. is taken priſoner in a battle againſt them, 73. makes peace with the catholics, and is ſet at liberty, 79. is killed at St. Dennis, in a battle againſt the Hugonots, 191.

Montroſe, Earl of, his hiſtory, vii. 43—48. ſets up the royal ſtandard in Scotland, 47. See *Army Royal*, in Scotland. reaſſumes the command, 184. is made a priſoner, 185. condemned, 187. executed, 189.

Montſerrat, Marquis of, claims the kingdom of Jeruſalem, ii. 15. is aſſaſſinated, 20. its effects, ib.

Morcar and *Edwin*. See *Edwin* and *Morcar*.

Mordaunt, his conſpiracy, vii. 308. quelled, 309.

More, Sir Thomas, his account of Jane Shore defended, iii. 289. the great ſeal committed to him, iv. 100. his reaſon for reſigning it, 119. his excellent temper, ib. 120. doubts the legality of the ſettlement of the crown, made by the parliament, 131. is indicted for it, and committed to the Tower, ib. his character, 143. was a violent perſecutor of the heretics, ib. 144. is condemned, and executed, for denying the king's ſupremacy, 150—152. an account of his remarks concerning incloſures, extracted out of his Utopia, 352.

—— Roger, his conſpiracy, vi. 368——371. the conſpirators are abandoned by him, 375.

Morris, Attorney of the court of wards, his motion in the houſe, how ſeconded, v. 379. the queen's injunction thereon, ib. 380. is ſeized in the houſe by a ſerjeant at arms, loſes his preferments, and is committed priſoner to Tilbury caſtle, 380.

Mortimer, Roger, a potent baron, his intimacy with Iſabella, queen of Edward II. in Paris, ii. 363, 364. he grows impatient for the king's death, 369, 370. employs two miſcreants to murder him, 371. his authority prevents an unſeaſonable attack of Scots invaders, 387. he becomes the object of national hatred, ib. adviſes a treaty with the king of Scotland, 388. enriches himſelf and followers, by forfeitures, 390. his condemnation and forfeiture, in parliament, 391.

Mortimer's Croſs, battle of, iii. 218.

Mortmain, ſtatute of, made, ii. 503.

Morton, Earl of, chancellor of Scotland, his motives for promoting the aſſaſſination of cardinal Beaton, v. 99. joins an aſſociation to protect the prince, and bring the murderers of the king to puniſhment, 121. takes the coronation oath, in the name of king James VI. then an infant, 127. appointed by the king, and kingdom of Scotland, one of the commiſſioners to enquire into queen Mary's conduct, 137. intercepts queen Mary's letters, 145. Morton's conduct on this occaſion ſcrutinized, 146—148. his account how the papers came into his hands, conſidered, together with the circumſtances that fortify it, 149, 150. he is appointed by the Scots parliament, one of the commiſſioners to manage a treaty with queen Elizabeth, concerning queen Mary, 177. is choſen regent of Scotland on the death of Mary, 207. ſecretly takes his meaſures with queen Elizabeth,

beth, ib. 208. by whose aid he subdues the queen's party, 268. delivers into the king's hands a resignation, after having obtained a general pardon, 235. but retains the administration, ib. is arrested in council, tried, and condemned, 236. suffers with constancy and resolution, ib. 237.

Morton, John, a clergyman, and minister to Henry VII. iii. 335. his preferments, 336. his stratagems to raise money for the king, 369. is made a cardinal, 393. becomes obnoxious to the people, ib. procures a law for his own safety, 426.

Mortravers and *Gournay*, murderers of Henry II. ii. 371. their fate, ib.

Mountfort, Earl of, his claim to the duchy of Britanny, kindles a war in France, ii. 428. his character, and secret transactions with Edward III. 429, 430. he is shut up in the Louvre, 430. the character and behaviour of his countess on this occasion, ib. 431. she engages Edward to embrace her interests, 431. obstinately defends Hennebonne castle, till succoured by the English, 432, 433. she is protected by the English king in person, at the head of a great army, 434. is included in a truce with the French king, 435. the truce is broke, and the war commences again, ib. the countess reinforced by the English, disperses the army of Charles of Blois, and takes him prisoner, 452. at the peace of Bretigni, the differences between the families of Blois and Mountfort, are referred to arbitration, 484. but the war continuing, the young count of Mountfort gets possession of the whole duchy, 487.

Mountjoy, Lord, is appointed deputy of Ireland, v. 429. his promising successes, give a new life to the queen's authority there, ib. learns from Essex his scheme relative to the succession to the crown, 438. the lord deputies sentiments on it, ib. 439. he greatly harasses the rebels, 453. beats the rebels and Spaniards, 455. obliges Tyrone to deliver himself up, and make an absolute surrender of his life and fortune to the queen's pleasure, 466.

Mulgrave, Earl of, his character, viii. 325.

Munster, Bishop of, makes an irruption into Holland, vii. 416. dies, 417.

Murden, his account of the state of the kingdom, in Elizabeth's time, v. 501.

Murder, antiently punished by fine, i. 235. the prices of the several heads of men, ib. how punished by Henry II. 418. of a clergyman, how punished antiently, 483. and how, by Henry II. ib.

Murray, is alarmed at the preferment of the earl of Lenox, and his son lord Darnley, v. 91. comes to London, and is seduced by queen Elizabeth, to give false testimony for her, 93, 94. is ill used by her on that occasion, 94. returns to Edinburgh, and is reconciled to queen Mary, 101. is acquitted by the parliament, and restored to his estate and honours, ib. retires to France, 121. is appointed

regent by an inſtrument under queen Mary's hand, 127. arrives from France, and takes poſſeſſion of his office, 128. viſits the queen, and treats her harſhly, ib. a powerful faction is formed againſt him, ib. 129. is called upon by queen Elizabeth, to juſtify his conduct to queen Mary, 135. to which he ſubmits, ib. is appointed by the Scots, one of the commiſſioners to enquire into queen Mary's conduct, 137. anſwers queen Mary's complaints before the Engliſh commiſſioners, 139. why determined not to puſh his accuſation againſt queen Mary to the utmoſt, 140. has a private conference with the duke of Norfolk, 141. propoſes queries to queen Elizabeth, ib. being encouraged by that queen, brings a poſitive charge againſt queen Mary, 142. is obliged to produce the evidences of her guilt, 144. is, with others, accuſed by queen Mary as guilty of her huſband's murder, 150, 151. the abſurdity of this charge, 151, 152. is diſmiſſed by queen Elizabeth with marks of favour, 152. is ſaid to have propoſed the duke of Norfolk's marriage with queen Mary, 162. his reaſons for diſſimulation in this affair, 163. informs queen Elizabeth of Norfolk's conſpiracy, 166. confines the earl of Northumberland in the caſtle of Lochleven, 170. receives letters from queen Elizabeth, and from queen Mary, 172. his anſwer to queen Elizabeth, ib. 173. is aſſaſſinated, 173. his character, 174.

Murray and *Douglaſs*, invade England. See *Scotland*.

Muſcovy, firſt intercourſe of, with European powers, iv. 479. an account of the trade with it, 497. and of the national tranſactions with its Czar, ib. 498.

N.

NAJARA, battle of, ii. 493.

Nantz, a city, falls to Henry II. by the death of his brother Geoffry, i. 404. he obtains poſſeſſion of it, ib. the important advantage thereby gained, 405. ineffectually beſieged by the French, iii. 359.

Navarre, King Charles, his character, ii. 463. his kingdom is attacked by John, king of France, 465. he is thrown into priſon, 466. makes his eſcape, 478. his faction is aſſiſted by the king of England, 479. he rivals that king in his pretenſions to the French crown, 483. is reſtored to all his honours and poſſeſſions, by the peace of Bretigni, 485. in another war with the French king, is made a priſoner, 488.

———— a kingdom, invaded, and wholly ſubdued by Spaniſh troops, iii. 460. king of, Albert, flies to France for ſuccour, ib. a French army attempts to replace the expelled monarch, iv. 28. king of, a prince of the blood of France, is excluded from all offices, v. 41. and ſeized, by the influence of Guiſe, 43. but on the king's death, made lieutenant of the kingdom during the minority, ib. joins the catholics,

catholics, 70. commands at the ſiege of Rouen, where he is mortally wounded, 72.

Navarre, Prince of, commands the Hugonots againſt the catholics in France, 192. is ſpared by the king, at the maſſacre of the Hugonots, 210. but forced to make a ſhow of changing his religion, ib. flies from court, and heads the Hugonots, 216. by the death of the duke of Anjou, becomes heir of the French crown, 273. forms a confederacy with the French king, 370. and on his death-aſſumes the government of the kingdom, 371. aſſiſted by queen Elizabeth, ib. obliged by the duke of Parma to raiſe the blockade of Paris, 372. further aided by queen Elizabeth, 374. but obliged by the ſame duke to raiſe the ſiege of Rouen, ib. though further aſſiſted by queen Elizabeth, is more unſucceſsful, 375. his politic conduct, with reſpect to the two religions, 383. embraces the catholic religion, 384. and forms a new league with queen Elizabeth, 385. declares war againſt the king of Spain, 389. is further aſſiſted from England, 390. receives overtures of peace from the king of Spain, 402. concludes a treaty of peace with Spain, 403. curious anecdotes between him and the Engliſh ambaſſador at the court of France, 436, 437. appears averſe to the Scots ſucceſſion, but acquieſces in it, 450. an interview with him is deſired by queen Elizabeth and himſelf, but laid aſide, 451. the conformity of his ſentiments in politics with thoſe of that queen, ib. 452. what he owed to queen Elizabeth, at the time of her death, 493.

Navigation Act, rejected by the king, iii. 223. enacted, vii. 219. ſuſpended, 487.

Navy, firſt eſtabliſhed by king Alfred, i. 89. number of, in queen Elizabeth's time, v. 500. ſtate of, in the reign of James I. vi. 120. diſobeys the admiral, 145. 146. is equipped by writs iſſued out of the privy council, 162. ſtate of, in the reign of Charles I. 275. declares for the parliament againſt the king, 431. part of it deſerts to the prince of Wales in Holland, vii. 124. that ſquadron is ſubjected to prince Rupert. See *Rupert*.

——— Republican. See *Blake*.

——— Royal, ſubjected to prince Rupert. See *Rupert*. to the duke of York. See *York*, duke of. to Albemarle. See *Albemarle*. to Strickland, and mutinies againſt him, viii. 280. ſtate of, between the reſtoration and revolution, 317.

Naylor, James, a quaker, his hiſtory, vii. 345, 346.

Necromancy, Stacey, an eccleſiaſtic, condemned on that account, iii. 274.

Nero, Roman emperor, makes Suetonius Paulus governor of Britain, i. 7.

Nevil, Ralph, created earl of Weſtmoreland, iii. 36.

——— Sir Harry, accuſed by Eſſex, as one of his confederates, v. 446. is on that account thrown into priſon, and ſeverely perſecuted, ib.

Nevil, Sir John, heads an insurrection in Yorkshire, iv. 231. is suppressed and executed, ib.

Newark, besieged and relieved, vii. 8. the king, Charles I. there delivers himself up to the Scots army, 75. it is surrendered to the Scots, ib.

Newburn upon Tyne, battle of, vi. 295.

Newbury, first battle of, vi. 467. second battle there, vii. 16.

Newcastle, town of, taken by the Scots, vi. 295.

——— Marquis of, is forced to leave the siege of Hull, vi. 470. retreats before Fairfax, vii. 8. is beaten, 11. his character, ib. 12. goes abroad, 13.

Newport, treaty of, vii. 124.

Newton, Sir Isaac, his character, viii. 322, 323.

Nimeguen, a congress there, viii. 20. peace there made, 43, 44. ratified by all the powers interested therein, 45.

Nobility, their taste for luxury begins, v. 504. their houses and buildings described, ib. titles of, sold, vi. 7. prices of, ib.

Nonconformists, Popish, odious to the house of commons, v. 556. compounded with, vi. 162. a new commission for compounding with them, is issued, vi. 232.

——— Protestant, favoured by the house of commons, v. 556. See *Puritans*.

Norfolk, Earl of, a prince of the blood of England, enters into a conspiracy with the queen against Edward II. ii. 366. is made one of the lords of the regency, during the minority, 384. unites in councils with Lancaster and Kent, 389. is beheaded by the parliament convened at Salisbury, 390.

———, Duke of, offers to prove the innocence of the crime charged on him by Hereford, iii. 38. is banished the kingdom for life, 39.

———, Duke of, another, opposes the reformation, iv. 140. commands the king's troops against the northern insurrection, 188. his prudent conduct in that expedition, ib. 189. he defeats a party of them, 190. puts many of their leaders to death very summarily, ib. 191. commands the English army against the Scots, 247. his many services, and great connections, 382. becomes obnoxious to the king, 283. and sent to the Tower, attainted and condemned by the parliament, without trial or evidence, 285. his life is saved by the death of the king, ib. he is restored to his liberty on the accession of queen Mary, 401. is appointed one of queen Elizabeth's commissioners, to try the cause between queen Mary, and the king and kingdom of Scotland, v. 137. has a private conference with the earl of Murray, 141. listens to a proposal for espousing queen Mary, ib. his character and great influence, 162. his first conspiracy, and the source of his misfortunes, ib. his marriage with queen Mary, is proposed by the earl of Murray, 163. his motives for gaining the favour of the nobility in that enterprize, before he asked

asked the queen's consent, ib. 164. continues to make interest with the nobility and foreign princes to promote his marriage, 166. his design is discovered to queen Elizabeth by Murray, ib. tries in vain to amuse queen Elizabeth, 168. is taken into custody, and sent to the Tower, ib. several of his friends confined, ib. uses his endeavours to suppress an insurrection in favour of queen Mary, 170. is released from the Tower, and confined to his own house on conditions, 171. renews his correspondence with queen Mary, 202. consents to adopt Rodolphi's scheme of subverting queen Elizabeth's government, ib. 203. his guilt is discovered by Cecil, ib. is tried, and condemned by his peers, 204. and soon after executed, 205.

Normandy and *Normans*, how so named, i. 148. duke of, William, is succeeded by Richard, in the government of the duchy, ib. duke of, Richard, gives his sister Emma in marriage to king Ethelred, 149. duke of, Robert, successor of Richard, dies in a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, 166. natives of, are caressed in the court of England, 174. duke of, William, son of Robert, is verbally nominated successor to the English crown, 183. the character of the inhabitants of this duchy, 196. their behaviour in England, on their landing, with the Conqueror at their head, 207. their behaviour after the battle of Hastings, 211. the rigours of their government in England, 262. more rigours there, 268. the duchy falls to Robert's share, at the death of the Conqueror, 305. is, with Maine, mortgaged to William Rufus, king of England, 320. duke of, Robert, sets out for the Holy Land, 321. the character of the Norman settlers in England, 338. the component members of the assembly of the states of this duchy, ii. 120, 121. what sort of government by them introduced into England, 122, 123. the power of their church, 140, 141. their civil laws, 141. their manners, 142. the duchy is conquered by the French king, ii. 54, 55. ceded by Henry III. to France, 194. pillaged by Edward III. 439.

Northampton, a national synod there, i. 425. which condemns Becket, 426. battle of, iii. 212.

——— Marquis of, a juror on Somerset's trial, iv. 378. ordered into custody by queen Mary, but pardoned, 400.

——— Earl of, created, vi. 6.

Northumberland, a kingdom, first established, i. 26. is divided, 45. dissolved, 47.

——— Earl of, rebels against Henry IV. iii. 74. his eldest son, gives the king battle at Shrewsbury, 76. is there discomfited and slain, ib. the earl is pardoned, 77. flies into Scotland, 79. the family is extinct for want of issue, iv. 376.

——— Duke of, created, iv. 376. his ambition, 377. his expedient to secure a majority in the house of commons, 384. his expectations thereby answered, 385. his scheme to change the succession,

ceſſion, 386. removes all, except his emiſſaries about the king, 388. his behaviour in the council when the ſucceſſion was there changed, 390, 391. diſmiſſes the king's phyſicians, 391. his ſcheme to bring the two princeſſes, Mary and Elizabeth into his power, 394. cauſes lady Jane Gray to be proclaimed, 395. takes on him the command of the forces deſtined to ſupport lady Jane's title, 398. is deſerted by his followers, and taken into cuſtody, 399, 400. tried and executed, 401.

Northumberland, Earl of, heads a party in favour of Mary, queen of Scots, v. 167. refuſes to obey a ſummons to court, and joins an inſurrection in her favour, 168, 169. is forced to fly into Scotland, where he is confined in Lochleven caſtle, 170. is delivered up to queen Elizabeth, 205. and executed, ib.

———— Earl, General of the army againſt the Scots, vi. 297. is the parliament's chief commiſſioner at Oxford, 444.

Norway, Maid of. See *Margaret*.

Nottingham, Earl of, is created duke of Norfolk, iii. 35. See *Norfolk*. degraded from his ducal title, 52.

———— Counteſs of, her diſcovery on her death-bed to queen Elizabeth, v. 467. how received, ib. 468.

O.

OATS, Titus, his plot, viii. 62. his narrative, 68. he is penſioned by the parliament, 78. confined, 83. fined, 195. convicted of perjury, 217.

Obdam, Dutch admiral, engages the duke of York, vii. 412. his ſhip blown up, ib.

Obdune, Earl of Devonſhire, kills Hubba, the noted Daniſh conjurer, i. 85.

Obedience, Paſſive, a bill for it brought into the houſe of peers, viii. 11. paſſed there, 13. dropt in the houſe of commons, 14.

Odo, Biſhop of Baieux, uterine brother of the Conqueror, is left guardian of the realm, by William the Conqueror, i. 255. is arreſted and impriſoned by him, 298. and never releaſed during the Conqueror's life, ib. engages in a conſpiracy againſt William Rufus, 307. which is ſoon ſuppreſſed, 308.

Offa, ſucceeds Kinred in the kingdom of Mercia, i. 49. makes a league with Charlemagne, 51. dies, 52. an account of his poſterity till Mercia is conquered by Egbert, 53.

Officers, General council of. See *Council of General Officers*.

Officers of State, Great, a liſt of them in the reign of James I. vi. 98. in the reign of Charles I. vii. 159.

Okey, his trial, vii. 389.

Oneale, Shan, a hiſtory of him, v. 414. his nephew Hugh, his hiſtory, 417. his rebellion, 418. See *Tyrone*, Earl.

Oneal, Sir Phelim, his conſpiracy, vi. 369. his cruelties, 372, 373. he appends the royal ſeal to a commiſſion, 378. his death, vii. 213.

Orange, Prince of, couſin of the heireſs of Brittany, is ſent into Brittany, to preſs the marriage of the heireſs with the French king, which he effectuates, iii. 366, 367.

——— Prince of, William, fixes his reſidence in the Low-Countries, v. 220. how engaged to oppoſe the Spaniſh cruelties there, ib. ſues for foreign aſſiſtance, and applies to France and England, 222. the anſwer he receives from England, 223. is called on to protect the United Provinces, 224. he is aſſaſſinated at Delft, 272.

——— Prince of, Maurice, is elected governor of the United Provinces, in place of Leiceſter, v. 339, 340. the partizans of England unanimouſly obey him, 340. he recovers ſome towns from the duke of Parma, 343. gains the great battle of Turnholt, 390. another, his adminiſtration in Holland, and military genius, vi. 92.

——— William, Prince of, marries princeſs Mary, daughter of Charles I. vi. 360. who leaves England, and embarks for Holland, 415. encourages Engliſh officers in the Low-countries, to engage in the king's army againſt the parliament, 433. the princeſs returns to England, vii. 367. dies, ib.

——— William, Prince of, ſon of the preceding, is put under the tuition of De Wit, vii. 417. his character, 493. encourages and is beloved by the Dutch army, 494. is made a commander in the army, 498. is forced to retire into Holland, 499. is choſen ſtadtholder, 505. rejects the French propoſals to ſeduce him, 509. the French general breaks into his trenches, 511. he reconciles De Ruyter and Tromp, Dutch admirals, 519. joins the imperialiſts, 521. Fights the French at Seneffe, viii. 8. witneſſes the ſurrender of Bouchain, without being able to relieve it, 21. is beaten at St. Omer, 26. viſits king Charles II. of England, 33. marries the princeſs Mary, the king's niece, 34. plans a peace, 35. leaves England, 36. attacks the duke of Luxemburgh at St. Dennis, 44. ſeconds the applications of Spain to England, viii. 201. his conduct with reſpect to England, after his marriage, 267. he forms a league againſt France, 268. refuſes to concur with the meaſures of James II. 270. reſolves to oppoſe them, 272. is applied to by the Engliſh nation for aſſiſtance, 274. determines to aſſiſt them, 275. makes preparations for that purpoſe, 276. cauſes a declaration to be diſperſed all over the nation, 283. purport of it, ib. lands at Torbay, 284. is requeſted by divers peers and biſhops to aſſume the adminiſtration of the government, 298. ſummons a convention of the eſtates to meet at Weſtminſter, 299. his highneſs and the princeſs his ſpouſe are declared king and queen of England, 300. and the crown is ſettled on that illuſtrious pair and their progeny, 309.

Ordeal, what, i. 420. how regulated by Henry II. 481.

Ordinance of both houſes, riſe of, vi. 420. ſelf-denying, what vii. 93.

Ordinance

Ordinance of the houſe of commons, the firſt, vii. 138.

Orkney, Duke of, that title conferred on earl Bothwell, v. 116. he is married by the biſhop of Orkney, a proteſtant divine, to queen Mary, 117, 118. effect of this meaſure on the public, 118, 119. a confederacy formed againſt him, 121. his miſerable end, 122. See *Mary* and *Scotland*.

Orleans, a city, beſieged, iii. 144. proviſions of all ſorts brought to the beſiegers, 146, 147. the garriſon is reduced to great ſtraits, 147. convoys of proviſions conducted into it, by the Maid of Orleans, 153. the garriſon, by her perſuaſions, attack the beſiegers, 154. ſiege of, raiſed, 156.

——— Duke of, Lewis, diſſentions between him and the duke of Burgundy, iii. 98. is aſſaſſinated by the partizans of the duke of Burgundy, 99.

——— young Duke of, aſſiſted by the princes of the blood, makes war with the duke of Burgundy, iii. 99. his adherents, how called, 100. the populace of Paris declare on his ſide, ib. cauſes the duke of Burgundy to be expelled France, 103. is made a priſoner, by the Engliſh, at Azincourt, 108. the attempts of his rival, the duke of Burgundy, to reinſtate himſelf in power, 111. his partizans are butchered in Paris, ib. his enemy is aſſaſſinated by his partizans, 114. ranſom offered to England for the duke of Orleans, 175. he is releaſed, and the duke of Burgundy pays his ranſom, ib.

——— Duke of, Lewis, cabals againſt the adminiſtration, and retires out of France, iii. 353. commands the troops of Brittany againſt France, 354. govern the court of Britanny, 358. and influences it to reject the mediation of Henry of England, 359. is priſoner at St. Aubin, 360. obtains his liberty, 367.

——— Duke of, married to the princeſs Henrietta of England, vii. 367. her death, 475.

——— Maid of, an account of her, iii. 148, 149. is conducted to the French court, 150. her requeſts are complied with, 151. conducts a convoy of proviſions into the city of Orleans, while beſieged by the Engliſh, 153. animates the garriſon, 154. engages them to ſally out upon the beſiegers, 155. cauſes the ſiege to be raiſed, 156. ſtands by the king, with her banner diſplayed, till he is crowned and anointed at Rheims, 158. her declaration after the ceremony, 161. captivity, 162. ſhe is tried at Rouen, for ſorcery and magic, 163. condemned to perpetual impriſonment, 165. burnt as a relapſe, ib. 166.

——— natural ſon of, count Dunois, how he managed with the Maid of Orleans, in the affair of the convoy, iii. 152. another inſtance of his prudence in that affair, 154, 155. is ſuppoſed to have prompted her in all her meaſures, 157. his diſcourſe with her at Rheims, 161. he obliges the duke of Bedford to raiſe the ſiege of Lagne, 166. conquers Guienne from the Engliſh, 184. commands under the duke his

his father, in the army of the duke of Brittany, againſt France, 354. is ſecretly gained by France, to favour the marriage of the French king with the heireſs, 366. the concluſion of which he effectually preſſes, 367.

Ormond, Earl of, general of the Engliſh forces in Ireland, his advice to the lords juſtices on the breaking out of the rebellion there, vi. 377. he prevails on the lords juſtices to remain loyal to the king, 478. agrees to a ceſſation of arms with the Iriſh rebels, 480. ſends forces to the king's aſſiſtance in England, ib. their fate in England, vii. 7. he delivers Dublin, and other forts, to the parliament's officers, 77. retires to France, 169. now a marquis, returns to Ireland, ib. 170. is defeated by the parliament's forces, 175, 176. leaves the iſland, 178. engages in a conſpiracy againſt Cromwell, and eſcapes, 289. now a duke, is made lord lieutenant of Ireland, 456. diſcovers and defeats Blood's conſpiracy againſt him, 480. is removed from the Engliſh miniſtry, viii. 157. and from the government of Ireland, ib. ſent over again, 158. and once more recalled, 243.

——— Duke of, ſon of the former, deſerts king James's intereſt, viii. 287. reads the prince of Orange's proclamation to the univerſity of Oxford, 290.

Orrery, Lord, an anecdote of, vii. 107.

Oſbec. See *Warbec*.

Oſborne's account of queen Elizabeth's method of employing her prerogative, v. 479.

Oſred, ſon of Alfred, king of Northumberland, ſucceeds his father in that throne, i. 45. is ſlain, 46. an account of his poſterity, till anarchy prevails in that kingdom, ib. 47.

Oſric and *Eanfrid*, their apoſtacy, i. 45.

Oſwal renounces the kingdom of Northumberland, i. 45. his piety and death, 46.

Otho, Emperor of Germany, how treated by the pope, ii. 68.

Otterburne, battle of, iii. 28.

Otway, his character, viii. 325.

Outlaws, their capacity to ſit in parliament, doubted, v. 526. a further controverſy about that ſubject, 529.

Overbury poiſoned, vi. 9. its effect on the public, 16.

Oxford, parliament there, ii. 187, how called, ib. proviſions of, ib. biſhopric of, erected, iv. 199. Chriſt's college there, founded, 299. a parliament there, vi. 144. a negotiation there between king and parliament, 445. broke off, 446. a parliament there, vii. 417. another there, viii. 147.

——— Earl of, his character, iii. 14. the king's affection for him occaſions diſcontents among the barons, 15. the army under his command, is routed by the duke of Glouceſter, 21.

Oxford, Earl of, is, jointly with Bedford, truſted with the command of an expedition againſt France, iii. 371. commands the forces ſent againſt the inſurgents in the Weſt, 395. routs them, 396. invites the king to an entertainment, 420. how requited, 421.

P.

PAGET, ſecretary, diſcovers to Somerſet the cabals of lord Seymour, admiral, his brother, iv. 338. is ſent to Bruſſels, in order to gain the alliance of the emperor, 359. adheres to the protector, when deſerted by all others, 363.

Palatinate of the Rhine. See *Frederic*, elector palatine. it is reſtored to his ſon, vii. 253.

Paleſtine, the arrival of Richard I. of England there, ii. 13. ſtate of, at that time, 15. a truce there made with Saladin, 16.

Palmer, Sir Richard, his teſtimony againſt Somerſet, iv. 377, 378. he is taken into cuſtody, ib. tried and executed, 401.

Par, Catherine, married to Henry VIII. iv. 258.

Pardons, the king's power relative to them, regulated by parliament, iii. 63, 64.

Paris, a ſedition there, headed by its provoſt, ii. 476. which is quelled, and the provoſt ſlain, 479. the aſſaſſination of the duke of Orleans there, iii. 99. great diſorders there, between the Burgundians and Armagnacks, 100, 101. Armagnacks butchered there, 114. the Engliſh in poſſeſſion of this city, 116. the king of England crowned there, king of France, 161. this city is reſtored, by a defection of the citizens, to the French king, 171. maſſacre of Hugonots there, v. 210.

Parliament, feudal, how conſtituted, ii. 116. commons, none of its original conſtituent part, 118. how called in our antient hiſtories, i. 205. ii. 121. chuſe a protector during the minority of Henry III. 147. obtain a confirmation of the charter granted by king John, with a few alterations, 148. prevail on the king to confirm this charter anew, 157. the barons come armed to parliament, 164. the moſt refractory part are not ſummoned to parliament, 175. yet thoſe that are ſummoned refuſe a ſupply, ib. 176. remonſtrate ſtrongly againſt violators of the great charter, 180, 181. the extraordinary behaviour of king, barons, and prelates, in parliament, 182. a ſupply is granted, ib. the great charter is renewed in parliament, 183. another remonſtrance of an armed parliament, 186. in another at Oxford, the power of reforming the ſtate is conferred on twenty-four barons, 187. orders for and divers regulations concerning four knights of the ſhire, to be choſen in each county, to attend in parliament, ib. 188. there to repreſent the ſtate of their reſpective counties, 188. they confirm the king's reſumption of the regal authority, 198. The plan of the king's future government is there ſettled, 199. the firſt, to which two members from each county, two

two deputies from each borough, and ſome eccleſiaſtics, not immediate tenants of the crown, are ſummoned, 215. the parliament ſummoned by the king, after the battle of Eveſham, 223. they meet in a convention of eſtates, on the death of Henry III. 236. the firſt parliament, ſummoned by Edward I. 238. grants of, to the king, 242. a further aid is granted, 244. a new parliament is ſummoned, 279. in which the corrupt judges are puniſhed, ib. is ſummoned by Edward II. 341. in which Gaveſton is baniſhed, ib. the proceedings of the parliament to which the barons come armed, 343. the proceedings of a parliament to which Lancaſter's party come in arms, 357. depoſe the king, and declare the prince regent, 369. appoint a regency for Edward III. 383. confirm a treaty with Scotland, 388. condemn the earl of Kent to death, 390. condemn Mortimer for treaſon, 391. grant ſupplies, 398. other proceedings, 399. the extraordinary behaviour of the knights of the ſhire, in a parliament ſummoned by the guardian of the realm, 411. another, ſummoned by a guardian of the kingdom, 413. one, in which the king is preſent in perſon, ib. a proteſtation of the parliament, 415. a parliament, to which archbiſhop Stratford is not ſummoned, 423. the archbiſhop's behaviour on that occaſion, ib. 424. extraordinary proceedings, 425. an aid is granted to the king in wool, 426. another, in which the extraordinary acts of the former are repealed, 427. another, grants the king ſupplies for a French war, notwithſtanding of a truce, 436. the parliament acquires more authority, 503. members of, firſt impriſoned for ſpeeches made in parliament, 507. is ſummoned in the minority of Richard II. iii. 2. ſettles the plan of government during the minority, 3. is diſſolved, 4. another, impoſes poll-money, 7. conſequences of this impoſition, 8, 9. another, revokes the charters granted by the king, during Tyler and Straw's inſurrection, 11. an ariſtocracy is formed in parliament, 18. proceedings againſt king Richard II's miniſtry, 21—25. an extraordinary oath impoſed on all the members of parliament, 21. judges condemned to death in parliament, 23. parliament declares that none of theſe trials ſhall be drawn into precedent, 24. members of, ſwear to maintain the forfeitures and attainders, ib. annuls the ariſtocracy, and abrogates the attainders, 33. declares the general pardon invalid, ib. divers ſentences againſt great men concerned in Glouceſter's faction, 34. confers on Richard II. for life, the duties on wool and leather, 36. reverſes divers attainders, ib. and name a committee of parliament, veſted with full powers, to conclude all buſineſs laid before either houſe of parliament, 37. is ſummoned by the duke of Hereford, in the name of Richard II. then a priſoner, 43. a charge exhibited in parliament againſt Richard II. 46. the biſhop of Carliſle's ſpeech in Richard's favour, ib. the depoſition of the king, 47. the duke of Lancaſter and Hereford is raiſed to the royal dignity, 50, 51. the proceedings of the ſame members, called anew,

anew, in the name of the new king, on a notice of six days, 52. a law is enacted, for burning obstinate heretics and relapsers, 70. and that no returning officer, making an undue return, shall be excused, by pleading the orders of the king, 82. the crown is settled on Henry IV. and his heirs, 85. severe laws enacted against Lollards, 96. grants to Henry V. a fifteenth, and confers on him for life, the duties on tonnage and poundage, and the subsidies on exportation of wool and leather, 109. a fifteenth granted to the king, 119. the parliament assumes a power of regulating the kingdom, during a minority, contrary to the will of the late king, 129. the duke of Suffolk's impeachment and defence, 191, 192. he is banished by an act of parliament, 195. state of when the duke of York claimed the crown, 203, 204. that duke is created protector of the kingdom, 206, 207. a parliament called after the battle of Northampton, 213. in which judgment is given between Henry VI. and the duke of York, 214. a law, limiting the qualifications of electors, 221. an irregular law, made by an irregular parliament, is annulled, 222. permission given by parliament for exportation of corn, 223. the proceedings of a parliament summoned by Edward IV. 229. how guided, by revenge, and the views of conveniency, 230, 231. the proceedings of a parliament summoned by the earl of Warwic, 256. another, recognizes the authority of Edward IV. 263. grants a tenth of land-rents, together with a fifteenth and a quarter of personal estates, 265. under certain conditions, ib. the title of Richard III. is recognised, and tonnage and poundage granted to him for life, 305. the right of members attainted to take seats, is postponed, till their attainders are reversed, 331. the title of Henry VII. is recognised, and the crown entailed on his issue, 332, 333. the attainders of the partizans of Lancaster are reversed, 334. and tonnage and poundage granted to the king for life, ib. two fifteenths granted to Henry VII. and the crown vassals are impowered to sell their estates, without paying fine for alienations, 371. a law enacted, that no person assisting the king for the time being, by arms, or otherwise, shall be guilty of high treason for such his obedience, 385. and to empower the king to levy all the sums which had been agreed to be paid by way of benevolence, 386. how subservient to this king's will, 409. the king's suit for murder ordered to be carried on within a year and a day, 419. divers good laws, ib. and statutes against retainers, 420. a law, abrogating a by-law of the merchants adventurers of the city of London, 425. a poll-tax, two fifteenths, and four tenths, are granted to king Henry VIII. 450. supplies granted, and encreased by Wolsey's prevalency, iv. 50. proceedings against Wolsey, 101, 102. about the usurpations of the clergy, 105. grant to the king a discharge of all debts contracted since his accession, 106. proceedings in consequence of the statute of provi-

sors,

sors, 116, 117. proceedings of, ſtopt by the plague, 119. appeals to Rome, diſcharged in ſeveral caſes, 122. laws enacted, deſtructive of the pope's authority, 128. the ſucceſſion to the crown is ſettled, 129. confer on the king, the title of ſupreme head on earth of the church of England, and paſs other laws in his favour, 131, 132. grant him a ſubſidy, 132. ſuppreſs ſeveral ſmaller monaſteries, and grant their revenues to the king, 162. juriſdictions of great lords in Wales annulled, ib. and a law concerning wardſhips, made according to the king's pleaſure, 163. a new parliament ſubmiſſive and complaiſant, 177. a new extenſion of the treaſon laws, 179. a ſtrong law againſt the pope's authority, ib. an unlimited attachment to the king's perſon, appears in this parliament, ib. a committee is named, and empowered to form the famous ſix articles of religion, 212. ſubſtance of, ib. 213. parliament equaliſes proclamations royal, to laws, 214. paſſes extraordinary attainders, 215. confirms the ſurrenders of monaſteries, 216. the abbots not ſuffered to ſit in parliament, 223. which attaints the Queen and others, 238, 239. extends the treaſon laws farther, ib. 240. and enacts more laws about religion, 241, 242. grants a ſubſidy, and eſtabliſhes a court for puniſhing the diſobeyers of proclamations, 256, 257. enact a law to enforce the doctrines of the king's book, called the Erudition of a Chriſtian Man, 258. and that indictments muſt be laid within a year after the offence, ib. a further ſettlement of the ſucceſſion, and of the royal ſtile and titles, 262, 263. an act for the remiſſion of a loan formerly demanded by the king, 263. the law of the ſix articles mitigated, ib. ſubſidies granted, and the king's ſupreme headſhip over the church recogniſed, 272, 273. the king's ſpeech to this parliament, ib. an account of the ſeveral parliaments ſummoned by Henry VIII. 289, 290. one called by Somerſet, protector, 328. ſtatute of ſix articles reſumed, ib. more proceedings of, ib. 331. one by the council of regency, deprives Somerſet, 365. paſſes a ſevere act concerning riots and attempts on the life of a privy counſellor, 366. and empowers the king to name a body of commiſſioners veſted with power to frame canon laws, 367. renews the rigorous laws of treaſon, abrogated in the beginning of this reign, 381. makes a law againſt uſury, ib. enacts, that no man ſhall be convicted of treaſon, but by the oaths of two witneſſes, 382. entruſts the prelates with providing for the poor, and puniſhing breakers of ſundays and holydays, ib. 383. the ſee of Durham is divided into two biſhoprics, 385. and a ſupply granted, ib. aboliſhes every ſpecies of treaſon, not contained in the ſtatute of Edward III. and every ſpecies of felony that did not ſubſiſt before Henry VIII. 407. and divers other proceedings about religion and the ſucceſſion, ib. the duke of Norfolk's attainder is taken off, ib. ratifies the marriage articles between the Queen and the archduke Philip, 424. the diſſolved biſhopric of Durham, is re-erected, 425.

more laws about religion, and the laws of the six articles revived, ib. is reconciled to Rome, and absolved, 428. the laws against the pope's authority are repealed, 429. and the laws against heretics revived, 430. a succession of the members, how punished, 432, 433. tenths and first fruits restored to the church, 451. a small supply is granted, 452. supplies are granted, and sales and grants of crown lands confirmed, 473. the authority of Queen Elizabeth recognized, v. 9. first fruits and tenths restored to the crown, and the late erected monasteries suppressed, 10. and the Queen declared governess of the church, ib. the statutes in king Edward VI's time, relative to religion are confirmed, 11. bishops and incumbents prohibited from alienating and letting longer leases than twenty-one years, or three lives, ib. 12. laws relative to religion, ib. subsidies granted, 13. one against fond and fantastical prophecies, 78. laws relative to religion and sedition, 90. subsidies are granted, 105. subsidies granted, 233. the Queen is empowered to name commissioners for trial of any pretender to the crown, &c. 263. a severe law against jesuits and priests, ib. 264. subsidies granted, 264. a parliament is summoned, to decide the fate of Mary Queen of Scots, 308. address of, to put Mary to death, 310. supplies granted, 356. 357. a law enacted against absenters from public worship, 361. a severe law against recusants, 381. unusually large supplies are granted, 382. the same supplies as before granted, 400. a very large and unprecedented supply, 464. the parsimony of parliaments during this reign, 495. first of James I. called, 523. grants supplies, 552. second called, vi. 46. dissolved, 60. third called, 82. dissolved by his death, 96. numbers of members of, in the beginning of Charles I's reign, 98. first of Charles I. called, 138. adjourned to Oxford, 144. dissolved, 149. second called, ib. dissolved, 159. third called, 175. enacts petition of right, 196. is prorogued, 199. assembled, 204. dissolved, 215. members of, prosecuted, ib. 216. the fourth called, 280. dissolved, 289. members of, harrassed, ib. state of, before the seventeenth century, 291, 292. fifth, long or rump parliament called, 303. grants subsidies to be paid into a committee of parliament, 319. borrows money of the city to pay both Scots and English armies, ib. grants tonnage and poundage for two months only, 329. enacts a law for triennial parliaments, ib. 330. and that the parliament shall not be adjourned, prorogued, or dissolved, without its own consent, 332. abolishes the court of high-commission and star-chamber, 356. disbands both English and Scots armies, 359. appoints a committee to sit in the recess, ib. levies money, and enlists men to quell the Irish rebellion, as is pretended, 384. makes an act for pressing men for the Irish service, 317. abolishes the bishops votes in parliament, ib. makes an ordinance for raising the militia, 420. assumes the sovereign power, 424. part of, goes to York, and part of, remains

mains at Westminster, 426. the remainder, at Westminster, sends the king terms of peace, 427. sends commissioners to Oxford to treat with the king, 445. desires assistance from the Scots, 474. subscribes the solemn league and covenant, 475. passes the self-denying ordinance, vii. 27. sends commissioners to Uxbridge, in order to treat with the king, 31. orders archbishop Laud for execution, 38. new models the army, 52. publishes the Queen's letters taken at the battle of Naseby, 58. sets up presbytery all over England, 70. is disturbed by a mutiny in the army, 87. falls under public hatred, 94. resolves to temporise with the army, 98. fluctuating proceedings, 105. sends propositions to the king, 115. sends commissioners to Newport, to treat with the king, 124. the commons at Westminster assume the sovereign power, 138. and assent to an ordinance for trial of the king, ib. state of, at the demise of Charles I. 164. enlarge laws against high treason, 174. make the navigation act, 219. set up the fleet in opposition to the army, 223, 224. reply in angry terms, to the council of general officers, 226. are dissipated, 227. Barebone's parliament called, 235. proceedings of, 236, 237. resignation of, 239. a new-modelled parliament is called, 245. dissolved, 250. another such is called, 276. makes the protector an offer of the royal power, 278. which being rejected, 282. the humble petition and advice is framed, 283. the parliament is dissolved, 286. a third of the same sort is called by Richard Cromwell, 302. is dissolved, 305. the long, or rump parliament, is re-assembled, 307. suppresses insurrections of royalists, 310. is again expelled, 311. re-assumes its activity, 322. receives the excluded members, 329. dissolves itself, and appoints a new parliament to be called, ib. a new parliament meets, 335. receives a letter from the king, 336. invites him over, 337. is recognized a parliament by the king, 360. grants a general act of indemnity under a few exceptions, 361. settles a revenue on the king for life, 362. grants to him the tonnage and poundage for the same term, 263. establishes a post-office, 367. wine licences, ib. and more assessments, ib. is dissolved, ib. another is called, 379. which enlarges the laws against high treason, 380. proceedings relative to the covenant, bishops, and the power of the sword, ib. 381. the corporation act made, 383. the uniformity act, 384. the militia act regulated, 386. the triennial act repealed, 404. meeting of, at Oxford, 417. where the five mile act is passed, ib. commissioners appointed to decide such questions as may arise about the fire of London, 426. prohibits the importation of Irish cattle, 459. grants a supply, 466. impowers the king to sell the fee-farm rents, ib. mitigates the act against conventicles, 467. passes the Coventry act, 479. grants a supply, 513. an act of indemnity, 517. is dissolved, viii. 87. character of, ib. 88. another parliament, is called, 91. the habeas corpus

act passed, 104. the parliament is dissolved, 108. another is called, 125. complexion of, 127. proceedings of, 128, 129. dissolution of, 146. the succeeding parliament is called to Oxford, 147. is dissolved, 151. called by king James II. 213. proceedings of, with respect to the revenue and further supplies, 216. attaints Monmouth, 219. grants farther supplies, ib. is dissolved, 234. called by the prince of Orange, under the name of a convention, 299. settles the crown on his highness, and the princess his spouse, 309.

Parliament, Scots, recognises the maid of Norway, heiress of that crown, ii. 250. agreement of, with Edward I. ib. 251. on her death, makes a reference to the English King, of the competition between the several canditates for the throne, 254. invited to attend the English king at Norham, and attends him accordingly, 260. their behaviour on that occasion, 261, 262. assembled at Edinburgh, acknowledges Baliol to be king of Scotland, 398. forfeits the exiled lords, v. 95. tries, and acquits the earl of Murray, 101. summoned by the earl of Murray, regent, condemns Mary Queen of Scots to perpetual imprisonment, 128. ratifies her demission of the crown, and recognizes the title of the young king and his regent, ib. appoints commissioners to manage a treaty with Queen Elizabeth, relative to Queen Mary, 177. enacts a law against falsehoods and indecent expressions uttered by clergymen in their pulpits, 260. confirms the articles of Perth, vi. 260. called by Charles I. 277. diminishes the power of the monarch, 278. orders the terms of pacification to be read in all churches, 361. and sets aside the lords of articles, 362. enacts a law for triennial parliaments, 363. and divers laws derogatory to the royal power, ib. meets in convention, 474. takes the solemn league and covenant, 475. and transmits it to England, ib. appoints a large army to be raised in support of the king's authority, vii. 120. is opposed by the general assembly then sitting, 121. causes king Charles II. to be proclaimed at Edinburgh, 165. condemns the earl of Montrose to suffer as a traitor, 185. is convened by king Charles II. 374. proceedings of, ib. again, by king Charles II. 448. proceedings of, 449.—452. grants a second general act of indemnity, viii. 115. summoned again by Charles II. 163. proceedings of, ib. 164. is summoned by James II. 228. proceedings of, ib. 229. is summoned to meet in a convention by the prince of Orange, 299. offers the crown and royal dignity of Scotland to that prince, and the princess, his spouse, and their heirs, 300.

Pandolph, legate of Rome, obtains of king John to resign the kingdom to the Pope, ii. 72. receives homage from the King for his kingdom, 74, 75. his account of this affair to the French King, 75.

Parma, duke of, succeeds the duke of Alva in the government of the Low Countries, v. 226. his successes in the Netherlands oblige the states to sue for foreign succours, 274. defeats the earl of Leicester,

281. besieges and takes Sluise, 339. dissuades the king of Spain from invading England, 343. refuses to join the Armada, 354. obliges the French King to raise the blockade of Paris, 372. but loses some towns in the Low-Countries, ib. raises the siege of Roüen, 374, 375.

Parma, dutchess of, left governess of the Low-Countries, v. 197. but without power to act according to her own inclinations, ib.

Parry, a catholic, his conspiracy against Queen Elizabeth, v. 269. is detected, 271. and he is executed, ib.

Parties first formed, vi. 46. court party favourable to papists, 147. country party to puritans, 148. their state at the beginning of the civil wars, 429. at the beginning of the commonwealth, vii. 161. in 1658, 290. in 1659, 308. in 1660, 339, 340. in 1679, viii. 116. divided into petitioners and abhorrers, 122, 123. whigs and tories, 300. coalition of parties, 301.

Partridge, Sir Miles, imprisoned for high treason, iv. 377. tried, condemned, and executed, 380.

Paschal II. pope of Rome, his transactions with Henry I. of England, i. 349. his haughty answer to Henry's minister, 352. his situation during this quarrel, 354. he excommunicates Henry's minister, ib. an accommodation between them, 356.

Pasturage, state of, in the reign of Henry VII. iv. 297.

Paul III. made pope, iv. 152. his resentment against Henry VIII. ib.

——— IV. his resentment against Queen Mary, for taking the title of Queen of Ireland, iv. 449. insists for restitution of church-lands and Peterpence, 450. refuses to crown Ferdinand King of the Romans Emperor, 456. his extravagant pretensions and impolitic conduct, ib. his insolence on the notification of Queen Elizabeth's accession to the throne, v. 4.

Pavia, battle of, iv. 62.

Peers, what, and whence this denomination arose, ii. 110, 111. a council of them summoned, iii. 73. a great council of them called, vi. 298.

——— house of. See *Lords* house.

Pembroke, earl mareschal of England, his power by his office, ii. 147. is chosen protector of the kingdom during the minority of Henry III. 148. applies by a kind letter to the discontented barons, 150. besieges the French in Lincoln, 151. makes a pacification with them and the discontented barons, 153. his administration and death, 154.

——— created duke of Bedford, iii. 330.

——— is one of the jurors on Somerset's trial, iv. 378.

Penda, King of Mercia, kills Edwin in battle, i. 45. and Oswin king of the Northumbrians, 46. and unites that kingdom with his own, ib.

Penry, a Brownist, his case, v. 487. sentence and execution, 488.

Perth, a violent insurrection there, v. 26, 27. articles of, vi. 260. battle of, vii. 47.

Peter, the hermit, his complaint againſt the Turks, i. 315. he becomes a leader of ſeveral thouſands of men, 319. See *Cruſades*.

——— of Pomfret, another hermit, his prophecy, ii. 74. his puniſhment, ib.

——— King of Caſtile. See *Caſtile*.

——— biſhop of Wincheſter, jointly with Hubert de Burgh, high juſticiary, ſucceeds the earl of Pembroke in the government of England during the minority of Edward III. ii. 155. quells rebellions, 156. confirms the great charter now complained of as infringed, 157. reſigns his power into the hands of the king, now of age, 158. his advice to the king when prime miniſter, 163. his violent adminiſtration, 165. is diſplaced, ib.

Peterborough, biſhopric of, erected, iv. 200.

Peterpence, payment of, ſuſpended for a ſhort time by Henry II. i. 434.

Petition, humble, and advice, framed, vii. 283. confirmed 302.

Petitions regulated by parliament, vii. 380.

——— tumultuary encouraged, vi. 410. for court puniſhed, 411. recommenced, viii. 122.

Philip, archduke of Auſtria, ſon of Maximilian, Emperor, and the heireſs of Burgundy, is bred up under his mother in the Low-Countries, iii. 344. has an interview with Henry VII. at Calais, 404. endeavours to acquire that monarch's friendſhip, ib. 405. becomes King of Caſtile under the name of Philip I. 411. and in his journey to Spain is forced into England by ſtorms, 412. where he has another interview with Henry VII. 413, 414. where Henry complains to him of the reception which he gives the earl of Suffolk, 414, 415. is forced to deliver up the earl, 414. the death of the king of Caſtile, ib. 415.

——— ſon of Charles V. of Spain, is propoſed as a huſband to Queen Mary of England, iv. 411. marries her, 415. arrives in England, 427. his popular behaviour, ib. endeavours to acquire more popularity by procuring the releaſe of ſeveral priſoners, 431. his artifice to remove the reproach of cruelty from himſelf, 446. goes over to Flanders, 452. his indifference and neglect of Queen Mary greatly affects her, ib. is put in poſſeſſion of the Empire and Spain and his father's other dominions by his reſignation, 454. his ingratitude to his father, 455. attempts to embark England in a war with France, 458. comes to England and ſucceeds in that deſign, 462. on the death of Queen Mary, offers himſelf as a huſband to Queen Elizabeth, v. 3. makes peace with France, 16. at the court of Rome, oppoſes the iſſuing of a bull of excommunication againſt Queen Elizabeth, 19. character of, 65. he iſſues rigorous orders for the perſecution of heretics in the Low-Countries and all over his dominions, 66. his animoſity againſt Queen Elizabeth begins to appear, 68. forms a ſecret alliance with the princes of the houſe of Guiſe for the ſuppreſſion of herefy, 71. his unre-

lenting

lenting temper terrifies his ſubjects in the Low-Countries, 197. whom he leaves under the power of a cardinal, ib. the effect of his cruel deſigns in the Low-Countries, 198, 199. the government of which he entruſts with the duke d'Alva, ib. differences break out and are appeaſed between him and England, 200. his governor's cruelty to the Flemings, ib. his ambaſſador in England forms a ſcheme for ſubverting Queen Elizabeth's government, 201. in which are concerned the Pope and duke d'Alva, 202. the event of this project, ib. 206. his violences and cruelties in the Low-Countries are a branch of the ſame project, 213. ſimiliarity of his character with that of the then French King, ib. prevails with Queen Elizabeth to deny his fugitive ſubjects entrance into her dominions, 219. and the people in Holland and Zealand and other parts of the Low-Countries fly to arms, ib. 220. form an union, 220. an embaſſy to mediate for them is ſent to Philip by Queen Elizabeth, 223. their protection is embraced by Queen Elizabeth, 225. and this prince diſſembles his reſentment againſt the Queen, 226. and confides the government of the United Provinces with the prince of Parma, ib. ſends forces into Ireland to ſupport the rebels there, 237. diſpoſes of the money which he receives from Queen Elizabeth upon the rebels in Ireland, and in an enterprize againſt his own ſubjects in the Low-Countries, 239. obtains the kingdom of Portugal, 243. and forms a ſecret alliance with the houſe of Guiſe for extirpating hereſy, ib. makes vaſt preparations for the invaſion of England, 341. his motives for this enterprize, and hopes of ſucceſs therein, 342, 343. his fleet and army compared with Queen Elizabeth's, 345, 346. his admiral's death ſtops his fleet when ready to ſail, 350. his plan for invading England, 351, 352. his fleet arrives in the channel, 352. encounters that of England, 354. is diſappointed of aſſiſtance from the duke of Parma then in the Low-Countries, 354, 355. defeated by the Engliſh fleet, and overtaken with a tempeſt, 355. his behaviour on hearing theſe news, 356. he fits out a fleet to bring home his Indian treaſures, 375. war is declared againſt him by the French King, 389. a naval enterprize of England againſt his American dominions, 391, 392. againſt his dominions in Europe, 393, 394. his death, 410.

Philip III. his character, v. 515. propoſal to James I. 516.

——— King of France. See *France*.

Philippa, daughter of the count of Holland, is affianced to the eldeſt ſon of Edward II. 365. ſhe routs the Scots army, and brings David their king priſoner to the Tower, 453. interpoſes ſucceſsfully in behalf of the citizens of Calais, 456.

Philiphaugh, battle of, vii. 64.

Phillips, Sir Robert, his ſpeech, vi. 178, 179.

Philpot, archdeacon of Wincheſter, his furious zeal for proteſtantiſm, iv. 442. he is burnt for hereſy in Smithfield, ib.

Picts and Scots invade Britain, i. 14. are repulsed by Saxons, 19.
Piercy, Thomas, is created earl of Worcester, iii. 36. rebels against Henry IV. 74. is put to death, 77.
Pilgrimage of grace, an insurrection so called, iv. 187.
Pilkington, fined, viii. 173.
Pinkey, battle of, iv. 325.
Pisa, a general council summoned there, iii. 442.
Pistor, his speech in the house on his knees, and making the sign of the cross, v. 181.
Plagues universal, or pestilences, one, ii. 462. another, iv. 61. another, v. 81. another, 523. another, vi. 143. another, vii. 213.
Plots, against Edward II. ii. 364. gunpowder, history of, v. 541. is discovered, 546. popish, the house of commons greatly in fear of them, vi. 415. meal-tub, viii. 21. popish, believed, 72. effects of, in the nation, 76, 77. in the parliament, 78. a pamphlet published it, 81. occasions a new test, 82. trials of persons concerned in it, 88, 89. begins to grow into disrepute, 124. earl Stafford is executed on account of it, 141. Rye-house, 181. See *Conspiracies*.
Plymouth, a sea-fight there, vii. 222.
Poictiers, battle of, ii. 471.
Poictou acquired by a marriage with the heiress, i. 392.
Pole, John, son of the duke of Suffolk, engages in Simnel's conspiracy, iii. 345. commands the rebels at the battle of Stoke, 346. perishes in the field of battle, 347.
——— de la Geoffrey, brother of the cardinal, tried for a conspiracy and condemned, iv. 203. pardoned, ib.
——— Henry, another brother of the cardinal, tried and executed, ir. 203.
——— Edmund. See *Suffolk*.
——— Arthur, nephew of the cardinal, with his brother, indicted for a conspiracy against queen Elizabeth, v. 64. confess the indictment, ib. are condemned and pardoned, ib.
——— Reginald, his history, iv. 201, 202. is created a cardinal, 203. and sent as a legate into Flanders, ib. is hated by Henry VIII ib. proposed as a husband to queen Mary of England, 409. his attainder is reversed, 428. arrives in England with a legatine commission, and invites the parliament to be reconciled to Rome, ib. the cardinal's politico-religious sentiments, 434. advises a toleration of heretics, 435. takes priest's orders, and is installed in the see of Canterbury on Cranmer's death, 461. opposes England's engaging in a war between France and Spain, 462. his legatine commission is revoked and soon restored, 477. his death and character, 478.
Polerone, an island promised to be yielded to the English by the Dutch, vii. 244. importance of, 428. is withheld by the Dutch and renounced by England at the peace of Breda, 432.

Police of the kingdom, ſtate of in Edward III's time, ii. 510.
Polydore Virgil diſpoſſeſſed of his employment, and thrown into priſon, by cardinal Wolſey, iv. 17.
Poll-money firſt levied by act of parliament, iii. 7. reimpoſed according to the ſtation and riches of the perſon, 450.
Poltrot, incited by Beza, aſſaſſinates the duke of Guiſe, v. 79.
Pope, *Papacy*, *Papiſts*, his power introduced into England, i. 274. papacy weakened by a ſchiſm, iii. 61. he confirms the right of Henry VII. to the crown, 333. his authority is abrogated in England by the parliament, iv. 128, 129. and by the convocation, 130. his name is ſtruck out of all books, 244.
Portſmouth taken by the parliament's army, vi. 436.
Portugal ſubjected to Spain, v. 243. an Engliſh ſquadron breaks into one of its harbours and cuts out a Curacco ſhip, 465. king of, renews his alliance with England, vii. 212. one of his ambaſſadors is hanged in London, 245. the other, his brother, ſigns a treaty in London with Cromwell, ib. king of, gives the princeſs Catherine in marriage to king Charles II. 387. with Tangiers and Bombay in dowry, 388.
Poſt-Office eſtabliſhed, vii. 367.
Poultry, price of, reduced by act of parliament, ii. 512. fixed in the reign of Henry VIII. iv. 298. in the reign of Charles I. vi. 117.
Poundage firſt mentioned, ii. 336. not regularly granted to the king for life, till Henry V. ib. See *Tonnage* and Poundage.
Poynings, Sir Edward, made governor of Ireland, iii. 386. his law there, ib. is made one of Henry VIII's miniſters, 430. quarters his regiment in Tournay, 463.
Power, legiſlative, where it reſided in queen Elizabeth's reign, v. 483.
Præmunire, penalty of, in what caſes incurred by papiſts, v. 190.
Preaching, regulations in England concerning it, iv. 312. in Scotland, v. 260.
Prerogative, powers of, in the reign of Henry VIII. iv. 264. in queen Elizabeth's reign, 473—483. v. 524. is put on a footing with the legiſlative authority, 527. not to be meddled with by the houſe of commons, vi. 57, 58. power of, extended ſo far as thereby to diſcharge popiſh recuſants impriſoned, 68. to diſpenſe with penal laws againſt papiſts, 77. levy loans, 164. it becomes odious to all the ſubjects, 167. the diſpenſing power thence ariſing, is confirmed by all the judges, viii. 238, 239. lord chief juſtice Coke's opinion of it, 239. the effect of the revolution on this branch of power, 240.
Preſbytery and *Preſbyterian*, inconveniencies of that government in the church, v. 57. ſet up in Scotland, vi. 271. in England, 361, 362. eſtabliſhed all over England, vii. 71, 72. leaders of, impeached by the army, 98. ſtate of, under the commonwealth, 209, 210. they rejoice at the downfall of the republicans, 234. their numbers in the convention houſe of commons, 367. demoliſhed in England,

land, 370. in Scotland, 374. their clergy are ejected from the churches in England, 393. indulged, 396.

Preſton, battle of, vi. 131.

Preſſing, power of, how uſed in the reign of queen Elizabeth, v. 479, 480.

Prieſts, Romiſh, and Jeſuits, a ſevere law againſt them, v. 263.

Primogeniture, how introduced, ii. 141.

Printing, art of, invented, iii. 428. forwards the progreſs of the reformation, iv. 42.

Privy Council, power of, with reſpect to impriſonment in queen Elizabeth's reign, v. 477.

Proclamations, royal, equaliſed to laws, iv. 213. a court eſtabliſhed to puniſh diſobeyers of them, 257. how executed in queen Elizabeth's reign, v. 483. pretended by James I. to be equal to laws, 527. diſobeyers, how puniſhed, vi. 243. in Scotland, equaliſed to laws in eccleſiaſtical matters, viii. 49. See *Edicts*.

Proof, royal, rules of, antiently, i. 238, 239.

Prophecies, fond and fantaſtical, a law againſt them, v. 78.

Protector of the kingdom, firſt choſen, and why, ii. 147. again choſen, iii. 130. again choſon, 286. nominated by the privy-council, ib. iv. 304. of the commonwealth choſen, vii. 239.

Protectorate, that of the earl of Pembroke begins, ii. 147. ends by his death, 154. of the duke of Bedford begins, iii. 130. ends by his death, 170. of the duke of Gloceſter begins, 285. ends by his aſſuming the royal dignity, 296. of Somerſet begins, iv. 304. ends by his reſignation, 364. of Oliver Cromwell begins, vii. 239. ends by his death, 299. of Richard Cromwell begins, 300. ends by his reſignation, 305.

Proteſtants, how they came by this appellation, iv. 108. furious inſurrections of them in Germany, 138. perſecuted in Germany, 315. a ſolemn diſpute between them and the catholics, v. 12. a confederacy againſt them, 96.

Proteſters, an account of them, vii. 201. See *Reſolutioners*.

Provinces, whole, and towns, in the Low Countries, revolt from Spain, v. 219, 220. inflamed by the Prince of Orange, and united in a league, 220, 221. See *United Provinces*.

Proviſors, ſtatute of, enacted, ii. 509. proceedings on it in the reign of Henry VIII. iv. 116—119. effect of the ſtrict execution of this ſtatute, 117. diſpenſed with by queen Mary, 428.

Prynne, his trial, vi. 236. the ſentence againſt him reverſed in parliament, 315.

Purgatory, a curious deciſion concerning it, iv. 182.

Puritans, their character, v. 156. murmur againſt James I's tolerating meaſures, vi. 68. call themſelves the true church, 107. become powerful in the houſe of commons, 141. are forbid, by proclamation, to go to America, 246. a further character of them, 249. their lecturers

lecturers are eſtabliſhed all over the kingdom, 314. are promoted by the houſe of commons, 319, 320. they declaim againſt the earl of Strafford, 346. their behaviour, previous to the ſelf-denying ordinance, vii. 23, 24. and during the king's trial, 146. encreaſe the colony of New England, 349. and other plantations, ib.

Purveyors, and *Purveyancing*, a grievance aboliſhed by parliament, but often brought back by the king, ii. 505. laws enacted againſt them, by parliament, iii. 127. chancellor Bacon's ſpeech againſt purveyors, v. 360. uſe of in queen Elizabeth's reign, 469. how abuſive in the reign of James I. 535.

Pym, a leader in the houſe of commons, his ſpeech againſt the earl of Strafford, vi. 305. his character, 313.

Q.

QUAKERS, their original, vii. 342. their ſingularities, ib. 343. their morals and madneſs, 344, 345.

Queen conſort of king Charles I. her character, vi. 222. is afraid of an impeachment, 413. goes to Holland, 415. ſends over arms and ammunition, 426. returns, vii. 9. and lies in at Exeter, ib. flies to Paris, 63. her condition there, 356. of Charles II. is accuſed of high-treaſon, viii. 83. protected by the king, ib. of James II. who governs his councils, 244. flies to France, 291.

—— dowager, iii. 341. is ſuſpected of favouring Simnel's conſpiracy, and confined, 343.

—— mother, is deſired, to depart the kingdom, vi. 328. another, mother of Charles II. returns, vii. 367. and obtains the king's conſent to a marriage, ib.

—— others, under their reſpective names.

Quo Warranto, a writ iſſued againſt the city of Lnndon, viii. 174. pleadings upon it, ib. 175. judgment thereon entered, 176. effects of, on the corporation, ib.

R.

RALEIGH, Sir Walter, commands in the channel, againſt the Spaniſh armada, v. 354. appointed to the command of an expedition againſt the Spaniſh Weſt Indies, but recalled before he ſets out, 392. is the earl of Eſſex's enemy, but doth not oppoſe his nomination to the government of Ireland, 420. falls ſick at the appearance of the queen's returning kindneſs to Eſſex, 427. how conforted then, ib. is hated by the people, 429. his letter, when in diſgrace, directed to Sir Robert Cecil, 436. from a window views Eſſex's execution, 448. his petition to the queen, on taking a rich Curacco ſhip, 486. attempts to ſettle colonies in Virginia, 503. his plot, 517. found guilty, 519. remains a conſiderable time in the Tower, vi. 30. is ſent abroad on an expedition to the Weſt Indies, 31. returns to

land, 370. in Scotland, 374. their clergy are ejected from the churches in England, 393. indulged, 396.

Preſton, battle of, vi. 131.

Preſſing, power of, how uſed in the reign of queen Elizabeth, v. 479, 480.

Prieſts, Romiſh, and Jeſuits, a ſevere law againſt them, v. 263.

Primogeniture, how introduced, ii. 141.

Printing, art of, invented, iii. 428. forwards the progreſs of the reformation, iv. 42.

Privy Council, power of, with reſpect to impriſonment in queen Elizabeth's reign, v. 477.

Proclamations, royal, equaliſed to laws, iv. 213. a court eſtabliſhed to puniſh diſobeyers of them, 257. how executed in queen Elizabeth's reign, v. 483. pretended by James I. to be equal to laws, 527. diſobeyers, how puniſhed, vi. 243. in Scotland, equaliſed to laws in eccleſiaſtical matters, viii. 49. See *Edicts*.

Proof, royal, rules of, antiently, i. 238, 239.

Prophecies, fond and fantaſtical, a law againſt them, v. 78.

Protector of the kingdom, firſt choſen, and why, ii. 147. again choſen, iii. 130. again choſon, 286. nominated by the privy-council, ib. iv. 304. of the commonwealth choſen, vii. 239.

Protectorate, that of the earl of Pembroke begins, ii. 147. ends by his death, 154. of the duke of Bedford begins, iii. 130. ends by his death, 170. of the duke of Gloceſter begins, 285. ends by his aſſuming the royal dignity, 296. of Somerſet begins, iv. 304. ends by his reſignation, 364. of Oliver Cromwell begins, vii. 239. ends by his death, 299. of Richard Cromwell begins, 300. ends by his reſignation, 305.

Proteſtants, how they came by this appellation, iv. 108. furious inſurrections of them in Germany, 138. perſecuted in Germany, 315. a ſolemn diſpute between them and the catholics, v. 12. a confederacy againſt them, 96.

Proteſters, an account of them, vii. 201. See *Reſolutioners*.

Provinces, whole, and towns, in the Low Countries, revolt from Spain, v. 219, 220. inflamed by the Prince of Orange, and united in a league, 220, 221. See *United Provinces*.

Proviſors, ſtatute of, enacted, ii. 509. proceedings on it in the reign of Henry VIII. iv. 116—119. effect of the ſtrict execution of this ſtatute, 117. diſpenſed with by queen Mary, 428.

Prynne, his trial, vi. 236. the ſentence againſt him reverſed in parliament, 315.

Purgatory, a curious deciſion concerning it, iv. 182.

Puritans, their character, v. 156. murmur againſt James I's tolerating meaſures, vi. 68. call themſelves the true church, 107. become powerful in the houſe of commons, 141. are forbid, by proclamation, to go to America, 246. a further character of them, 249. their lecturers

lecturers are eſtabliſhed all over the kingdom, 314. are promoted by the houſe of commons, 319, 320. they declaim againſt the earl of Strafford, 346. their behaviour, previous to the ſelf-denying ordinance, vii. 23, 24. and during the king's trial, 146. encreaſe the colony of New England, 349. and other plantations, ib.

Purveyors, and *Purveyancing*, a grievance aboliſhed by parliament, but often brought back by the king, ii. 505. laws enacted againſt them, by parliament, iii. 127. chancellor Bacon's ſpeech againſt purveyors, v. 360. uſe of in queen Elizabeth's reign, 469. how abuſive in the reign of James I. 535.

Pym, a leader in the houſe of commons, his ſpeech againſt the earl of Strafford, vi. 305. his character, 313.

Q.

QUAKERS, their original, vii. 342. their ſingularities, ib. 343. their morals and madneſs, 344, 345.

Queen conſort of king Charles I. her character, vi. 222. is afraid of an impeachment, 413. goes to Holland, 415. ſends over arms and ammunition, 426. returns, vii. 9. and lies in at Exeter, ib. flies to Paris, 63. her condition there, 356. of Charles II. is accuſed of high-treaſon, viii. 83. protected by the king, ib. of James II. who governs his councils, 244. flies to France, 291.

—— dowager, iii. 341. is ſuſpected of favouring Simnel's conſpiracy, and confined, 343.

—— mother, is deſired, to depart the kingdom, vi. 328. another, mother of Charles II. returns, vii. 367. and obtains the king's conſent to a marriage, ib.

—— others, under their reſpective names.

Quo Warranto, a writ iſſued againſt the city of Lnndon, viii. 174. pleadings upon it, ib. 175. judgment thereon entered, 176. effects of, on the corporation, ib.

R.

RALEIGH, Sir Walter, commands in the channel, againſt the Spaniſh armada, v. 354. appointed to the command of an expedition againſt the Spaniſh Weſt Indies, but recalled before he ſets out, 392. is the earl of Eſſex's enemy, but doth not oppoſe his nomination to the government of Ireland, 420. falls ſick at the appearance of the queen's returning kindneſs to Eſſex, 427. how conforted then, ib. is hated by the people, 429. his letter, when in diſgrace, directed to Sir Robert Cecil, 436. from a window views Eſſex's execution, 448. his petition to the queen, on taking a rich Curacco ſhip, 486. attempts to ſettle colonies in Virginia, 503. his plot, 517. found guilty, 519. remains a conſiderable time in the Tower, vi. 30. is ſent abroad on an expedition to the Weſt Indies, 31. returns to

England, 33. is executed, 35. a quotation from his writings, 105.

Ralph, earl of Cheſter, a partizan of the empreſs Matilda, commands in a battle, where king Stephen is taken priſoner, i. 385, 386.

Randolf, Engliſh ambaſſador in Scotland, his character of the Scots nation, v. 55.

Ratcliff, Sir George, impriſoned, and why, vi. 334.

Ravillack, murders the French king, Henry IV. v. 570.

Read, an alderman of London, enrolled for a foot ſoldier, on account of his refuſing a benevolence to the king, iv. 264.

Reading, a council of nobles and prelates ſummoned there, ii. 18. beſieged, vi. 446. taken, 447. the king brought there a priſoner by the army, vii. 99.

Recuſants, a ſevere law againſt them, v. 381.

Redwald, king of the Eaſt-Angles, his kindneſs to Adelfred, i. 42. his virtuous reſolution, ib. his death, 43.

Reformation, begins in Germany, iv. 38. oppoſed by Henry VIII. of England, 39. cauſes of its progreſs, 40, 42. the then pope's behaviour on that occaſion, 43. the reformed princes of Germany, combine in a league for their own defence, 108. a prelude of it appears in England, 116. the reformation begins there, 117. encreaſes, 128. goes on, 132. is ſecretly favoured by Cranmer archbiſhop of Canterbury, 140. makes great progreſs in England and the Low Countries, 142, 143. the reformers are troubled in the biſhops courts, 144. detects impoſtures in the Romiſh church, 149. greedily read Tindal's tranſlation of the ſcriptures, 163. obtain an order of the convocation, for a new tranſlation, 165. diſcontents ariſe among the people on account of it, 184. which end in an inſurrection, 185. which is quelled, 189. hiſtories are publiſhed to reconcile the minds of the people to the reformation, 194, 195. how ſtopped by the law of the ſix articles, 213. begins in Scotland, 233. the clergy all over Europe are thereby reduced to great difficulties, 234. the reformers obtain the Litany to be tranſlated into Engliſh, 275. the reformation is ſecretly favoured by Somerſet, 308. promoted by Cranmer's councils, 310. oppoſed by Gardiner, ib.—314. makes great progreſs in Scotland, 318—320. and farther progreſs of, in England, 331. the maſs tranſlated into Engliſh, without the prayers to ſaints, and ſuperſtitious ceremonies, becomes the new liturgy, 345, 346. a further ſtep towards a complete reformation, 346. the catholic preachers ſtill inculcate the tenet of the real preſence, 347. for which a catholic biſhop is ſent to the Tower, 348. but the princeſs Mary, by the emperor's intereſt, obtains a temporary forbearance from the reforming regency, 350. the reformation cauſes inſurrections, 354—357. the reformed preachers are ſilenced by the queen's authority, 403. the reformation is undone by parliament, 407. the reformers in Germany fly to arms, and reduce the emperor

ror to great difficulties, 410. a diſpute between the reformers and romaniſts, 413. the Roman maſs is every where eſtabliſhed, and the reformed clergy are deprived of their livings, 414. the Londoners favour the reformers, 417. ſeveral laws made againſt the reformers, 425. invincible obſtacles appear againſt the reſettlement of the papacy, 429, 430. propoſals for a toleration of the reformed religion are rejected, 440. a violent perſecution of the profeſſors of the reformed religion enſues, ib. 141. hiſtory of this perſecution, ib.—448. with a ſevere perſecution of the reformed in the Low Countries, 449. in France, ib. more laws in behalf of papacy, 451, 452. the reformed primate of Canterbury executed, 459—461. the prerogative of queen Elizabeth is exerted in behalf of the reformed, v. 7. elections of members of the houſe of commons are favourable to the reformers, 9. a diſputation between the catholic and reformed divines, 12. the reformed religion is again eſtabliſhed in England by law, ib. 13. the Scots catholics are deprived of a head, by the murder of the cardinal primate, 20. a league is formed among the Scots nobility for ſupporting the reformation, 22. a reformation of religion is craved by the leaguers, in a petition to the queen regent, 25. the reformed teachers are cited before the council, and declared rebels, 26. John Knox, from Geneva, arrives in Scotland, and ſupports the reformation there, ib. 27. the queen regent aſſembles an army againſt the reformers, 27. the reformers addreſs the queen-regent, ib.—31. a capitulation is formed between the reformers and the queen-regent, 30. which is broke, and the reformers arm again, ib. headed by Knox, they beſiege and take Perth, and force the regent to take ſhelter in Dunbar, 31. a toleration of the reformed religion is granted by a new capitulation, 32. the declaration of the Scots reformed, recapitulated, 35. queen Elizabeth interpoſes in behalf of the reformed in Scotland, and aſſembles a fleet and army to aſſiſt them, 36. the French, ſent into Scotland, to cruſh the reformation there, by treaty evacuate it, 38. the reformation is eſtabliſhed by an act of parliament in Scotland, 39. which the queen refuſes to ratify, 40. the reformation begins in France, 42. See *Hugonots.* the bigotry of the Scots reformers, 48, 49. how they behaved to the queen when in Scotland, 49, 50. what appellation ſhe received from their ringleader, 51. how chagrined and inſulted by him and the reſt of the reformed, 52, 53. the reaſon of the ill-nature of their clergy, 56. the methods uſed by the queen, to ſecure herſelf againſt them, 57. they depreſs her by their mutinous behaviour, 60. the queen again refuſes to ratify the laws eſtabliſhing the reformation, 90. a confederacy againſt the reformation is formed in France, 96. their preachers bear a great animoſity againſt Mary queen of Scots, 121.

Regicides, ſome tried, vii. 364. executed, 390. more tried, ib. executed, 392.

Religion, ſtate of under the Anglo-Saxons, i. 245. under William the Conqueror, 273, 274. when the cruſades prevailed, 318. ſtate of, before the reformation, iv. 136, 137. regulated by the parliament, 241—245. 258. 331. 406. 407. by the Scots parliament, v. 39. ſtate of, at the beginning of the reign of Charles I. vi. 108. at the time of his impriſonment, vii. 128. under the commonwealth, 268, 269. between the reſtoration and revolution, viii. 319. inſurrections on account of it, iii. 95. iv. 185—190. 196, 222, 362, 263. 418. v. 24—35. vi. 40, 41. 263. viii. 113, 114. perſecutions on account of it, iv. 210. 279. 441—451.

Reſolutioners, an account of them, vii. 201.

Reſtoration, of the royal family, vii. 336.

Requeſens, ſucceeds Alva in the government of the Low-Countries, v. 221. purſues the war againſt the reformed, ib. 222. dies ſuddenly, 223.

Revenue, public, before William the Conqueror, i. 241. under the Norman kings, ii. 126—137. how encreaſed in the reign of Edward I. 334, 335. encreaſed by impoſition of taxes, at the king's pleaſure, 507. by parliamentary ſupplies, iii. 55. ordinary, in Henry Vth's time, 126. extraordinary, ib. ſtate of, in queen Elizabeth's time, v. 494. in the reign of James I. vi. 112—115. extraordinary granted by parliament, amount of, during his whole reign, 114. during the commonwealth, vii. 346, 347. during the protectorate of Oliver Cromwell, 346. of Richard, 348. Settlement of, in Charles IId's reign, 362—364. on James II. viii. 214. 216. amount of, under Charles II. 314—316. under James II. 316.

Revolution, takes place, viii. 308. 309.

Reynold's inſurrection, v. 557.

Rheims, a ſynod there, i. 391.

Rhine, palatinate of, the palatine, one of the proteſtant confederacy, iv. 315. made a priſoner by the emperor, and thereby detached from that confederacy, ib.

——— palatine of, married to the princeſs Elizabeth, daughter of James I. vi. 2. promoted to be king of Bohemia, 42. loſes his kingdom and the palatinate, 44. which is reſtored to the young palatine by the treaty of Weſtphalia, vii. 253.

——— paſſage of, diſputed by Turenne, viii. 16.

Rhoni, his converſation with queen Elizabeth at Dover, v. 451. the reſolution thereon taken, ib. 452.

Richard, duke of Normandy, gves his ſiſter Emma in marriage to Ethelred, king of England, i. 149.

——— ſecond ſon and ſucceſſor of Henry II. king of England, is inveſted in his father's life-time, in the duchies of Guienne and Poitou, ii. 464. is prevailed on by his mother, to rebel againſt his father, 466. at a conference between his father and the French king, on that ſubject, he appears in the train of the latter, 472. accommodates

modates his differences with his father, 479. renews his undutiful behaviour, 486, 487. and by the death of his elder brother, becomes heir of his dominions, 487. ſubmits himſelf to his father, 488. holds a conference with the French king, 491. at his requeſt invades the count of Thouloufe's territories, ib. conſequences of this invaſion, 492. a new breach with his father and ſucceſs againſt him, notwithſtand his being excommunicated by the pope's legate, 494. his behaviour on ſeeing his father's corpſe, 495. his prudent conduct on mounting his father's throne, ii. 2. his bounty to his brother John, ib. his coronation, 3. at which there happens a maſſacre of Jews, 4. his expedients to raiſe money for a cruſade, 5. the care he takes to ſettle the government of his kingdom during his abſence, 7. his interview with the French king, and agreement with him, relative to his intended expedition, 8. the ſtrength of the French and Engliſh armies at that period, compared, ib. his character, compared with that of the French king, 9. on his voyage to the holy land, takes ſhelter in Meſſina, together with the French king, 10. ſeizes a fortreſs there, ib. quells a tumult, 11. his differences with the French king are accommodated, 13. his ill luck on the coaſt of Cyprus, ib. his tranſactions in that iſland, 14. his arrival, and firſt tranſactions in Paleſtine, ib. his forces in conjunction with thoſe of the French king, take Acre, 15. his heroic actions in Paleſtine, 19. his glory thereby acquired, how regarded by the French king, 20. obtains a great victory over Saladin, emperor of the Infidels, 21. makes a truce with the muſſulmen, 22. the ferocity of his temper, 23. on his return from Paleſtin, is arreſted by Leopold, duke of Auſtria, 24. impriſoned, and loaded with irons, ib. preſented to the dyet of Ratisbon, 27. where he defends himſelf againſt the French ambaſſadors, 28. concludes a treaty for his ranſom, 29. his arrival, and firſt tranſactions in England, 30. at Queen Eleanor's requeſt, pardons prince John, 32. a war breaks out between him and France, 34. and is concluded by a peace, 35. his death and character, ib. 36. the price of ſeveral commodities in England at that time, 37, 38. miſcellaneous tranſactions of his reign, ib. his ſeverity againſt tranſgreſſors of the foreſt laws, 38.

Richard II. a minor, grandſon of Edward III. declared ſucceſſor to the crown in parliament, ii. 499. comes a minor to the throne, iii. 1. the plan of government, during his minority, ſettled by parliament, 3. the adminiſtration, how then conducted, 4. military operations in France, 6. an inſurrection of the populace, 7. the king takes ſhelter in the Tower, 9. ſuppreſſes the inſurrection, 11. makes war with Scotland, 12. a French fleet ſent out to invade England, is diſperſed, 13. the king diſpleaſed with his parliament, withdraws from London, 16. but upon their application, returns, ib. grants a commiſſion to fourteen perſons, all of the duke of Gloceſter's faction, to exerciſe ſupreme authority for the ſpace of a year, 18. conſults

Religion, ſtate of under the Anglo-Saxons, i. 245. under William the Conqueror, 273, 274. when the cruſades prevailed, 318. ſtate of, before the reformation, iv. 136, 137. regulated by the parliament, 241—245. 258. 331. 406. 407. by the Scots parliament, v. 39. ſtate of, at the beginning of the reign of Charles I. vi. 108. at the time of his impriſonment, vii. 128. under the commonwealth, 268, 269. between the reſtoration and revolution, viii. 319. inſurrections on account of it, iii. 95. iv. 185—190. 196, 222, 362, 263. 418. v. 24—35. vi. 40, 41. 263. viii. 113, 114. perſecutions on account of it, iv. 210. 279. 441—451.

Reſolutioners, an account of them, vii. 201.

Reſtoration, of the royal family, vii. 336.

Requeſens, ſucceeds Alva in the government of the Low-Countries, v. 221. purſues the war againſt the reformed, ib. 222. dies ſuddenly, 223.

Revenue, public, before William the Conqueror, i. 241. under the Norman kings, ii. 126—137. how encreaſed in the reign of Edward I. 334, 335. encreaſed by impoſition of taxes, at the king's pleaſure, 507. by parliamentary ſupplies, iii. 55. ordinary, in Henry Vth's time, 126. extraordinary, ib. ſtate of, in queen Elizabeth's time, v. 494. in the reign of James I. vi. 112—115. extraordinary granted by parliament, amount of, during his whole reign, 114. during the commonwealth, vii. 346, 347. during the protectorate of Oliver Cromwell, 346. of Richard, 348. Settlement of, in Charles IId's reign, 362—364. on James II. viii. 214. 216. amount of, under Charles II. 314—316. under James II. 316.

Revolution, takes place, viii. 308. 309.

Reynold's inſurrection, v. 557.

Rheims, a ſynod there, i. 391.

Rhine, palatinate of, the palatine, one of the proteſtant confederacy, iv. 315. made a priſoner by the emperor, and thereby detached from that confederacy, ib.

—— palatine of, married to the princeſs Elizabeth, daughter of James I. vi. 2. promoted to be king of Bohemia, 42. loſes his kingdom and the palatinate, 44. which is reſtored to the young palatine by the treaty of Weſtphalia, vii. 253.

—— paſſage of, diſputed by Turenne, viii. 16.

Rhoni, his converſation with queen Elizabeth at Dover, v. 451. the reſolution thereon taken, ib. 452.

Richard, duke of Normandy, gves his ſiſter Emma in marriage to Ethelred, king of England, i. 149.

—— ſecond ſon and ſucceſſor of Henry II. king of England, is inveſted in his father's life-time, in the duchies of Guienne and Poictou, i. 464. is prevailed on by his mother, to rebel againſt his father, 466. at a conference between his father and the French king, on that ſubject, he appears in the train of the latter, 472. accommodates

modates his differences with his father, 479. renews his undutiful behaviour, 486, 487. and by the death of his elder brother, becomes heir of his dominions, 487. ſubmits himſelf to his father, 488. holds a conference with the French king, 491. at his requeſt invades the count of Thouloufe's territories, ib. conſequences of this invaſion, 492. a new breach with his father and ſucceſs againſt him, notwithſtand his being excommunicated by the pope's legate, 494. his behaviour on ſeeing his father's corpſe, 495. his prudent conduct on mounting his father's throne, ii. 2. his bounty to his brother John, ib. his coronation, 3. at which there happens a maſſacre of Jews, 4. his expedients to raiſe money for a cruſade, 5. the care he takes to ſettle the government of his kingdom during his abſence, 7. his interview with the French king, and agreement with him, relative to his intended expedition, 8. the ſtrength of the French and Engliſh armies at that period, compared, ib. his character, compared with that of the French king, 9. on his voyage to the holy land, takes ſhelter in Meſſina, together with the French king, 10. ſeizes a fortreſs there, ib. quells a tumult, 11. his differences with the French king are accommodated, 13. his ill luck on the coaſt of Cyprus, ib. his tranſactions in that iſland, 14. his arrival, and firſt tranſactions in Paleſtine, ib. his forces in conjunction with thoſe of the French king, take Acre, 15. his heroic actions in Paleſtine, 19. his glory thereby acquired, how regarded by the French king, 20. obtains a great victory over Saladin, emperor of the Infidels, 21. makes a truce with the muſſulmen, 22. the ferocity of his temper, 23. on his return from Paleſtin, is arreſted by Leopold, duke of Auſtria, 24. impriſoned, and loaded with irons, ib. preſented to the dyet of Ratisbon, 27. where he defends himſelf againſt the French ambaſſadors, 28. concludes a treaty for his ranſom, 29. his arrival, and firſt tranſactions in England, 30. at Queen Eleanor's requeſt, pardons prince John, 32. a war breaks out between him and France, 34. and is concluded by a peace, 35. his death and character, ib. 36. the price of ſeveral commodities in England at that time, 37, 38. miſcellaneous tranſactions of his reign, ib. his ſeverity againſt tranſgreſſors of the foreſt laws, 38.

Richard II. a minor, grandſon of Edward III. declared ſucceſſor to the crown in parliament, ii. 499. comes a minor to the throne, iii. 1. the plan of government, during his minority, ſettled by parliament, 3. the adminiſtration, how then conducted, 4. military operations in France, 6. an inſurrection of the populace, 7. the king takes ſhelter in the Tower, 9. ſuppreſſes the inſurrection, 11. makes war with Scotland, 12. a French fleet ſent out to invade England, is diſperſed, 13. the king diſpleaſed with his parliament, withdraws from London, 16. but upon their application, returns, ib. grants a commiſſion to fourteen perſons, all of the duke of Gloceſter's faction, to exerciſe ſupreme authority for the ſpace of a year, 18. conſults

the judges on the validity of this commiſſion, 19. aſſumes the exerciſe of the government, 25. makes a truce with France, 28. is affianced to Iſſabella, princeſs of France, ib. ſummons a parliament, 32. with conſent of parliament appoints commiſſioners, to inſpect a trial by battle, 38. baniſhes the dukes of Hereford and Norfolk, 39. on the death of the duke of Lancaſter, ſeizes the Lancaſtrian eſtate, 40. goes to Ireland, 41. and on his return, is made a priſoner by the duke of Hereford, now alſo duke of Lancaſter, 43. compelled to ſign a reſignation, 44. a charge is brought againſt him in parliament, in order to his depoſition, 46. in conſequence of this charge, he is depoſed 49. murdered, 53. his character, ib. the conduct of his reign compared with the former, 54, 55. ſtrong ſymptoms appear of a general inclination to ſhake off the bondage of Rome, 55, 56. An account of a ſect called the Lollards, that appear in this reign, 56. a recapitulation of the laws made in this reign, to curb the new devices of churchmen, 60, 61. a ſalutary law, with reſpect to pardons for murder or rapes, 64.

——— III. See *Gloceſter*, duke of.

Richlieu, cardinal, his character, vi. 169. his enterpriſing genius, 203. he foments diviſions in Scotland, 272.

Ridley, biſhop of London, oppoſes Edward VI. on behalf of the princeſs Mary, iv. 373. is carried to Oxford, in order to diſpute with the Romaniſts about tranſubſtantiation, 414. there burnt for hereſy, 443.

Richmond, earl of, Henry, his deſcent, iii. 299. his hiſtory, 300, 301. a plot laid to bring him to the throne, is diſappointed, 303. his partizans fly abroad, 304. flock to him in Brittany, 306. the reception he met with in England, on his arrival, 307. he engages the king's army at Boſworth-field, 308. diſcomfits the royal army, and ſlays the king, 310. See *Henry* VII.

Right, petition of, prepared by the houſe of commons, vi. 191—193. by the houſe of lords, 186. paſt in the houſe of commons, 191. a copy of it, ib. paſt in the houſe of lords, 193. aſſented to by the king, 196. complaints that it was violated, 247.

Rinnucini, the pope's nuncio in Ireland, his conduct there, vii. 167. he ſummons an aſſembly of the popiſh clergy, 168. is drove out of Ireland, 169.

Riots, a ſevere act paſſed againſt them, iv. 366. revived and enforced, 408.

Ripon, a negociation there, between Engliſh and Scots commiſſioners, vi. 296. transferred, to London, 298. the reception which the Scots commiſſioners met with there, 320.

Rivers, earl, brother of Edward IV. and tutor of the prince of Wales, is arreſted, iii. 283. murdered, 286.

Rizzio, David, his character, v. 97. is promoted to the place of ſecretary for French diſpatches to Queen Mary of Scotland, ib. is believed

believed to be a penſionary of Rome, 98. is murdered, 100. his aſſaſſins acquitted, 101.

Robert, duke of Normandy, is ſucceeded by William, his natural ſon, commonly called the Conqueror, i. 183.

—— eldeſt ſon of the Conqueror, rebels againſt his father, i. 291. is reconciled to him, 294. carried with him into England, ib. ſucceeds him in the duchy of Normandy, 306. his character, ib. his dutchy of Normandy is invaded by his brother William Rufus, 310. he comes to an accommodation with him, ib. obtains his aſſiſtance againſt his brother Henry, 311. repreſſes new broils in Normandy, 312. mortgages Normandy and Maine, to his brother William Rufus, 320. ſets out on a cruſade, 321. an account of his travels, 334. his younger brother Henry, poſſeſſes himſelf of the Engliſh throne, vacant by the death of his eldeſt brother, William Rufus, 335. on his return, he quietly ſteps into poſſeſſion of Normandy, 342. is invited by divers Engliſh noblemen, to mount the Engliſh throne, ib. in ſight of the army of his brother Henry in England, comes to an agreement with him, 343. his adherents in England are proſecuted by his brother, after his departure, 345. his adminiſtration in Normandy, ib. he is made a priſoner in a battle with his brother, 247. and confined in England for life, ib.

—— natural ſon of Henry I. ſwears fealty to king Stephen, under a reſervation, i. 379. the effect of this meaſure, ib.

Robbery, how puniſhed by the Anglo-Saxons, i. 237. how puniſhed by Henry II. 481. how frequent in the reign of Henry III. ii. 233. how fequent in the reign of Edward II. 381.

Rochel, a fleet and army ſent to relieve it, vi. 172. they are defeated, ib. 173. another expedition undertaken to relieve it, 199. it ſurrenders at diſcretion, 200.

Rocheſter, earl of, conſults Overbury, about an amour, vi. 7. cauſes him to be confined, 8. conſequences of this ſtep, 9.

Rochford, viſcounteſs, iv. 239. beheaded on Tower-hill along with the Queen, 240.

Rocroi, battle of, vii. 258.

Rodoric O Connor, king of Connaught, See *Connaught*.

Rohan, duke of, his raſhneſs, vi. 173. how occaſioned, ib.

Rollo, a Dane, his expedition, i. 144. his firſt attempt, 145. his ſucceſs France, 148. his reception at court, ib. his death, ib.

Romans, they invade Britain, i. 6. ſubdue it all but Caledonia, 10. deſert it, 13. diſregard the ſupplications of the Britains, entreating their return, 14.

Rome, ſtate of its court in Henry I's time, I. 353. ſtate of, in the pontificate of pope Alexander, 450. ſtate of, in the reign of Henry III. ii. 171. pope of deſiſts from a claim of feudal ſubjection over England, 173. ſtate of the power of that court, in the reign of

of Henry III. 323, 234. uneasy at the appearance of reformation, 411. usurpations of, complained of by the English laity, 509. their new devices guarded against by the parliament, iii. 61.

—— church of, how founded, iv. 35. sacked, 78. great violences there, ib. pope of, imprisoned, ib. power of, expelled England by Henry VIII. 128. re-introduced by Queen Mary, 429. finally expelled by queen Elizabeth, v. 5, 6. See *Pope*, *Papacy*, and *Reformation*.

Rood of Grace, what, and when destroyed, iv. 196.

Roper, Sir Anthony, his trial, vi. 241.

Rosewell, his trial, viii. 196. verdict against him, 197.

Rosni's negociation, v. 516.

Roundway down, battle of, vi. 454.

Routiers, what, i. 468.

Royalist, form an insurrection, vii. 131. are made prisoners, 132. state of, at the commencement of the commonwealth, 189, 190. they form an insurrection, 250. are quelled, 251. form another insurrection, 289. which is discovered, ib. they conspire against the long parliament restored, 308. are betrayed, 309. victory of, viii. 152.

Rump. See *Parliament*.

Runnemonde, the great charter there granted for the first time, ii. 86. recapitulation of, 87, 88. agreed to be extended by the barons to their inferior vassals, 89.

Rupert, prince, offers his service to the king, vi. 439. heads the royal army at Edge-hill, 441. puts the parliament's army in an uproar, 454, 455. takes Bristol, 458. raises the siege of York, vii. 11. is defeated at Marston-moor, 12. advises the king to fight at Naseby, 12. commands the royal vanguard there, 57. throws himself into Bristol, 60. goes beyond the seas, 61. is made an admiral, 211. makes sail to America, ib. returns to France, where he sells his ships, 212. after the restoration, acts as a vice-admiral, 412. succours Albemarle flying, 422. beats the Dutch, ib. is declared an admiral, 517. beats de Ruyter, 518. is beaten by the Dutch at the mouth of the Texel, 521.

Russel, lord, tried, viii. 184. condemned, 188. executed, 190.

Ruthven, governor of Plymouth, commands at Bradoc-down, vi. 451. escapes to Plymouth, ib.

——— a Scotsman, is created earl of Brentford, 15. promoted to the rank of a general, ib.

Rutland, earl, created duke of Albemarle, iii. 35. degraded from his ducal-title, 52. conspires against Henry VI. 68. betrays his associates, 69. presents on a pole, to Henry IV. the head of his brother-in-law, lord Spenser, ib.

——— another, attends the duke of Norfolk in an expedition against Scotland, iv. 248.

S.

Sa Pantalcon, don, a Portugueſe ambaſſador, hanged in London, vii. 245.

Sackville, Sir Robert, ſent to Eſſex-houſe, and on what errand, v. 441. effect of this meſſage, ib.

Safety, committee of, named, vii. 312. amuſed by Monk, 320.

Sadler, Sir Ralph, the Engliſh ambaſſador in Scotland, commences a negotiation there, for the marriage of the young queen with the prince of Wales, iv. 252. his ſervants are inſulted, in order to bring on a rupture, 253. he ſummons all who had been made priſoners in England, to return into cuſtody, and comes home to England, ib. is made a counſellor to the regency of Edward VI. 302. aſſiſts in rallying the Engliſh cavalry at the battle of Pinkey, 326. appointed a commiſſioner to try the cauſe of Mary Queen of Scots, with the Scots nation, v. 137.

Saladin, king of Egypt, his character and ſchemes, i. 489. conquers Paleſtine, ib. throws a great garriſon into Acre, ii. 14. is beaten at Aſcalon, by Richard II. 21. makes a truce with that prince, 22. dies, 23.

Saliſbury, biſhop of, excommunicated, 443. complains to the king at Baieux, 445, 446. conſequences of, 447.——counteſs of, attainted, iv. 216. reprieved, ib. executed, 232.

——Sir John, condemned to death by the houſe of peers, iii. 23.

Sallee, deſtroyed by an Engliſh fleet, vi. 244.

Sanctuaries, number of, reſtrained by Henry VIII. iv. 291.

Sandilands, Sir James, his embaſſy to France, how received there, v. 40.

Sandwich, his death, vii. 496.

Sanquhir, Lord, a Scots nobleman, his crime and puniſhment, vi. 577.

Sautre, William, rector of St. Oſith's, London, the firſt Lollard burnt in England, iii. 70.

Savil, Sir John, his memorable promotion, iv. 60.

Saxons, their character, i. 16. their civil government, ib. 17. their entry into Britain, and ſucceſs againſt the Scots and Picts, 19. their quarrel with the Britons, 20. ſtate of, in Britain, at their firſt coming, 23. divided into South and Weſt Saxons, ib. 24. are beaten by the Britons at Baden, 25. by whom then governed, ib. their ſettlement in Northumberland, ib. the heptarchy eſtabliſhed among them, 26. the ſource of union among their princes, 27. their ſuperſtitions, and antient religion, 30. the chriſtian religion is introduced among them, ib. 26. ſome of their kings return to paganiſm 45. ſtate of, when the heptarchy was united in one great ſtate, 61, 62. the corrupt ſpecies of chriſtianity which they received, 63, 64. are addicted to the worſhip of images, 67.

Saxons, Anglo, or Anglo-Saxons, their kingdom erected in Britain, i. 68. ther government, and rules of ſucceſſion to their crown, 213—220. how altered by the Norman invaſion, 225. the juriſdiction of their

great lords, and their courts of justice, 228. their criminal laws, 231. a collection of their moſt remarkable laws, 234. their fine for murder, how diverſified, 235. theft, how puniſhed, 237. and how treaſon and rebellion, ib. the reverence due to their kings, 241. and value of their money, 242. the value of divers commodities among them, ib. 243. their method of dividing inheritances, 244, 245. their manners, 245. their government, how mixed and changeable iii. 319, 320. See *Anglo-Saxons*.

Saxons, Jut-Saxons, in Germany, perſecuted by Charlemagne, fly to Jutland, i. 69. aided by others from Jutland, they invade France and Britain, ib. 70. their firſt landing in Britain, ib. See *Anglo-Saxons*.

—— South, or South-Saxons, kingdom of, eſtabliſhed in Britain, i. 23.

Scot, his trial, vii. 366.

Scotland, and *Scots*, Scots and Picts invade Britain, i. 13. are repulſed by Saxons, 19. make a treaty with them againſt the Britons, 20. Scotland is ſubdued by England, 110. king of, Conſtantine, aſſiſted by Danes, makes an irruption into England, ib. 11. king of, Malcomb, obtains a gift of the county of Cumberland, 113. a rebellion there, in which king Duncan is ſlain, 181. the rebellion ends, by the ſlaughter of Macbeth the rebel, ib. and in the reſtoration of Malcom, Duncan's ſon, ib. who does homage to William the Conqueror for Cumberland, 262. receives kindly Edgar Atheling and his ſiſters, 264. marries Margaret, Edgar's eldeſt ſiſter, ib. comes into England, to aſſiſt Edgar in a renewed attempt, 267. carries him and his followers back into Scotland, 268. is repulſed in another attempt on England, 294. ſlain in another againſt it, 312. and to him, his brother Donald ſucceeds, ib. who is dethroned by Duncan, a natural ſon of Malcomb's, ib. king of, William, confederates with France againſt England, and invades the latter kingdom, 474. agrees to a ceſſation of arms, ib. in an after invaſion, is made a priſoner, 477. his humiliating treaty with Henry II. 479. the treaty is ſtrictly executed, 480. the vaſſalage of Scotland, obtained by this treaty, is releaſed for a ſum of money, by Richard I. ii. 6. king of, Alexander, receives, and on what terms, the flying Engliſh barons, 96. on the death of Alexander III. Margaret, maid of Norway, is declared queen of Scotland, 250. her death, and enſuing competition for the crown, 252. ſtate of that competition, ib. 253. it is referred for determination to the king of England, 254. what benefit the Engliſh king expected from accepting this reference, ib. 255. an examination of the Engliſh claim to feudal homage for the kingdom of Scotland, 256, 257. Mr. Carte's notion thereto relative, examined, 258—260. the behaviour of the Scots nobles, in preſence of the Engliſh king, at Norham, 260, 261. their reply to Edward's demand there, 262, 263. commiſſioners are named, to conſider the claims of the competitors,

petitors, 264. an award is pronounced in favour of Baliol, 265. he is provoked to rebel, by Edward's humiliating demands, 267. an alliance with France is confirmed, by a ſtipulated marriage between the prince of Scotland, and the daughter of Philip of Valois, 273. king of, John, refuſes obedience to the Engliſh king's citations, 290. an account of hoſtilities between the two nations, 291, 292. Scotland is ſubdued, and put under the government of earl Warrenne, 293. France deſerts the Scots alliance, 308. Wallace's character, 309. who inſtigates the Scots to revolt, ib. 310. and after defeating the Engliſh, is choſen regent of Scotland, 313. the Scots army, commanded by Wallace, is routed by the Engliſh army commanded by the king in perſon, at Falkirk, 315. a conference between young Bruce and Wallace, 316. Scotland is again ſubdued by England, 318. the pope in vain interpoſes in behalf of the Scots, ib. 319. the Scots, under Cummin, chace away the Engliſh government, 321. Scotland is again reduced by Edward in perſon, ib. 322. and Sir William Wallace is taken, and ſuffers as a traitor in London, 322, 323. character of young Robert Bruce, ſon of the competitor for the Scots crown, 323. he informs Cummin and others of his reſolution to ſave his country, 325. kills John Cummin the regent, 327. an account of the enſuing revolt and defeat of the Scots, 328, 329. they gain ſome advantages under Bruce's command, 338. Bruce, after ſome further ſucceſſes, makes a truce with the Engliſh king, Edward II. 348. Scotland is again invaded by a mighty army of the Engliſh, headed by their king, 349. which is defeated by Bruce at Bannocburn, 351. the Scots army ravages the northern counties of England, 352. a truce for thirteen years, is made between Edward and Bruce, 361. the Scots, headed by Murray and Douglas, invade England, 384. a deſcription of their equipage, 385. their tranſactions in England, 386, 387. are forced to retreat into their own country, 388. a treaty of peace between England and Scotland, ratified in parliament, ib. 389. David, a minor, ſucceeds his father in the Scots throne, 393. a battle betwen the Engliſh and him, near the river Erne, by which Baliol recovers the kingdom, 396. troubles about the eſtates of Engliſhmen in Scotland, 394. Balilol's coronation and expulſion, 398. a war breaks out between Scotland and England, ib. 399. and Ballol is once more received as king, 400. another war with England on his account, 401. his ſecond expulſion, 402. king David's army is routed, and the king is taken and carried a priſoner to the Tower, 453. ſet at liberty, 476. ſtate of of, at the death of Edward III. iii. 5. a battle between the Engliſh under Piercy, and the Scots under Douglas, at Otterbun, 27, 28. between the ſame at Homeldon, 73. the prince of Scotland falls into the hands of king Henry IV. 81. and the Scots king, Robert, dies of grief, ib. the regency of the

great lords, and their courts of juſtice, 228. their criminal laws, 231. a collection of their moſt remarkable laws, 234. their fine for murder, how diverſified, 235. theft, how puniſhed, 237. and how treaſon and rebellion, ib. the reverence due to their kings, 241. and value of their money, 242. the value of divers commodities among them, ib. 243. their method of dividing inheritances, 244, 245. their manners, 245. their government, how mixed and changeable iii. 319, 320. See *Anglo-Saxons*.

Saxons, Jut-Saxons, in Germany, perſecuted by Charlemagne, fly to Jutland, i. 69. aided by others from Jutland, they invade France and Britain, ib. 70. their firſt landing in Britain, ib. See *Anglo-Saxons*.

—— South, or South-Saxons, kingdom of, eſtabliſhed in Britain, i. 23.

Scot, his trial, vii. 366.

Scotland, and *Scots*, Scots and Picts invade Britain, i. 13. are repulſed by Saxons, 19. make a treaty with them againſt the Britons, 20. Scotland is ſubdued by England, 110. king of, Conſtantine, aſſiſted by Danes, makes an irruption into England, ib. 11. king of, Malcomb, obtains a gift of the county of Cumberland, 113. a rebellion there, in which king Duncan is ſlain, 181. the rebellion ends, by the ſlaughter of Macbeth the rebel, ib. and in the reſtoration of Malcom, Duncan's ſon, ib. who does homage to William the Conqueror for Cumberland, 262. receives kindly Edgar Atheling and his ſiſters, 264. marries Margaret, Edgar's eldeſt ſiſter, ib. comes into England, to aſſiſt Edgar in a renewed attempt, 267. carries him and his followers back into Scotland, 268. is repulſed in another attempt on England, 294. ſlain in another againſt it, 312. and to him, his brother Donald ſucceeds, ib. who is dethroned by Duncan, a natural ſon of Malcomb's, ib. king of, William, confederates with France againſt England, and invades the latter kingdom, 474. agrees to a ceſſation of arms, ib. in an after invaſion, is made a priſoner, 477. his humiliating treaty with Henry II. 479. the treaty is ſtrictly executed, 480. the vaſſalage of Scotland, obtained by this treaty, is releaſed for a ſum of money, by Richard I. ii. 6. king of, Alexander, receives, and on what terms, the flying Engliſh barons, 96. on the death of Alexander III. Margaret, maid of Norway, is declared queen of Scotland, 250. her death, and enſuing competition for the crown, 252. ſtate of that competition, ib. 253. it is referred for determination to the king of England, 254. what benefit the Engliſh king expected from accepting this reference, ib. 255. an examination of the Engliſh claim to feudal homage for the kingdom of Scotland, 256, 257. Mr. Carte's notion thereto relative, examined, 258—260. the behaviour of the Scots nobles, in preſence of the Engliſh king, at Norham, 260, 261. their reply to Edward's demand there, 262, 263. commiſſioners are named, to conſider the claims of the competitors,

petitors, 264. an award is pronounced in favour of Baliol, 265. he is provoked to rebel, by Edward's humiliating demands, 267. an alliance with France is confirmed, by a ſtipulated marriage between the prince of Scotland, and the daughter of Philip of Valois, 273. king of, John, refuſes obedience to the Engliſh king's citations, 290. an account of hoſtilities between the two nations, 291, 292. Scotland is ſubdued, and put under the government of earl Warrenne, 293. France deſerts the Scots alliance, 308. Wallace's character, 309. who inſtigates the Scots to revolt, ib. 310. and after defeating the Engliſh, is choſen regent of Scotland, 313. the Scots army, commanded by Wallace, is routed by the Engliſh army commanded by the king in perſon, at Falkirk, 315. a conference between young Bruce and Wallace, 316. Scotland is again ſubdued by England, 318. the pope in vain interpoſes in behalf of the Scots, ib. 319. the Scots, under Cummin, chace away the Engliſh government, 321. Scotland is again reduced by Edward in perſon, ib. 322. and Sir William Wallace is taken, and ſuffers as a traitor in London, 322, 323. character of young Robert Bruce, ſon of the competitor for the Scots crown, 323. he informs Cummin and others of his reſolution to ſave his country, 325. kills John Cummin the regent, 327. an account of the enſuing revolt and defeat of the Scots, 328, 329. they gain ſome advantages under Bruce's command, 338. Bruce, after ſome further ſucceſſes, makes a truce with the Engliſh king, Edward II. 348. Scotland is again invaded by a mighty army of the Engliſh, headed by their king, 349. which is defeated by Bruce at Bannocburn, 351. the Scots army ravages the northern counties of England, 352. a truce for thirteen years, is made between Edward and Bruce, 361. the Scots, headed by Murray and Douglas, invade England, 384. a deſcription of their equipage, 385. their tranſactions in England, 386, 387. are forced to retreat into their own country, 388. a treaty of peace between England and Scotland, ratified in parliament, ib. 389. David, a minor, ſucceeds his father in the Scots throne, 393. a battle betwen the Engliſh and him, near the river Erne, by which Baliol recovers the kingdom, 396. troubles about the eſtates of Engliſhmen in Scotland, 394. Balilol's coronation and expulſion, 398. a war breaks out between Scotland and England, ib. 399. and Baliol is once more received as king, 400. another war with England on his account, 401. his ſecond expulſion, 402. king David's army is routed, and the king is taken and carried a priſoner to the Tower, 453. ſet at liberty, 476. ſtate of, at the death of Edward III. iii. 5. a battle between the Engliſh under Piercy, and the Scots under Douglas, at Otterbun, 27, 28. between the ſame at Homeldon, 73. the prince of Scotland falls into the hands of king Henry IV. 81. and the Scots king, Robert, dies of grief, ib. the regency of the

duke of Albany, uncle of the king, commences, ib. a confederacy between Scotland and France, againſt England, 120. the regent ſends ſuccours to the Orleans party in France, ib. a new regent, Murdac, ſon of the former, ſends more ſuccours to France, 134. ſtate of, immediately before James I. of Scotland, at his acceſſion a priſoner in England, was ſet at liberty, 135. ſtate of, when Henry VI. fled hither with his queen, 227. the Engliſh impoſtor, Warbec, flies to the court of the Scots king, 389. the reception he met with, 390. king of, in ſupport of the impoſtor, invades England, 464. is routed at Flouden, and never after heard of, 466. the queen-dowager is made regent, 467. depoſition of the queen-dowager, and the election of the duke of Albany in her place, iv. 5. the then ſtate of Scotland, ib. 6. an account of the riſe of many differences in that kingdom, 7. the arrival of the duke of Albany from France, and his adminiſtration, ib. the duke of Albany's return to France, and hiſtory of, in his abſence, 8. the regent returns to Scotland, and makes a truce with England, 46. an Engliſh invaſion, during a ſecond abſence of the regent in France, 47, 48. his warlike operations againſt England, when he comes back to Scotland, 48, 49. retires again to France, and never returns, ib. 49. the reformation begins there, and is promoted by Hamilton's ſteady ſufferings, 233. ſpreads, 235. the clergy offer the king a free gift, and invite him to enrich himſelf with the ſpoils of heretics, 236. the king of England reſolves on war with Scotland, 246. which is ſoon after invaded by an Engliſh army, 248. the rout of Solway, ib. 249. and death of king James V. 249. the ſcheme of an union with England, is formed by the marriage of the prince of Wales with the young queen of Scots, 250. a treaty is made with England for that purpoſe, 252. a new rupture, 254. the cuſtody of the young queen is entruſted with the heads of four potent families, ib. the differences between the families of Arran and Lennox, 260. a civil war thereby occaſioned, 261. an Engliſh invaſion repulſed, 265. and Lenox's flight into England, ib. the reaſon why the Engliſh forces then ſo ſpeedily left Scotland, ib. 266. is comprehended in a treaty of peace between France and England, 275. Wiſhart promotes the reformation in Scotland, 316, 317. his martyrdom, 318. cardinal Beaton's aſſaſſination, ib. 319. the then ſtate and misfortune of Scotland, 320. St. Andrews is beſieged, where Beaton's murderers have retired, ib. it is ſurrendered, 321. a plague then in Scotland, ib. an Engliſh invaſion concerted againſt Scotland, ib. 322. the invaders enter Scotland with the protector at their head, 323. the battle of Pinkey begins, 325. continues with various ſucceſs, ib. 326. is decided in favour of the Engliſh, 326, 327. further progreſs of the Engliſh arms, and return of the protector to England, 327. Haddington taken, and garriſoned by the Engliſh, 333. propoſals in parliament, to ſend the young queen to France,

334. French gold in plenty there, 335. the young queen is ſent to France, ib. more military exploits between England and Scotland, ib. 336. a tumult between French and Scots ſoldiers in Edinburgh, wherein the provoſt is ſlain, 336. Scotland reaps benefit from the inteſtine diviſions that then prevailed in England, 337. the plague makes great havock in Scotland, and ſtops the military operations there, 358. a peace with England, 359. the queen-dowager makes a journey to France, 467. an account of the great men that go in her train, ib. her return, and entrance on the regency, 469. commiſſioners are ſent from the parliament of Scotland, to aſſiſt at the young queen's marriage with the Dauphin, 470. the marriage contract made, and marriage ſolemnized, 471. Queen of, is conſidered by queen Elizabeth as her moſt inveterate enemy, v. 20. a ſet of reformers, known by the name of the Congregation of the Lord, appears there, 22. Mill burnt there for hereſy, 24. ſubſcriptions for a league againſt popery, 25. the arrival of John Knox there, 26. the queen-regent, and congregation arm againſt each other, 27. meſſages and remonſtrances between the belligerant parties, 28, 29. a capitulation and breach of it, complained of, 29, 30. churches and monaſteries deſtroyed by the inſurgents, 31. and the queen-regent takes ſhelter in Dunbar, ib. new articles of capitulation, 32. ſoldiers and divines arrive from France, to combat the reformers, 33. who ſend meſſages to queen Elizabeth, demanding ſuccours, 34. a treaty of mutual defence is concluded between queen Elizabeth and the reformers, 36. relief comes to them from England, ib. 37. the French, by treaty with the Engliſh ambaſſadors, evacuate Scotland, 37. the union between England and the Scots reformers is made more compleat, 38. a confeſſion of faith, agreeable to the new doctrines, is ratified by the parliament there, 39. and an embaſſy is ſent to France for the queen's ratification of theſe proceedings, which is refuſed, 40. again refuſed to queen Elizabeth's ambaſſador, 44. the queen is invited back to Scotland, ib. her arrival there, 46, 47. her reception there from the reformers, 48, 49. a converſation there, between Knox and the Queen, 51, 52. an uproar in Edinburgh, occaſioned by ſome differences between the Queen's uncle and a ſtrumpet, 53, 54. the then ſtate of the Scots clergy, 56. an embaſſy from the Queen of Scots, to Queen Elizabeth, 57. how anſwered, 58, 59. divers ſuitors to the Queen of Scots, how regarded, 61, 62. See *Mary*, Queen of Scots. marriage of the Queen and Darnley, 91. an inſurrection thereby cauſed, ib. 92. the inſurgents are encouraged by the Engliſh ambaſſador, 92. take ſhelter in England, 93. the purport of a French embaſſy to the Queen, 95. Rizzio's murder there, 100. lord Darnley's murder 107. Marriage of the Queen and Bothwell, 118. an inſurrection, which occaſions Bothwell's flight, 121, 122. and the Queen's confinement, 122, 123. the Queen's reſignation, 127.

127. Murray's regency commences, 128. See *Murray*, earl of. Queen Mary's flight into England, 131. commiſſioners appointed to examine her affair, 137. Murray's aſſaſſination, 173. Mary's triumphant party in Scotland, 174. Marr's ſhort regency, 207. Morton's regency commences, ib. Queen Mary's party ſubdued, 208. Morton's reſignation, 234. he is afterwards perſuaded to retain the government, 235. his trial and death, 236. Gowries conſpiracy, 252, 253. the king's delivery and aſſumption of the government, 253. Queen Mary's trial commences, 299. ſentence, 308. interpoſition of her ſon in her favour, 315, 316. her execution, 322—329. king of, becomes king of England, by Queen Elizabeth's death, 468. his departure from Edinburgh, and arrival in London, 511, 512. ſtate of, after the acceſſion of the Scots king to the Engliſh crown, vi. 20. viſited by its monarch, 21. the then ſtate of the Scots church, 24. ceremonies, ſome received there, 28. viſited by Charles I. 238. diſcontents there, 259. liturgy introduced there, 262. tumults there, 263, 264. covenant there, 266. an aſſembly there, 270. acts of, 271. money ſent thither from France, 272. ſoldiers enliſted there, and an army raiſed, ib. 273. a pacification, 277. military preparations renewed, 280. entry into England, and the battle of Newburn upon Tyne, 295. meſſengers ſent from the Scots army to the king, ib. the firſt meeting of the commiſſioners at Rippon, 296. the treaty is transferred to London, 298. the Scots army levies contributions in England, 318. commiſſioners of, their reception in London, 320. the Scots army is paid off, and diſbanded, 361. Scotland is again viſited by Charles I. 362. parliament of, ſends commiſſioners to treat with the Engliſh parliament, 379. conſervators of the peace, ſummon a convention in Scotland, 474. ſolemn league and covenant there, 475. an army is levied, 476. which enters England, ib. blockades York, vii. 10. takes that city, 13. ſtate of, in 1645, 43. the Scots army receives the king at Newark, 75. delivers him to the parliament's army, 82. is diſbanded, ib. ſtate of Scotland in 1648, 118, 119. commiſſioners of, declare for the king, 119. a Scots invaſion of England prepared, 121. the army is defeated at Preſton, 131. ſtate of, at the demiſe of Charles I. 165. commiſſioners of, at Breda, 180. the king's arrival there, 190. an aſſembly there, 191. ſtate of the king's authority there, 193. the promotion of Leſley, to the chief command of the Scots army there, 195. battle of Dunbar, 197. Cromwell at Edinburgh, ib. ſtate of the king's affairs there, 199. his arrival in the Scots camp at Torwood, 201. the army marches haſtily ſouthwards, 202. is defeated at Worceſter, 203. Scotland is ſubdued by Monk, 214. united to the commonwealth of England, 215. Cromwell's adminiſtration there, 274. ſtate of, at the reſtoration, 373. proceedings of a parliament there, 374. rigorous execution

of the new laws, 452. an insurrection there, 453. state of, at the peace of Nimeguen, viii. 46. arbitrary measures pursued there, 52. writs of intercommuning against conventiclers, 58. noblemen, and landed gentlemen, forbid to depart the kingdom, ib. complaint of the Scots discontented lords at London, 59. state of, towards the end of king Charles II's reign, 111. another insurrection there, 112. the battle of Bothwell bridge there, 113. indemnity there granted, 115. the duke of York there, 164. state of, in 1681, 166. extreme severities there, 168, 169. the cause of these severities, 170. state of, at the time of Argyle's invasion, 229. state of, in 1686, 243. state of, when the prince of Orange landed at Torbay, 291. the revolution covention there summoned, 299. the crown and regal dignity, are offered to the prince and princess of Orange, and their heirs, 300.

Scriptures, a new translation of them by Tindal, 142. by Henry VIII. 165.

Scutagia, what, and when dropt, ii. 124.

Seafights, between French and English, on the coast of Brittany, iii. 448. off Brest, 457. off the isle of Wight, iv. 270. between English and Spaniards in the channel, 354.—356. at Dover, vii. 220. at Plymouth, 222. in the Mediterranean, ib. on the coast of Kent, ib. at the Goodwin, ib. 223. in the channel, 223. on the coast of Holland, 242. at the Canaries, 265. between the duke of York and Obdam, 412. at the mouth of the Thames, 422. at Solebay, 495. on the coast of Holland, 518. at the mouth of the Texel, 519.

Seamen, number of, in Queen Elizabeth's reign, v. 345.

Security, parliamentary, debt first contracted on it, iii. 224.

Sedgemoore, battle of viii. 222.

Seneffe, battle of, viii. 8.

Serfs, their nature, ii. 112.

Severus, emperor, makes addition to the wall built by Adrian, i. 10.

Seymour, Jane, married to Henry VIII. iv. 176. her issue included in the entail of the crown, 178. brings forth a prince, and dies in childbed, 191.

——— lord Edward, son of the protector, loses his horse at the battle of Pinkey, iii. 325. is repulsed in an attempt on Fife, 335.

——— Sir Edward, created earl of Hertford, iv. 191. chosen protector by the executors of Henry VIII's will, 304. and created duke of Somerset, 305. his ambition on the removal of Southampton, 306. his great authority, how submitted to, 307, 308. his strenuous endeavours to compleat the reformation, 308, 309. is guided by Cranmer's councils, 310. is opposed by the bishop of Winchester, ib. 311. appoints a general visitation of all the dioceses in England, 311. protects the reformation abroad, 314. prepares to invade Scotland, and why, 321. invades it, and prepares for a

decisive action, 323, 324. engages the Scots army at Pinkey, 325. routs them, 326. on his return to London, summons a parliament 328. consents to a repeal of the statute equalising proclamations to laws, and to divers statutes promoting the reformation, ib. 329. in council, issues divers orders in behalf of the reformation, 331, 332. orders Haddington in Scotland to be fortified and garrisoned with English troops, 333. raises an army to make a conquest of Scotland, 336. and gives the command of it to the earl of Shrewsbury, ib. discovers his brother, the admiral's cabals against him, 338. is reconciled to him, 340. on new discoveries, deprives him of his office of admiral, and sends him to the tower, 342. promotes a bill of attainder against his brother, 343, 344. obtains it to be passed, and orders his execution, 344. grants, in council, a commission to the primate and others, to search for anabaptists and all heretics, 348. discontents appear against his government, 351, 352, which are followed by insurrections, 354, 355. sends lord Russel at the head of an army against them, and the earl of Warwic with another, and quells them, 355, 356. grants a general indemnity, 357. dismantles Haddington, and orders the artillery to be brought to Berwic, 358. a war breaks out with France, ib. 359. but disappointed of assistance from the Emperor, desires to conclude a peace with France and Scotland, 359. factions arise in the council against him, 360. a conspiracy is there formed against him, 362. resigns his protectorship, and is sent to the Tower, 364. is succeeded in power by the earl of Warwic, ib. 365. is set at liberty and re-admitted into the council, 366. sent by the council to try Gardiner's temper, 369. his ruin is resolved on by the earl of Northumberland, 377. is arrested and brought to trial, 378. condemned, and executed, 379. character of, ib. 380.

Seymour, Sir Francis, his behaviour in parliament, vii. 177, 178.

Seymour, Sir Thomas, made a counsellor to the regency of Edward VI. iv. 302. created Lord Seymour, and promoted to the office of lord high admiral, 305. the English fleet, under his command, makes a descent on the coast of Scotland, and is repulsed, 335. character of, 338. cabals against his brother the protector, ib. is discovered, and seemingly reconciled to him, 340. is arrested, and by his brother's interest a bill of attainder is brought into parliament against him, 343. he is attainted, and executed, 344.

Sforza, Ludovico. See *Ludovico* and *Milan*.

——— Maximilian. See *Maximilian* and *Milan*.

——— Francis, obtains the investiture of Milan, iv. 109. dies without issue, 156.

Shaftesbury, earl of, leaves the court party, and why, vii. 515. adheres closely to the country party, 516. his opinion of the bill of exclusion, viii. 102. he presents the duke of York to the grand jury of Middlesex for recusancy, 125. is accused of high treason,

162. acquitted, ib. engages in the duke of Monmouth's conspiracy, 178. dies, 180.

Shakespear, his character, vi. 131.

Sharp, doctor, promoted to the archbishopric of St. Andrews, vii. 375. murdered, viii. 112.

Sheep, price of, in Edward II's reign, ii. 377. state of, in Henry VIII's reign, iv. 298.

Sherborn, bishop of Chichester, opposes Cranmer, iv. 180.

Sheriffs, a new nomination of them, viii. 171. effects of, 172, 173.

Ship, first of the royal navy built, iii. 427.

Ship-money, first levied in England, i. 152. on maritime towns, vi. 162. on the whole kingdom, 239. writs for, self-contradictory, 253. decreed for by all the judges of England, 254. declared illegal by the house of commons, 317.

Shipping, state of, in Edward III's reign, ii. 512. decay of, then, what ascribed to, ib. state of, in Queen Elizabeth's reign, v. 500.

Shire, deputies from, first summoned to parliament, ii. 215.

Shirley, Sir Thomas, his case, viii. 13.

Shore, Jane, accused of sorcery in the council, iii. 289. her history, ib. her fate, 290.

Shrewsbury, battle of, iii. 76, 77.

——— earl of, raises forces without a commission, to quell insurgents against Henry VIII. iv. 187. attends the duke of Norfolk in an expedition against Scotland, 248. commands against the Scots, by a commission from Somerset the protector, 336.

——— earl of, added to the privy-council, when the Queen of Scotland's case is under their consideration, v. 149. appointed to see the sentence against her executed, 322. informs that princess of his orders, ib. attends the execution, 324—329.

Sidney, Algernon, tried, viii. 191. condemned, and executed, 193.

Sidney, Sir Henry, made governor of Ireland, v. 415. his administration there, ib. recalled, 416.

——— Sir Philip, his letter to Queen Elizabeth, when her marriage with the duke of Anjou was proposed, v. 249—251. his death, celebrated by James I. then king of Scotland, 281.

——— Sir Robert, sent to Scotland on an embassy, v. 347.

Silver, value of, in Henry VIII's reign, iv. 411. See *Money*.

——— box of, intercepted, containing letters of Mary Queen of Scots, and produced against her, v. 144. 145.

Simnel, Lambert, his history, iii. 340. is received in Ireland, as earl Warwic, and proclaimed king, 342. is taken, and made a scullion, 347.

Simon, Richard, a priest, raises an insurrection against Henry VIII. iv. 340. is taken prisoner, 347. but not to be tried, and why, in a court of law, ib.

Sindercomb condemned, vii. 290, 291.

decisive action, 323, 324. engages the Scots army at Pinkey, 325. routs them, 326. on his return to London, summons a parliament, 328. consents to a repeal of the statute equalising proclamations to laws, and to divers statutes promoting the reformation, ib. 329. in council, issues divers orders in behalf of the reformation, 331, 332. orders Haddington in Scotland to be fortified and garrisoned with English troops, 333. raises an army to make a conquest of Scotland, 336. and gives the command of it to the earl of Shrewsbury, ib. discovers his brother, the admiral's cabals against him, 338. is reconciled to him, 340. on new discoveries, deprives him of his office of admiral, and sends him to the tower, 342. promotes a bill of attainder against his brother, 343, 344. obtains it to be passed, and orders his execution, 344. grants, in council, a commission to the primate and others, to search for anabaptists and all heretics, 348. discontents appear against his government, 351, 352, which are followed by insurrections, 354, 355. sends lord Russel at the head of an army against them, and the earl of Warwic with another, and quells them, 355, 356. grants a general indemnity, 357. dismantles Haddington, and orders the artillery to be brought to Berwic, 358. a war breaks out with France, ib. 359. but disappointed of assistance from the Emperor, desires to conclude a peace with France and Scotland, 359. factions arise in the council against him, 360. a conspiracy is there formed against him, 362. resigns his protectorship, and is sent to the Tower, 364. is succeeded in power by the earl of Warwic, ib. 365. is set at liberty and re-admitted into the council, 366. sent by the council to try Gardiner's temper, 369. his ruin is resolved on by the earl of Northumberland, 377. is arrested and brought to trial, 378. condemned, and executed, 379. character of, ib. 380.

Seymour, Sir Francis, his behaviour in parliament, vi. 177, 178.

Seymour, Sir Thomas, made a counsellor to the regency of Edward VI. iv. 302. created Lord Seymour, and promoted to the office of lord high admiral, 305. the English fleet, under his command, makes a descent on the coast of Scotland, and is repulsed, 335. character of, 338. cabals against his brother the protector, ib. is discovered, and seemingly reconciled to him, 340. is arrested, and by his brother's interest a bill of attainder is brought into parliament against him, 343. he is attainted, and executed, 344.

Sforza, Ludovico. See *Ludovico* and *Milan*.

———, Maximilian. See *Maximilian* and *Milan*.

———, Francis, obtains the investiture of Milan, iv. 109. dies without issue, 156.

Shaftesbury, earl of, leaves the court party, and why, vii. 515. adheres closely to the country party, 516. his opinion of the bill of exclusion, viii. 102. he presents the duke of York to the grand jury of Middlesex for recusancy, 125. is accused of high treason,

162, acquitted, ib. engages in the duke of Monmouth's conſpiracy, 178. dies, 180.
Shakeſpear, his character, vi. 131.
Sharp, doctor, promoted to the archbiſhopric of St. Andrews, vii. 375. murdered, viii. 112.
Sheep, price of, in Edward II's reign, ii. 377. ſtate of, in Henry VIII's reign, iv. 298.
Sherborn, biſhop of Chicheſter, oppoſes Cranmer, iv. 180.
Sheriffs, a new nomination of them, viii. 171. effects of, 172, 173.
Ship, firſt of the royal navy built, iii. 427.
Ship-money, firſt levied in England, i. 152. on maritime towns, vi. 162. on the whole kingdom, 239. writs for, ſelf-contradictory, 253. decreed for by all the judges of England, 254. declared illegal by the houſe of commons, 317.
Shipping, ſtate of, in Edward III's reign, ii. 512. decay of, then, what aſcribed to, ib. ſtate of, in Queen Elizabeth's reign, v. 500.
Shires, deputies from, firſt ſummoned to parliament, ii. 215.
Shirley, Sir Thomas, his caſe, viii. 13.
Shore, Jane, accuſed of ſorcery in the council, iii. 289. her hiſtory, ib. her fate, 290.
Shrewſbury, battle of, iii. 76, 77.
——— earl of, raiſes forces without a commiſſion, to quell inſurgents againſt Henry VIII. iv. 187. attends the duke of Norfolk in an expedition againſt Scotland, 248. commands againſt the Scots, by a commiſſion from Somerſet the protector, 336.
——— earl of, added to the privy-council, when the Queen of Scotland's caſe is under their conſideration, v. 149. appointed to ſee the ſentence againſt her executed, 322. informs that princeſs of his orders, ib. attends the execution, 324—329.
Sidney, Algernon, tried, viii. 191. condemned, and executed, 193.
Sidney, Sir Henry, made governor of Ireland, v. 415. his adminiſtration there, ib. recalled, 416.
——— Sir Philip, his letter to Queen Elizabeth, when her marriage with the duke of Anjou was propoſed, v. 249—251. his death, celebrated by James I. then king of Scotland, 281.
——— Sir Robert, ſent to Scotland on an embaſſy, v. 347.
Silver, value of, in Henry VIII's reign, iv. 411. See *Money*.
——— box of, intercepted, containing letters of Mary Queen of Scots, and produced againſt her, v. 144. 145.
Simnel, Lambert, his hiſtory, iii. 340. is received in Ireland, as earl Warwic, and proclaimed king, 342. is taken, and made a ſcullion, 347.
Simon, Richard, a prieſt, raiſes an inſurrection againſt Henry VIII. iv. 340. is taken priſoner, 347. but not to be tried, and why, in a court of law, ib.
Sindercomb condemned, vii. 290, 291.

Sinzeim, battle of, vi. 251.
Siward, duke of Northumberland, his history, i. 181. his death, 182.
Six articles of religion. See *Articles*.
—— bishops. See *Bishops*.
Skinner's case, vii. 464.
Slaves, how divided among the Anglo-Saxons, i. 227.
Sleda, king of Essex, dies, i. 53. his posterity hold that kingdom, till it is subdued by Egbert, the founder of the English monarchy, ib.
Smalcalde, a league there made among the protestant princes of the empire, iv. 108. forced into a war with the emperor, 315.
Smyrna fleet attacked, vii. 488. it repulses the English, 489.
Soldiers, common, their pay in Edward III's reign, ii. 513. in Henry V's time, iii. 126.
Solebay, a sea fight there, vii. 495.
Somerset, earl of, created, iii. 27. presents an appeal against the duke of Gloceſter, 34. made marquis of Dorset, 35.
—— duke of, enters into close connections with the Queen of Henry VI. ii. 344. succeeds to Suffolk's power in the ministry, 195. sent to the Tower, 206. released, and slain at the battle of St. Albans, 208.
—— duke of. See *Seymour*, Sir Edward.
—— duke of, his rise, vi. 3. his fall, 17.
—— duke of, a lord of the bed-chamber, dismissed from all his employments, viii. 254.
Soubise, his negotiation at London, vi. 171.
Southampton, earl of, created, iv. 191.
—— another created, iv. 305. See *Wriothesley*. puts the great seal in commission, ib. is deprived of his office of chancellor, fined, and confined, 306. is put out of the council, 307. by whom his credit with the protector was subverted, 342. meets at Ely-house with Warwic, and others, who assume the power of the council, 362. and force Somerset to resign, 364. he soon after dies of grief, 365.
—— made general of the horse to Queen Elizabeth, v. 430. meets with male-contents at Drury-house, 440. appears at Essex-house among the conspirators there, 442. arraigned, and condemned, 444. his life is spared, 449. detained in prison for privately marrying Essex's cousin, 484.
Spain, becomes formidable by the union of Arragon and Castile, iii. 351. and by its union with the Low-Countries, occasioned by the accession of Charles son of the emperor Maximilian, and the heiress of Burgundy, to the Spanish throne, 436, 437. and by the election of the Spanish monarch to the imperial dignity, iv. 21. war between Spain and France breaks out, 28. army of, besieges Bayonne in France, but is constrained to raise the siege, 56. expells the French out of Italy, 59. routs the French army at Pavia, and takes

takes the king priſoner, 63. a treaty between Spain and France, 72, 73. whereby the French king recovers his liberty, 73. war with France and England, 81. a general peace re-eſtabliſhed, 106. Spain enriched, by the conqueſt of Mexico and Peru, 107. by the Spaniſh king's influence with the Pope, Pole is created a cardinal, 203. enters into an alliance with England againſt France, 256. which gives riſe to a new war, ib. military operations of a Spaniſh army, joined with the Engliſh, againſt France, 259. military operations of, againſt France, 260. peace with France, 266. makes war with the proteſtant princes of Germany, 315. ſuffers great loſſes by that war, 410. Philip, prince of, married to Mary, Queen of England, 415. his marriage celebrated in Weſtminſter, 427. acceſſion of Philip to the throne of Spain, and other dominions of his father, 454. a truce with France broke by the French king, at the ſolicitation of the pope, 457. in which war, England joins with Spain againſt France, 462. negotiations for peace with France begun, 476. end in a peace, and marriage of the Spaniſh king with a princeſs of France, v. 13. perſecution of heretics in the dominions of Spain begins, 66. king of, ſupports the national religion of France, 69. forms a ſecret treaty with the houſe of Guiſe for that purpoſe, 71. a treaty of peace between Spain and England, 200. the revolt of Holland and Zealand, and other towns and provinces in the Low-Countries, 220, 221. mutinies in the Spaniſh armies in the Low-Countries, 224. a Spaniſh invaſion of Ireland, 237. Portugal added to Spain, 276. plantations of, pillaged by Drake, 279. an engagement between the Engliſh and Spaniſh armies in the Low-Countries, 280, 281. fleet of, deſtroyed at Cadiz, 338. great preparations in Spain for an invaſion of England, 341. their armada defeated, 355. fleet of, takes an Engliſh man of war, 376. which is the firſt they ever took, ib. war between Spain and France, 389. peace between France and Spain, 403. Spaniards arrive in Ireland, to ſupport the rebels there, 454. expulſion of, 454. depredations of, complained of in England, 556. a truce between Spain and Holland, 558. negotiation with England, about marriage and the Palatinate, vi. 45. the prince of Wales there, and careſſed by the Spaniſh monarch, 76. allowed to return, 78. a remarkable diſcourſe between the king of Spain and the earl of Briſtol, 90. war with England and Holland, 92. an expedition from England againſt Spain, 149. peace with England, 218. acts of hoſtility between England and Spain, vii. 259. war declared, 263. galleons of, taken, 264. armies of, defeated at Dunes, by the combined armies of France and England, 287. peace between France and Spain, 314. war breaks out again between theſe two powers, 440. peace again, 447. the king of, aſſiſts Holland againſt France, 511. unites with Holland and other powers, in a grand confederacy againſt France, viii. 268.

Spalato,

Spalato, archbiſhop of, turns proteſtant, vi. 136.

Spenſer, Hugh, his character, ii. 355. he becomes the King's favourite, and the object of the hatred of the barons, ib. effects of his avarice, 356, 357. he, with his father, is baniſhed by the parliament, 357. recalled by the king, 358. more inſtances of his avarice, 361. his father executed by the Queen's party, 367. he undergoes the ſame fate, 368. a detail of old Spenſer's loſſes in an inſurrection, 379. remarks on this detail, 381.

——— lord is created earl of Gloceſter, iii. 35, 36. degraded, 52, 68. conſpires againſt Henry IV. 68. ſlain, ib. 69.

——— an author, his character, v. 508, 509.

Spicer, Mr. his ſpeech in the houſe of commons, touching the prerogative, v. 459.

Stafford, earl of, tried, viii. 137. condemned, 139. executed, 140.

Staffords, Sir Humphrey and Thomas, head an inſurrection, iii. 337. the eldeſt is executed at Tyburn, ib. and the other flies to a ſanctuary, and is pardoned, ib.

St. Albans, firſt battle of, iii. 208. ſecond battle of, 218.

St. Andrews, beſieged by the queen regent's party, iii. 320. ſurrendered, 321.

Stanley, lord, accuſed by Clifford, as an abettor of Warbeck's impoſture, iii. 285. condemned and executed, 383.

Star-Chamber, court of, authority of, extended to the deciſion of private cauſes, ii. 507. how founded, iii. 418. ſtate of, in queen Elizabeth's reign, v. 473, 474. how they uſed their priſoners, 477. ſtate of, under James I. vi. 101. ſeverities of, 233. pronounces judgment againſt Prynne, 237. againſt Sir Anthony Roper, 241. Aliſon, &c. ib. againſt diſobeyers of proclamations, 243. condemns Baſtwick and Burton, 248. fines the biſhop of Lincoln, 247. prohibits vintners to ſell or dreſs victuals in their houſes, 249. obliges them to compound for diſobedience, ib. puniſhes Lilburn, 250. ſentences of, are reverſed in parliament, 316. it is aboliſhed, 356.

State, council of, its riſe, viii. 164. Its authority, 209.

Stealing. See *Theft*.

Stephen, a younger ſon of Adela, daughter of William the Conqueror, character of, i. 374, 375. he is crowned king of England, 376. grants a new charter to his ſubjects, 377. the methods he took to enſure his throne, ib. 378. violates the privileges of his ſubjects, 381. repulſes a Scots invaſion, ib. 382. obliges a nobleman and a biſhop to give up their fortreſſes, 383. Is ſummoned to appear before a ſynod at Weſtminſter, ib. falls out with his clergy, ib. is made a priſoner in battle with the empreſs Matilda's partizans, 386. is exchanged for earl Robert her brother, 390. his party is laid under a papal interdict, 391. effects of, ib. makes a compromiſe with

with Henry, Matilda's eldeſt ſon, 394. dies, ib. his character, ib. 395.

Stigand, archbiſhop of Canterbury, encourages the Engliſh to oppoſe the Normans, i. 247. is not allowed to be preſent at the coronation of William the Conqueror, 251. his character, 272. he is degraded by the pope's legate, 274.

St. John, knights of, obtain the poſſeſſion of the knights Templars, ii. 376.

St. Omers, battle of, viii. 26.

St. Thomas, of Canterbury, legend of, iv. 195, 196.

Strafford, Earl of, made preſident of the council of York, vi. 223. lord lieutenant of Ireland, ib. and general of the army againſt the Scots, 297. his conduct, 303. he is impeached, 305. thrown into the Tower, 309. a committee of both houſes prepare a charge againſt him, 333. privy counſellors examined againſt him, ib. 334. articles of impeachment drawn up againſt him, 335. they are repelled by his apology, 338. a bill of attainder is brought into the houſe of commons againſt him, 346. the methods uſed to make it paſs, ib. a new diſcovery that then happened, greatly contributes towards the ſucceſs of this meaſure, 348. the then circumſtances of the houſe of lords, 349. the bill paſſes that houſe, ib. a fatal ſtep taken by Strafford, 350. the king conſents to the bill, 351. the earl is executed, 353.

Stratford, archbiſhop, diſobliges king Edward III. ii. 422. his conduct on the king's landing from France, 424. is reconciled to the king, ib.

Strickland's motion for a reformation of the liturgy, how received, v. 181. how agreeable to queen Elizabeth, ib.

Strigul, Earl of, his agreement with the king of Leinſter, i. 453. makes himſelf maſter of Dublin, 460. becomes poſſeſſed of the kingdom of Leinſter, by his marriage with the heireſs, ib. routs the king of Connaught's army, ib. is ſo overawed by Longchamp, that he dares not produce the king's mandate, appointing him counſellor to that nobleman, ii. 18. aſſiſts John to mount the Engliſh throne, 42. now earl of Pembroke, lays a plan for the relief of Chateau Gaillard, 53. is diſappointed, 54.

Stuart, his correſpondence with Fagal, viii. 270.

Subſidies and *Fifteenths*, the king conſents that they be diſpoſed of by a committee of parliament, vi. 85. riſe of, 115, 116. changed into a land-tax, 116. four for the laſt time voted, vii. 409.

Succeſſion of the crown, ſettled in Henry VIII's time, by act of parliament, iv. 215, 216. further ſettlement of, 262. changed by patent, 389. another ſettlement of, 407.

Suetonius Paulinus, made governor of Britain, i. 7. his adminiſtration, 8. recalled, 9.

Suffolk, Earl of, chancellor of England, impeached by the houſe of commons, iii. 16. the frivolous charge brought againſt him, 17. deprived of his office, 18.

Suffolk, another, appointed commander of the Engliſh army beſieging Orleans, iii. 145. obtains a large convoy of proviſions for the uſe of the beſiegers, 146, 147. dares not venture to attack the convoy directed by the Maid of Orleans, for the uſe of the town, 153. his army is daunted, ib. he is made a priſoner, 156. diſpatched to Tours to negotiate a peace, 176. promotes the king's marriage with Margaret of Anjou, 178. in conjunction with the queen and Wincheſter's partizans, reſolves on the duke of Gloceſter's ruin, ib. is promoted to the ducal dignity, ib. becomes the object of the public hatred, 190. his defence when impeached, 192. he is baniſhed the kingdom, 195. murdered, ib.

——— Duke of, hiſtory of, iii. 412. conſpires againſt Henry VII. and leaves the kingdom, 413. returns, and is committed to the Tower, 414. beheaded, 459.

——— Duke of, created, iii. 467. marries Margaret, queen-dowager of France, and younger ſiſter of Henry VIII. 472. is offended with the king, and retires from court, iv. 4. commands in an expedition againſt France, 5. is one of the jury that tries and condemns Anne Boleyn, 173. commands forces againſt inſurgents, 186. remonſtrates againſt the cruelty of the ſix articles, 218. his ſpouſe, the queen-dowager, dies, 276. dies, ib.

——— Duke of, ſon of the former, accompanies the duke of Northumberland at the proclamation of lady Jane Gray, iv. 395. is taken into cuſtody, and recovers his liberty, 400. engages in a conſpiracy againſt queen Mary, and ſecretly leaves London, 417. is brought back a priſoner, ib. tried, condemned, and executed, 422.

——— Earl of, created, vi. 6.

Sultan, Solyman, his negotiation with the king of France, diſcovered by that monarch to the king of Spain, iv. 229. information of this perfidy ſent to the ſultan by the king of Spain, ib. 230.

Sunderland, Earl of, made ſecretary of ſtate, viii. 100. favours the excluſioniſts, 130. is brought again into the adminiſtration, ib. is continued by James II. 211.

Surrey, Earl of, is made treaſurer, iii. 431. character of, ib. is ſent to the borders, to put them in a poſture of defence, 452. commands the main body of the Engliſh at the battle of Flouden, 466. is created duke of Norfolk, 467. See *Norfolk*.

——— eldeſt ſon of the former, obtains the title of earl of Surrey, iii. 467. is made admiral of the Spaniſh dominions, iv. 43. commands in an invaſion of Scotland, 46. but cannot make himſelf maſter of one place, ib. attends the king in an expedition againſt France, 266. is left in France, behind the king, and made governor of Boulogne, 283. his trial, character, and execution, 284.

Suſſex, kingdom of, formed, i. 54. falls under the dominion of Weſſex, ib.

——— Earl of, appointed a commiſſioner to try the cauſe between Mary queen of Scots and the Scots nation, v. 137. by letters, diſcourages Mary's party in Scotland, 177. concerts with the French

ambaſſador the terms of the marriage contracted between the queen and the duke of Anjou, 245. how regarded by the queen, ib.

Supremacy of the king, declared in parliament, iv. 131, 132. penalty of denying it to Edward VI. 329. title of, for ſome time, retained by queen Mary, 407. at length left out of the ſummons to parliament, 428. penalties enacted againſt ſuch as refuſe that title to queen Elizabeth, v. 11.

Sweden, a treaty with that kingdom, relative to commerce, iv. 376. king of, propoſed as a huſband to queen Mary of England, 473. a treaty of peace between the king of Sweden and Poland, vii. 254. large dominions in Germany added to Sweden, ib. king of, obtains a great victory at Warſau, ib. makes an alliance with England, 260. accedes to a league between England and Holland, 445. and to the treaty of Aix la Chapelle, 447. armies of, invade Pomerania, viii. 19. is included in the treaty of Nimeguen, 45.

Sweyn, king of Denmark, in conjunction with Olave, king of Norway, invades England, i. 141. takes up his quarters in Southampton, 142. ſoon after Olave's departure, he evacuates the kingdom with his followers, ib. invades England again, 151. a treaty of peace is purchaſed, by payment of thirty thouſand pounds, 152. he dies, 154.

Swiſs, confederates with the duchy of Milan, and incite the Milaneſe to revolt from France, iii. 449. enter France with a formidable army, but are bought off by large preſents, 462. retain their animoſity againſt the French, and take the reſtored duke of Milan under their protection, iv. 10. are beaten by the French at Marignan, ib. diſguſt the duke of Milan, by their tyranny, 11. a great body of them is hired by the French king, and deſert his intereſt, 58.

T.

TANCRED, king of Meſſina, his fears, when the cruſaders take ſhelter in his dominions, ii. 10. his inſidious behaviour on that occaſion, ib. 11. it proves ineffectual, 12.

Taneſts, nature of, v. 375.

Tangiers, given by the king of Portugal, to king Charles II. in dowry with a Portugueſe princeſs, vii. 388.

Taxes, ſtate of, in the reign of Edward I. ii. 335. encreaſed by Edward III. at his pleaſure, 507. how impoſed, under the houſe of Lancaſter, iii. 128. impoſed by Henry VII. without conſent of parliament, iv. 49. one grievous, impoſed on the whole kingdom, 346, 347. ſtate of, in England, during the commonwealth, vii. 346.

Taunton beſieged, vii. 55. relieved, ib. beſieged again, ib. relieved again, 60.

Taylor, biſhop of Lincoln, refuſes to kneel at the celebration of maſs, in the face of the parliament, and is violently thruſt out of the houſe, iv. 407.

——— Doctor, accuſes Lambert, a ſchool-maſter, of hereſy, iv. 207. effect of this ſtep, 208, 209.

——— Parſon, of Hadley, his conſtancy in ſuffering, iv. 442.

Templars, knights, order of, baniſhed from France, ii. 374.

Temple, Sir William, preſident at Bruſſels, goes to the Hague, vii. 443; negotiates the triple league, 445, 446. makes peace at Aix la Chapelle, 447. is recalled, 477. his remonſtrance, viii. 6. is again ſent abroad, 8. returns to England, 33. plans a peace, 35. in Holland, makes a conditional peace, 42. concludes a definitive treaty of peace at Nimeguen, 45. adviſes the king to nominate a new privy-council, 99. retires from court, 120. his character as an author, 325, 326.

Tenets and *Tenures*, military, firſt introduced into England, ii. 108. in capite by knight's ſervice, nature of, 117.

Terouane, beſieged by the Engliſh, iii. 460. ſurrendered, 462. fortifications of, demoliſhed, ib.

Tewkeſbury, battle of, iii. 261.

Texel, a ſea-fight there, vii. 519. French conduct there, 520. victory of doubtful, 521.

Thanes, what, and how diſtinguiſhed, i. 224.

Theft, how puniſhed among the Anglo-Saxons, i. 237.

Theobald, archbiſhop of Canterbury, made legate of England, i. 391. his death, 409. effects of, 410.

Theodore, archbiſhop of Canterbury, calls a ſynod at Hatfield, i. 66. acts of it, ib.

Tholouſe, count of, his territories invaded by Richard, ſon of Henry II. i. 491.

Thomas a Becket, hiſtory of, i. 410. made chancellor, ib. greatly aggrandized, 411, 412. promoted to the ſee of Canterbury, 413. his behaviour on that occaſion, 414. he attacks the earl of Clare, and William of Eynsford, 415. by the king's order, is forced to abſolve William of Eynsford, 416. the then ſtate of eccleſiaſtic government, ib. 417. a quarrel ariſes between the king and Becket, about the privileges of the church, 418. he oppoſes the king in a national ſynod, 419. is prevailed on to ſign the conſtitutions of Clarendon, 423. but repents of his compliance, ib. is condemned in a ſynod of prelates and barons, 426. conſults with his ſuffragans, about a demand of money made on him by the king, 427. his extraordinary behaviour thereon, 428, 429. he leaves the kingdom, 431. his reception beyond the ſeas, 432. tranſactions between the pope and him, ib. 433. his other conduct, 434. the uſe he makes of his legatine commiſſion, 436. he oppoſes a reconciliation between the

the king and the pope, 438, 439. makes a compromise with the king, 440. his behaviour relative to the coronation of prince Henry, 441, 442. his triumphal return into England, 443. he excommunicates prelates and others, ib. 444. is assassinated at the altar, 446. canonized by the pope, 451. the punishment of his murderers, 483. his shrine is held in great veneration, iv. 196. how regarded by Henry VIII. 197. legend of. See *St. Thomas*.

Throcmorton, Sir John, tried, and condemned, iv. 422.

——— Sir Nicholas, tried, and acquitted, iv. 422. but re-committed to the Tower, ib. released, 429. ambassador at Paris, discovers to queen Elizabeth the hostile intentions of the French, v. 35. in vain, makes applications to Mary queen of Scots, for a ratification of the treaty of Edinburgh, 44. his conversation, when alone, with Mary queen of Scots, 44, 45. effect thereof, 46. orders Darnley, upon his allegiance, to appear in England, 88. joins in an application to queen Elizabeth, to declare her successor, 107. sent again into Scotland, to mediate between the queen and insurgents, 123. the purport of his remonstrance on that occasion, ib. 124. supports the mildest proposals, and offers his mistress as guarantee of the accommodation, 126.

Tillage, state of, in the reign of Edward II. ii. 379. in the reign of Henry VIII. iv. 298.

Tindal, flies to Antwerp, iv. 142. how employed there, ib. how furnished with money to translate the scriptures, ib. 143. how dangerous this work is to the Roman faith, ib.

Tirrel, Sir James, undertakes the murder of Edward V. and his brother, the duke of York, iii. 294. commits the murder, ib. is executed for another crime, 413.

Tithes, first established in England, i. 75. enlarged beyond the Levitical law, 76.

Toleration, disputed of, by the ministers of queen Mary, iv. 434. reasons for it, 435—438. against it, 438—440. it is rejected, 440.

Tongue, his information, viii. 62, 63.

Tonnage and *Poundage*, duties of, granted to Henry V. for life, iii. 109. to Richard III. for life, 305. history of, v. 562, 563. rates of, altered, ib. remonstrated against, 564. complained of again, vi. 181. another remonstrance against it, vi. 199. state of, under Charles I. 205. barons, and others, and custom house officers, troubled about it, 214. it is made dependent on the pleasure of parliament, 329. granted to king Charles II. for life, vii. 363. to James II. for the same term, viii. 217.

Tonstal, bishop of London, afterwards of Durham, is sent to Madrid, with proposals for an invasion of France, iv. 66. his contrivance to supply Tindal with money, when translating the scriptures, 143. opposes Cranmer in the convocation, 180. disputes with Lambert in Westminster Hall, 209. is appointed one of the regency of Edward VI.

VI. 302. diſplaced from the council board, 314. character of, 383. thrown into the Tower, and a bill of attainder paſt in the houſe of peers againſt him, ib. which is rejected in the houſe of commons, ib. deprived of his biſhopric, 385. releaſed from the Tower, on Mary's acceſſion, 401. re-inſtated in his ſee, 403.

——— Sir Richard, carries to the French propoſals for an accommodation, iii. 360.

Torture, how uſual in queen Elizabeth's reign, v. 477.

Tory and *Whig*, when and how theſe diſtinctions aroſe, viii. 123.

Toſti, duke of Northumberland, elder brother to Harold, his cruelties, i. 189. he flies to the court of Baldwin, earl of Flanders, 191. infeſts the coaſts of England, 202. defeated by Harold, and ſlain in battle, 203.

Tournaments. See *Knight*. one at Paris, in which the king is ſlain, v. 20.

Tournay, a city of Flanders, deſcription of, ii. 417. cloſely beſieged by the Engliſh, ib. relieved by a negotiation, 419. beſieged and taken by Henry VIII. iii. 463. reſtored to France, iv. 16.

Touton, battle of, iii. 226.

Towns, cautionary, bound to Queen Elizabeth, v. 225. retained in her hands, greatly check the growing power of the Dutch, 390. delivered up by James I. vi. 20.

——— maritime, ordered to equip ſhips, vi. 162.

Townſend's extract of ſpeeches in the houſe, in Queen Elizabeth's reign, recapitulated, v. 459.—463.

Traquaire, earl of, intercepts a letter, vi. 280. effects of, 281.

Trade, ſtate of, in the reign of James I. v. 534. board of, erected, vi. 123. See *Commerce*.

Treaſon and *Rebellion*, how puniſhed among the Anglo-Saxons, i. 237. how limited by parliament, in the reign of Edward III. ii. 503. extended beyond the three caſes in Edward III's reign, iv. 132. further extended, 179. 239. appointed to be tried in any county where the king pleaſes, 240. ſtate of, during Henry VIII's reign, 290. all relative to it repealed, ſince the ſtatute of Edward III. 328.

Treſilian, Sir Robert, gives his opinion in law, concerning the validity of the king's commiſſion to Gloceſter's faction, iii. 19. is condemned to death by the peers, 22.

Treves, taken by the Imperialiſts, viii. 18.

Tranſtamere, Henry, natural brother of Peter, king of Caſtile, ſeeks refuge in France, ii. 490. is protected and aſſiſted by the king of France, 492. becomes king of Caſtile, by the murder of his brother, 494.

Tromp, a Dutch admiral, fights Blake at Dover, vii. 220. beats him at the Godwin, 222, 223. is beaten in the channel, 223. on the coaſt of Holland, 243. in another engagement there, ſlain, ib.

Tromp, Van, his ſon, is beaten by the duke of York, v. 412. beats the duke of Albemarle, 419. is beaten by Albemarle, 422. his commiſſion is taken from him, 423. under De Ruyter, fights the Engliſh at the Texel, 519.

Troops, diſciplined, firſt mentioned to be kept in England, i. 125.

Troye, treaty of, iii. 116.

Truro, five thouſand royaliſts ſurrender there, vii. 62.

Tudor, Sir Owen, marries Henry V's widow, iii. 124. he is beheaded, 218.

Tumults, encouraged by the houſe of commons, vii. 409. 410. a difference made between tumultuary petitioners on one and the other ſide, 411.

Turcomans, or Turks, their behaviour to chriſtian pilgrims, i. 314, 315. effects of, in rouſing the chriſtians to cruſading, 315. the firſt ſucceſs of theſe cruſades, 332, 333. See *Cruſades*.

Turkey-Company, a trading company of merchants, patent of, granted, v. 498.

Turenne, marſhal, conquers divers towns, vii. 498, 499. is overreached by the Imperialiſts, 521. beats them at Sintzeim, viii. 9. prevents them from paſſing the Rhine, ib. is ſlain, ib.

Turner, his trial, viii. 108.

Turnholt, battle of, v. 390.

Tutbury, Mary, Queen of Scots, confined there, 152.

Tweddale, marquis of, his adminiſtration in Scotland, viii. 265.

Tyler and *Straw*, their inſurrection, iii. 8. Tyler is ſlain, 10. and the inſurrection ſuppreſſed, ib. 11.

Tyrconnel, an Iriſh papiſt, made lord lieutenant of Ireland, viii. 243. his adminiſtration there, 244, 245.

Tyrone, earl of, rebels againſt Queen Elizabeth, v. 417, 418. troops under Eſſex, are raiſed in England to quell it, 420. ſent over to Ireland, 421. the further progreſs of the inſurrection, 422, 423. a truce between Eſſex and Tyrone, 424. further progreſs of the rebellion, 428, 429. Mountjoy is ſent to Ireland, in order to quell it, 429. Spaniards land to the aid of Tyrone, 454. a joint body of Spaniards and inſurgents, is defeated, 455. the earl ſurrenders himſelf to the Queen's mercy, and is pardoned, 466.

Tyrrel, Walter, by accident, kills William Rufus, king of England, i. 328. and goes to the holy war, ib.

U.

ULSTER, county of, a rebellion there, v. 415. a victory obtained by the rebels, over the Engliſh, greatly elates their ſpirits, 419. forces levied in England, to be tranſported to Ireland, in order to act againſt them under Eſſex's command, 420, 421. a ceſſation of arms concluded with them, 424. lord Mountjoy ſent againſt them, 429. ſubmiſſion of the rebels, 466. the whole county becomes

VI. 302. diſplaced from the council board, 314. character of, 383. thrown into the Tower, and a bill of attainder paſt in the houſe of peers againſt him, ib. which is rejected in the houſe of commons, ib. deprived of his biſhopric, 385. releaſed from the Tower, on Mary's acceſſion, 401. re-inſtated in his ſee, 403.

——— Sir Richard, carries to the French propoſals for an accommodation, iii. 360.

Torture, how uſual in queen Elizabeth's reign, v. 477.

Tory and *Whig*, when and how theſe diſtinctions aroſe, viii. 123.

Toſti, duke of Northumberland, elder brother to Harold, his cruelties, i. 189. he flies to the court of Baldwin, earl of Flanders, 191. infeſts the coaſts of England, 202. defeated by Harold, and ſlain in battle, 203.

Tournaments. See *Knight*. one at Paris, in which the king is ſlain, v. 20.

Tournay, a city of Flanders, deſcription of, ii. 417. cloſely beſieged by the Engliſh, ib. relieved by a negotiation, 419. beſieged and taken by Henry VIII. iii. 463. reſtored to France, iv. 16.

Touton, battle of, iii. 226.

Towns, cautionary, bound to Queen Elizabeth, v. 225. retained in her hands, greatly check the growing power of the Dutch, 390. delivered up by James I. vi. 20.

——— maritime, ordered to equip ſhips, vi. 162.

Townſend's extract of ſpeeches in the houſe, in Queen Elizabeth's reign, recapitulated, v. 459.—463.

Traquaire, earl of, intercepts a letter, vi. 280. effects of, 281.

Trade, ſtate of, in the reign of James I. v. 534. board of, erected, vi. 123. See *Commerce*.

Treaſon and *Rebellion*, how puniſhed among the Anglo-Saxons, i. 237. how limited by parliament, in the reign of Edward III. ii. 503. extended beyond the three caſes in Edward III's reign, iv. 132. further extended, 179. 239. appointed to be tried in any county where the king pleaſes, 240. ſtate of, during Henry VIII's reign, 290. all relative to it repealed, ſince the ſtatute of Edward III. 328.

Treſilian, Sir Robert, gives his opinion in law, concerning the validity of the king's commiſſion to Gloceſter's faction, iii. 19. is condemned to death by the peers, 22.

Treves, taken by the Imperialiſts, viii. 18.

Tranſtamere, Henry, natural brother of Peter, king of Caſtile, ſeeks refuge in France, ij. 490. is protected and aſſiſted by the king of France, 492. becomes king of Caſtile, by the murder of his brother, 494.

Tromp, a Dutch admiral, fights Blake at Dover, vii. 220. beats him at the Godwin, 222, 223. is beaten in the channel, 223. on the coaſt of Holland, 243. in another engagement there, ſlain, ib.

Tromp, Van, his ſon, is beaten by the duke of York, v. 412. beats the duke of Albemarle, 419. is beaten by Albemarle, 422. his commiſſion is taken from him, 423. under De Ruyter, fights the Engliſh at the Texel, 519.

Troops, diſciplined, firſt mentioned to be kept in England, i. 125.

Troye, treaty of, iii. 116.

Truro, five thouſand royaliſts ſurrender there, vii. 62.

Tudor, Sir Owen, marries Henry V's widow, iii. 124. he is beheaded, 218.

Tumults, encouraged by the houſe of commons, vii. 409. 410. a difference made between tumultuary petitioners on one and the other ſide, 411.

Turcomans, or Turks, their behaviour to chriſtian pilgrims, i. 314, 315. effects of, in rouſing the chriſtians to cruſading, 315. the firſt ſucceſs of theſe cruſades, 332, 333. See *Cruſades*.

Turkey-Company, a trading company of merchants, patent of, granted, v. 498.

Turenne, marſhal, conquers divers towns, vii. 498, 499. is overreached by the Imperialiſts, 521. beats them at Sintzeim, viii. 9. prevents them from paſſing the Rhine, ib. is ſlain, ib.

Turner, his trial, viii. 108.

Turnhelt, battle of, v. 390.

Tutbury, Mary, Queen of Scots, confined there, 152.

Tweddale, marquis of, his adminiſtration in Scotland, viii. 265.

Tyler and *Straw*, their inſurrection, iii. 8. Tyler is ſlain, 10. and the inſurrection ſuppreſſed, ib. 11.

Tyrconnel, an Iriſh papiſt, made lord lieutenant of Ireland, viii. 243. his adminiſtration there, 244, 245.

Tyrone, earl of, rebels againſt Queen Elizabeth, v. 417, 418. troops under Eſſex, are raiſed in England to quell it, 420. ſent over to Ireland, 421. the further progreſs of the inſurrection, 422, 423. a truce between Eſſex and Tyrone, 424. further progreſs of the rebellion, 428, 429. Mountjoy is ſent to Ireland, in order to quell it, 429. Spaniards land to the aid of Tyrone, 454. a joint body of Spaniards and inſurgents, is defeated, 455. the earl ſurrenders himſelf to the Queen's mercy, and is pardoned, 466.

Tyrrel, Walter, by accident, kills William Rufus, king of England, i. 328. and goes to the holy war, ib.

U.

ULSTER, county of, a rebellion there, v. 415. a victory obtained by the rebels, over the Engliſh, greatly elates their ſpirits, 419. forces levied in England, to be tranſported to Ireland, in order to act againſt them under Eſſex's command, 420, 421. a ceſſation of arms concluded with them, 424. lord Mountjoy ſent againſt them, 429. ſubmiſſion of the rebels, 466. the whole county becomes

the property of the crown by forfeitures, 576. an inſurrection there, vi. 372. dreadful conſequences of, ib. 373. it ſpreads all over Ireland, the city of Dublin only excepted, 376. the behaviour of the Engliſh, of the pale, on that occaſion, 378. a further account of this inſurrection, 477, 478. a ceſſation of arms concluded with the inſurgents, 480. the inſurrection is quelled, vii. 213.

Udal, a puritanical preacher, his ſingular caſe, v. 486, 487.

Uniformity, act of, paſſed, vii. 384.

Union of England and Scotland, attempted in the reign of James I. v. 536. in the reign of Charles II. vii. 467.

United Provinces, formed, v. 220. ſtates offer their ſovereignty to Queen Elizabeth, 274. conclude a league with her, 276. receive from England ſuccours, headed by the earl of Leiceſter, and chuſe him governor, 278. are much diſcontented with his conduct, and diſcouraged by his ill ſucceſs, 281. chuſe Maurice, Prince of Orange, governor of the United Provinces, 340. recover ſome towns from the duke of Parma, 372. ſend ambaſſadors to France, in order to remonſtrate againſt a peace with Spain, 402. make a treaty with France and England, 516. peace with Spain, 557. obtain reſtitution of the cautionary towns from James I. vi. 20. in conjunction with England, they make war with Spain, 92. their people maſſacre ours at Aboyna, 125. they pay for a licence to fiſh in our ſeas for one year, 244. their ſtate, at the commencement of the Engliſh commonwealth, vii. 217. they make war with England, 220, 221. carry it on with great ſucceſs. See *De Ruyter* and *Tromp.* their embaſſadors endeavour to renew a peace with England, 238. conclude one, 244. are voted by the houſe of commons, violaters of the peace, 405. their depredations are complained of, 408. four of their ſettlements are taken by the Engliſh, ib. 409. their ſhips are ſtopt in Engliſh harbours, 410. war is formally declared againſt them, 412. See *De Ruyter* and *Tromp.* they burn the Engliſh fleet at Chatham, 430. inſult the Engliſh coaſts, ib. 431. make peace with England at Breda, 432. make a league with England and Sweden againſt France, 445. a peace with France at Aix-la-chapelle, 447. a confederacy is made againſt them by France and England, 475. war is declared againſt them by England, 490. by France, ib. 491. See *De Ruyter* and *Tromp.* three of their provinces are over-run by the French king, 503. See *Orange*, prince of, *William.* they chuſe the prince of Orange Stadtholder, 505. the De Witts are maſſacred in Holland, 507. the ſtates obtain aſſiſtance from the emperor, 510. and from Spain, 511. make peace with France, viii. 45. make an alliance at Augſburgh with Spain, and other powers, againſt France and other powers, 269. aſſiſt the prince of Orange to relieve Great Britain, 276, 277.

Univerſities, many conſulted about the validity of Henry VIII's marriage, iv. 110. their anſwer favourable to the king, 112, 113.
Unton, Sir Henry, ambaſſador to the court of France, his converſation with Henry IV. v. 436, 437.
Urban, pope of Rome, his title diſputed by Clement, alſo pretending to the pontificate, i. 325. he kindly receives Anſelm, archbiſhop of Canterbury, ib.
——— III. dies of grief, and why, i. 490.
——— IV. grants the king an aid out of the eccleſiaſtical revenue, ii. 242.
Urry, his diſcovery, vii. 50. he heads the Covenanters in the battle of Inverneſs, againſt Montroſe, ib. is put to death, 189.
Uſury, a law againſt it made, iv. 380.
Utopia of Sir Thomas Moore, an extract out of it about encloſures, iv. 353.
Uxbridge, treaty of, there began, vii. 31. broke off, 36.
Valence, biſhop of, made chancellor of Scotland, iii. 3. another, ſigns a treaty, whereby it is ſtipulated, that the French ſhall evacuate Scotland, v. 37.
Vane, Sir Henry, ſecretary, his imprudence in the houſe of commons, vi. 288. effects of, ib. his behaviour on Strafford's tryal, 343. his evidence on that occaſion, 344. effects of, 346.
——— his ſon, character of, vi. 313. his behaviour on Strafford's tryal, 345. he contrives the ſolemn league and covenant, 474. becomes a leader of the independents, vii. 20. his ſpeech in the houſe of commons, previous to the new model, 24. is nominated a member of the council of ſtate, 164. becomes head of the republican party, 322. is confined, ib. his tryal, 390. his ſentence, 392. his execution, ib. 393. his character as an author, ib.
Vane, Sir Ralph, arreſted and accuſed of high treaſon, iv. 377. tried, condemned, and executed, 380.
Van Paris, accuſed of arianiſm, and burnt, iv. 350.
Vaſſals, at what rate obliged to ranſom their over-lord, ii. 29. their duty to their lord by their tenure, 118. how, and by whom repreſented in parliament, 119.
Vendome, duke, a French general, his prudence in war, iv. 44.
Venice and *Venetians*, a great commonwealth, a deſcription of it, iii. 438. a great conſpiracy formed there, ib. try to obtain peace, but prepare for war, 439. embrace the French alliance, iv. 13. deſert that alliance, and form an engagement for ſecuring the dukes of Milan in that dutchy, 53. are obliged to relinquiſh their acquiſitions on the coaſt of Naples, 107. negotiations of, with the French king, diſcovered to the Emperor by that prince, 229. the ſenate is informed of this, ib.
Vere, Sir Francis, commands the Engliſh auxiliaries at the battle of Turnholt, v. 390.

Verneuil, battle of, iii. 137.
Vervins, peace of, v. 403.
Victor and *Alexander*, popes. See *Alexander* and *Victor*.
Vidomar, viſcount of Limoges, rebels againſt Richard I. ii. 35. the ſevere vengeance taken of his crime, 36.
Villains, what, i. 226. their condition, how changed, ii. 106.
Villiers, George, his character, vi. 14. is made cup-bearer to the king, 15. is created duke of Buckingham, 18. See *Buckingham*.
Vintners, how uſed in the court of ſtar-chamber, vi. 249. the methods they purſued with that court, ib.
Virginia, ſettlement of, attempted, v. 503. and when effected, ib.
Vivres, value of, before the conqueſt, i. 242, 243. price of, in Edward II's reign, ii. 377. in the reign of Henry VIII. iv. 298. in the reign of James I. vi. 119.
Vortigern, prince of Dummonium, his advice to the Britains, i. 16. he is depoſed, 20. dies, 21.
Vortimer, ſucceeds Vortigern, i. 20. dies, 21.
Vowel's conſpiracy, vii. 245.

W.

WAKEFIELD, battle of, iii. 27.
Wakeman's trial, viii. 110.
Wallace, Sir William, gathers an army to oppoſe the Engliſh in Scotland, ii. 310. his authority is confirmed by the abſence of the great nobles, 311. he gains a victory over the Engliſh, and is made regent of Scotland, 313. the Scots army, headed by him, is routed by the Engliſh at Falkirk, 315. he holds a conference with young Bruce, 316. ſuffers as a traitor at London, 322. See *Scotland*.
Walcot's trial, viii. 184.
Wales, the turbulent nature of its princes, ii. 199. a hiſtory of them, 200, 201. after the defeat of its prince Llewellyn, it is annexed to the Engliſh crown, 247. natives of, are obliged to make ſatisfaction for incurſions, 445. Glendour's inſurrection there, iii. 72. that rebel enters into a league with the earl of Northumberland, againſt Henry IV. 74. the great juriſdictions there, are aboliſhed, and authority of the king's courts extended into that principality, iv. 162. ſtate of its clergy under the republic, vii. 210.
Wales, prince of, Edward, eldeſt ſon of Edward III. is left guardian of the realm during his father's abſence in France, ii. 413. afterwards in another journey, goes to France with his father, 439. is made a knight, 440. commands the firſt line of his father's forces at the battle of Crecy, 444. his gallant behaviour there, 448. the motto of his creſt, how, and on what occaſion there got, 450. his warlike operations at the head of an army in France, 466. he penetrates into the heart of France, 469. prepares for battle with the

the French king, 470. diſcomfits and makes him a priſoner, 472. receives him courteouſly, 473, 474. preſents his royal priſoner to his father in London, 475. reſtores the baniſhed king of Caſtile, 492. oppreſſes his ſubjects of the dutchy of Aquitain, ceded to him by his father, 494. his reply to the ſummons of the French king, 496. his growing infirmities render him unfit for military ſervice, 497. his death, 499. and character, ib. 500.

Waller, Edmund, his conſpiracy, vi. 462. his puniſhment, 463.

——— Sir William, general in the parliaments' army, character of, vi. 449. and acts of valour, ib. 450. is routed at Roundway down, 454. re-employed, 465. defeats a party of the king's at Cherrington, vii. 8. is repulſed at Cropey bridge, 15. joins Eſſex and Middleton, and attacks the king at Newbury, 16. regards with horror the ſcheme of the independents, aud promotes a plan of accommodation, 20. reſigns his command, 27. enters into a conſpiracy againſt the protector, 289.

Waller, poet, character of, vii. 354.

Wallingford houſe, a cabal of, vii. 303.

Walſingham, countenances puritans, v. 161. ambaſſador at Paris, diſcovers to queen Elizabeth, the duplicity of that court, 209. is ordered to concert with the French ambaſſador, the terms of the marriage-contract between the queen and the duke of Anjou, 245. what information he receives before the terms are ſettled, 247, 248. how therein interrupted by the varying reſolutions of the queen, 247. he diſcovers an extreme averſion to the marriage, 249. is ſent ambaſſador into Scotland, 259. diſcovers conſpiracies againſt queen Elizabeth, 261. concludes a treaty at Edinburgh, 284. his advice to king James, then king of Scotland, 285. diſcovers Babington's conſpiracy, 292, 293. his politic behaviour to Babington, 294. urges an open trial of queen Mary, 295. copies of Mary's letters, which he had intercepted, taken out of his office, and produced on her trial, 302. his character greatly relied on in that caſe, 305. ſpeech of, on Mary's trial, 307. the character that princeſs gives of him, ib. his judicious letter to Thurleſtan, after Mary's execution, 335. he oppoſes an improvement in the revenue, 494.

Walter, archbiſhop of Rouen, is appointed by Richard I. counſellor to Longchamp, but dares not produce his commiſſion, ii. 17, 18. is made juſticiary of the kingdom, in the room of Longchamp, 18. diſappoints pope John's treaſonable deſigns againſt Richard, 27. accompanies queen Eleanor to Germany, when going to relieve Richard, 30.

Walton Church, the ſingular behaviour of a preacher there, vii. 172.

Waltheof, earl of, rebels againſt William the Conqueror, i. 266. ſubmits, 267. diſcovers in confeſſion to Lanfranc, a new conſpiracy of

Norman barons, 283. afterwards goes to Normandy, and there diſcovers it to the Conqueror, 284. is put to death, 285.

Warbec, Perkin, hiſtory of, and reception from the dutcheſs of Burgundy, iii. 374. is ſent into Portugal, where he remains for a year, 375. aſſumes the name of Richard Plantagenet, and is avowed by the dutcheſs of Burgundy, and others, 376. and by many of the Engliſh nobility, 378. the impoſtor is diſcovered by Henry VII. 379. and many of his aſſociates in England executed on that account, 389, 381. lord Stanley executed on that account, 382. the effect of this execution on the nation, and on the other conſpirators, 383. he anchors on the coaſt with ſeveral followers, but dares not land, 384, 385. goes to the court of Scotland with grand recommendations, 390. where he is married to lady Catherine Gordon, a near kinſwoman of James IV. ib. a Scots invaſion of England, in his favour, is repulſed, 396. is requeſted by the king to depart Scotland, 397. invades England, 398. is taken priſoner, together with his ſpouſe, 400. impriſoned, and breaks priſon, 401. taken and executed, 402.

Wardſhips, origin of, ii. 122. a law regulating them, iv. 163. a full explanation of their nature, v. 481. anulled, v. 535.

Warham, archbiſhop of Canterbury, character of, iv. 3. he reſigns the great ſeal, which is entruſted with Wolſey, ib. he ventures to inform the king of Wolſey's uſurpations, 19. gives his opinion againſt the legality of the king's marriage, 89. his authority as co-legate with Cranmer in this affair, is revoked, 92. his death, 122.

Warrenne, earl of, joins prince Edward in ſupport of the royal cauſe, ii. 204. upon the loſs of the battle of Lewes, flies beyond the ſeas, 209. returns, and ſignalizes himſelf againſt the Scots, 292. is made governor of Scotland, 293. marches againſt the Scots revolters, headed by Wallace, 311. is defeated, and forced to leave Scotland, 312. joins the Lancaſtrian party againſt Gavaſton, 345.

Warſau, battle of, vii. 254.

Warwic, is obliged to raiſe the ſiege of Montargis in France, iii. 143. appointed governor of all the French provinces a little before his death, 174.

——— another condemned by the peers, but pardoned by the king, iii. 34.

——— another, one of the greateſt noblemen in the kingdom, iii. 188. ſtiled king-maker, ib. his numerous retainers, 189. is invited to court, but on the road, hearing his enemies deſigns againſt him, retires to his government of Calais, 209. comes back, but ſoon flies again to his government, 211. brings over to London a choice body of veterans, but is forced again to fly back to his government, 212. lands again in England, and in a battle at Northampton, takes the king, Henry VI. priſoner, 213. is defeated by the queen

queen at St. Albans, 218. and attainted, 222. jointly with Edward IV. defeats the Yorkiſts at Touton, 226. is ſent to Paris, to negociate a marriage between the king and a princeſs of France, 237. is greatly diſguſted with the king's marriage with Jane Gray, 238. aſſociates with himſelf the duke of Clarence, 239. continues in truſt under the king, 245. rebels againſt him, 246. on his withdrawing to France, is denied acceſs at Calais, 248. enters into a confederacy with the French king, 250. returns to England at the head of French forces, 251. becomes maſter of the kingdom, 252. cauſes Henry VI. to be proclaimed king, 254. marches to the North, to encounter Edward IV. 258. is ſlain at the battle of Barnet, 261.

Warwic, impriſoned in the Tower, iii. 327. taken out, and led in proceſſion through the ſtreets of London, 343. executed, 403.

——— created, iv. 305. attends, and commands under Somerſet the protector, in the Scots invaſion, 321. is left there commander in chief, when the protector returns to London, 327. inflames the quarrel between the protector and his brother lord Seymour, and bears the firſt rank among the protector's counſellors, 341. is ſent againſt an inſurrection in Norfolk, 357. meets with a junto at Ely-houſe, who aſſume the power of the council, and force Somerſet to reſign the protectorſhip, 362, 364. now at the head of the council, re-admits Somerſet into it, 366. is embarraſſed with difficulties in the adminiſtration, 367. remains ſteady in promoting the reformation, and actuates a proſecution againſt Gardiner, 369. is created duke of Northumberland. See *Northumberland*.

——— ſon of the former, called by this title, is taken into cuſtody, iv. 400. but his life is ſpared, 401. in queen Elizabeth's reign, makes himſelf maſter of Havre de Grace, v. 80. capitulates and withdraws his army to England, 81. which brings over the plague with it, ib. is with others added to the privy-council, when the affair of Mary queen of Scots comes before it, 146.

——— a general in the parliament's army, regards with horror the ſcheme of the independents, vii. 21. and reſigns his command, 27.

Weir, trial of, viii. 167, 168.

Wentworth, Paul, his pathetic ſpeech in the houſe of commons, v. 240.

——— Peter, his ſpeech in the houſe, breathing liberty, v. 185. his premeditated harangue in that houſe, 229, 230. queſtioned in the ſtar-chamber on that ſubject, 231. reſtored to his liberty and ſeat in the houſe, 232. queries of, touching liberty, 311, 312. is committed to the Tower for indecent ſpeeches in the houſe, 378. releaſed, and how, 379.

——— Sir Thomas, his behaviour in the houſe, vi. 180. 188. he is created earl of Strafford, 223. See *Strafford*.

Weſſex, a kingdom formed in Britain, i. 54. hiſtory of, till the crown deſcends

deſcends to Egbert, ib. to—59. lineage of that monarch, 60. in his reign, all the other kingdoms are united with this, 61.

Weſtminſter, a ſynod there, i. 383. which ſummons the king to appear before them, ib. further proceedings of, ib. a great commotion between its inhabitants, and thoſe of London, ii. 156.

Weſtphalia, treaty of, vii. 253.

Wheat, low value of, in the reign of Henry I. i. 243. value of, in the reign Henry III. ii. 229. price of, during a famine, 378. See *Vivres*.

Whig and *Tory*. See *Tory* and *Whig*.

White, Thomas, his extraordinary good fortune in taking Spaniſh prizes, v. 377.

Whitebread, trial of, viii. 108.

Whitelock's account of the conferences at Uxbridge, vi. 446. his ſpeech in the houſe of commons, previous to the new model, vii. 26.

Wibba, ſon of Crida, founds the kingdom of Mercia, i. 48. See *Mercia*.

Wickliff, John, a ſecular prieſt, begins to preach reformation doctrines, iii. 56. is ſcreened from the proſecution of the biſhop of London, by the duke of Lancaſter, 58. dies of a palſey, 59. two of his moſt eminent diſciples are burnt in Germany, 125.

Walter, the Moneyleſs, who, i. 319. he becomes a leader of the cruſades, ib.

Widred, king of Kent, hiſtory of his poſterity, i. 40.

Wild, ſerjeant, ſpeech of, in Laud's caſe, vii. 387.

Wilfred, biſhop of Landiſferne, appeals to Rome, i. 64. the effect of this appeal, ib. his merits, 66.

——— duke of Normandy, his hiſtory, i. 148. he is ſucceeded by Richard his ſon, ib. the connexion of his family with the Engliſh crown, how formed, ib.

William, natural ſon of duke Richard, becomes duke of Normandy, i. 183. hiſtory of, ib. he viſits Edward the Confeſſor, who thinks of adopting him, and declaring him his ſucceſſor, 185. his negotiations with Harold, ſon and ſucceſſor of earl Godwin, about his ſucceſſion to the Engliſh crown, 186, 187. gives his daughter in marriage to Harold, 188. his meaſures are defeated with Harold, who now openly aſpires to the ſucceſſion, which is intended by Edward, to be diſpoſed of to the Norman, 191. on Edward's death, Harold, in contradiction to his engagement with the Norman, ſteps into poſſeſſion of the Engliſh throne, 193. which is inſtantly claimed by the duke of Normandy, and refuſed to be ſurrendered by Harold, 194. his reſolution thereon, how founded, to invade England, 196, 197. the encouragement he met with in this undertaking, from his neighbours, 199. his greateſt difficulty towards this enterprize, is got over, 201. an account of the duke's mighty fleet and army, ib. 202. he encourages Toſti, Harold's elder brother, to infeſt the Engliſh coaſt, 202. his ſailors, terrified with contrary winds, deſpair of ſucceſs, 204.

204. his alacrity on landing in England, 205. the behaviour of his troops on that occaſion, 207. he gives battle to Harold, 209. routs his army, and ſlays him in battle, 210. the behaviour of his troops after the battle, 211. the conſternation of the Engliſh, occaſioned by this victory, 246. his meaſures after the battles 248. he is deſired by the Engliſh nobility, to accept the crown, 250. he accepts it, and is crowned, ib. 251. a tumult happens at his coronation, 251. he receives the ſubmiſſion of the nobility not preſent at his coronation, 252. his adminiſtration at the commencement of his reign, 254. carries with him into Normandy, the Engliſh nobility, 255. in his abſence, diſcontents ariſe among the Engliſh, 256. inſurrections follow, 258. he haſtens back to England, 259. quells the inſurrections there, 260. ſuppreſſes new inſurrections there, 267. cruelties of, 268. he introduces the feudal law into England, 270. endeavours to aboliſh the Engliſh language, 277. his exceſſive cruelties in England, 280. he ſuppreſſes a rebellion in Maine, a county in France, ib. 281. during his abſence in France, his Norman barons conſpire againſt him, 281. he receives notice of this conſpiracy from earl Waltheof's wife, 283. and from the earl, who came over to Normandy for that purpoſe, 284. he returns to England, and puniſhes the conſpirators, 285. returns to Normandy, ib. his proceedings there, and differences with the pope, 289. he reſides ſome years in Normandy, 291. his eldeſt ſon Robert rebels againſt him, 292. is reconciled to him, 294. and carried with him into England, ib. cauſes a new foreſt to be made at Wincheſter, 297. puniſhes his uterine brother, Odo, biſhop of Baieux, 297. makes war with France, 299. his death, and character, 300. and immenſe gifts, ii. 115.

William, ſirnamed Rufus, his acceſſion to the crown, i. 305. his character, 306, 307. a conſpiracy is formed againſt him, which is ſuppreſſed, 308, 309. he grows tyrannical in England, ib. invades Normandy, ib. and comes to an accommodation with his brother, Robert, duke of Normandy, 310. aſſiſts Robert to reduce their younger brother, Henry, 311. detects a conſpiracy of the barons againſt him, and puniſhes the conſpirators. 313. obtains a mortgage of Normandy, 320. his indifference about religion, 321. diſpoſes of the primacy of Canterbury, to Anſelm, abbot of Bec in Normandy, 322. preys on the eccleſiaſtical benefices, 324. quarrels with Anſelm, 325. ſuppreſſes new inſurrections in Normandy, 327. is wounded there, ib. agrees for a mortgage of Guienne and Poictou, 328. is ſlain by accident, ib. character, 329. a recapitulation of his moſt remarkable enterprizes, ib. 330.

——— only ſon of Henry I. is contracted to the daughter of Fulk, count of Anjou, i. 359. recogniſed ſucceſſor to the crown of England, 361. periſhes at ſea, 362. his ſentiments of the natives of England, ib. 363.

William of Ensford, a military tenant of Henry II. is excommunicated without the king's consent, i. 415. and by his order absolved, 416.

——— king of Scotland, joins in a confederacy with the French king, Henry II's son, against Henry II. i. 420. See *Scotland*.

——— prince of Orange, fixes his residence in the the Low-Countries, v. 220. an account of, and how engaged against the duke of Alva, ib. 221. See *Orange*.

Williams, bishop of Lincoln, his character, vi. 247. his fate in the star-chamber, 248.

Willis, Sir Richard, trusted by all the royalists, is corrupted by Cromwell, vii. 271. he discovers to the protector, the conspiracies of the royalists, 289. serves the rump-parliament in the same quality, 309.

Willoughby, Lord, sent to aid the French king, v. 371.

——— Sir Robert, is created lord Brooke, iii. 335. commands in an expedition against Brittany, 363.

Wimbledon, Viscount, his expedition against Spain, vi. 149.

Winchester, bishop of, and cardinal, legitimated son of John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, obtains from the parliament the custody of the person of Henry VI. a minor, iii. 130. his character, and disputes with the duke of Gloucester, 141. lands at Calais in France, with an army destined for a crusade, 160. which he lends to his nephew the duke of Bedford, ib. in vain mediates a reconciliation between the dukes of Bedford and Burgundy, 167. by the protector's commission, attends the congress at Arras, 168. leaves it, 169. prevails against the duke of Gloucester in council, 175. connects himself with the queen of Henry VI. 178. and with others, resolves on the duke of Gloucester's ruin, ib. survives the duke of Gloucester only six weeks, 131. his immense fortune, 223.

——— Bishop of, secretary, favourite with Henry VIII. iii. 431, introduces Wolsey to the favour of the king, 454. resigns the seals, and retires, iv. 4.

Windebank, secretary of archbishop Laud, flies beyond the seas, vi. 309.

Windham, Sir James, tried, condemned, and executed, iii. 413.

——— Mr. his behaviour to Charles II. after the battle of Worcester, vii. 206.

Wine-licences, a monopoly of them, granted by queen Elizabeth, v. 434. renewed by James I. 564.

Windsor Palace, when, and by whom built, ii. 506.

Wishart, a noted Scots reformer, history of, iv. 316. his execution, and prophecy concerning cardinal Beaton, 318. how fulfilled, 319.

Wittenagemot, a Saxon court, i. 205. its constituent members and power, 217—220.

Witchcraft and *Enchantments*, a statute against them, v. 78.

Wolfhere, king of Mercia, his hiſtory, i. 49. his tranſactions with the king of Northumberland, and death, ib.
Woolley, his influencing ſpeech in parliament, v. 358.
Wolſey, a favourite of Henry VII. a hiſtory of him, iii. 453. is recommended to the favour of Henry VIII. by the biſhop of Wincheſter, 454. character of, 456. he gains the king's confidence, ib. is made archbiſhop of York, and permitted to unite with that ſee the ſee of Durham, iv. 2. his pride and avarice, ib. 3. he obtains the ſeals, 3. enjoys, without a rival, the king's favour, 4. is diſguſted at the French king, 11. effectually courted by him, 15. obtains for that monarch reſtitution of Tournay, 16. is appointed legate of Rome, 17. and erects his legatine court, 18. appoints a perſon of a ſcandalous life to be judge of that court, ib. grows more cautious in his behaviour, by reaſon of complaints brought againſt him to the king, 20. adviſes the king to agree to an interview with the French king, 23. is courted by the emperor in perſon, 24. who flatters him with the hope of the papal dignity, ib. he regulates the ceremonial obſerved at the meeting of the Engliſh and French kings, ib. attends the king in a viſit to the emperor, 27. where he is again flattered with the promiſe of the emperor's intereſt in his favour, in caſe of a vacancy in the papal chair, ib. mediates effectually between the emperor and the French king, iv. 29. his uncontroulable power in England, 29. he cauſes the duke of Buckingham to be forfeited, ib. is diſappointed of the papal chair, 43. is again flattered by the emperor with the hope of that dignity, ib. his ſpeech in the houſe of commons, 50. is again diſappointed of the papacy, 52. influences the king to conclude a treaty with France againſt the emperor, 59. inflames the king againſt the emperor, 65. and adviſes him to conclude a new treaty with France againſt the emperor, 66. receives a large preſent from the regent of France, 67. becomes generally odious, 68. and is reproved by the king, 70. a large revenue is ſtipulated for him out of Naples, if conquered, 77. he fortifies the king's ſcruples about his marriage, 86. is appointed, in conjunction with the archbiſhop of Canterbury, a commiſſioner to examine the validity of the king's marriage, 89. by a new commiſſion, Campeggio is joined with him in that affair, 93. the king and queen preſent themſelves before Wolſey and Campeggio, ſitting in judgment, 95. proceedure in that cauſe, till it is evoked to Rome, 96—98. Wolſey foreſees the writ of evocation to be the fore-runner of his ruin, 99. his deſtruction is reſolved on by the king, and the great ſeal is taken from him, 100. his plate and furniture are ſeized, 101. a long charge is voted againſt him by the houſe of peers, 102. he is pardoned, and his plate and furniture are reſtored, 104. he is arreſted, in order to take his trial, 114. his dying advice to the conſtable of the Tower, ib. 115. his death, 115.

William of Ensford, a military tenant of Henry II. is excommunicated without the king's consent, i. 415. and by his order absolved, 416.

——— king of Scotland, joins in a confederacy with the French king, Henry II's son, against Henry II. i. 420. See *Scotland*.

——— prince of Orange, fixes his residence in the the Low-Countries, v. 220. an account of, and how engaged against the duke of Alva, ib. 221. See *Orange*.

Williams, bishop of Lincoln, his character, vi. 247. his fate in the star-chamber, 248.

Willis, Sir Richard, trusted by all the royalists, is corrupted by Cromwell, vii. 271. he discovers to the protector, the conspiracies of the royalists, 289. serves the rump-parliament in the same quality, 309.

Willoughby, Lord, sent to aid the French king, v. 371.

——— Sir Robert, is created lord Brooke, iii. 335. commands in an expedition against Brittany, 363.

Wimbledon, Viscount, his expedition against Spain, vi. 149.

Winchester, bishop of, and cardinal, legitimated son of John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, obtains from the parliament the custody of the person of Henry VI. a minor, iii. 130. his character, and disputes with the duke of Gloucester, 141. lands at Calais in France, with an army destined for a crusade, 160. which he lends to his nephew the duke of Bedford, ib. in vain mediates a reconciliation between the dukes of Bedford and Burgundy, 167. by the protector's commission, attends the congress at Arras, 168. leaves it, 169. prevails against the duke of Gloucester in council, 175. connects himself with the queen of Henry VI. 178. and with others, resolves on the duke of Gloucester's ruin, ib. survives the duke of Gloucester only six weeks, 131. his immense fortune, 223.

——— Bishop of, secretary, favourite with Henry VIII. iii. 431, introduces Wolsey to the favour of the king, 454. resigns the seals, and retires, iv. 4.

Windebank, secretary of archbishop Laud, flies beyond the seas, vi. 309.

Windham, Sir James, tried, condemned, and executed, iii. 413.

——— Mr. his behaviour to Charles II. after the battle of Worcester, vii. 206.

Wine-licences, a monopoly of them, granted by queen Elizabeth, v. 434. renewed by James I. 564.

Windsor Palace, when, and by whom built, ii. 506.

Wishart, a noted Scots reformer, history of, iv. 316. his execution, and prophecy concerning cardinal Beaton, 318. how fulfilled, 319.

Witteragemot, a Saxon court, i. 205. its constituent members and power, 217—220.

Witchcraft and *Enchantments*, a statute against them, v. 78.

Wolfhere, king of Mercia, his hiſtory, i. 49. his tranſactions with the king of Northumberland, and death, ib.
Woolley, his influencing ſpeech in parliament, v. 358.
Wolſey, a favourite of Henry VII. a hiſtory of him, iii. 453. is recommended to the favour of Henry VIII. by the biſhop of Wincheſter, 454. character of, 456. he gains the king's confidence, ib. is made archbiſhop of York, and permitted to unite with that ſee the ſee of Durham, iv. 2. his pride and avarice, ib. 3. he obtains the ſeals, 3. enjoys, without a rival, the king's favour, 4. is diſguſted at the French king, 11. effectually courted by him, 15. obtains for that monarch reſtitution of Tournay, 16. is appointed legate of Rome, 17. and erects his legatine court, 18. appoints a perſon of a ſcandalous life to be judge of that court, ib. grows more cautious in his behaviour, by reaſon of complaints brought againſt him to the king, 20. adviſes the king to agree to an interview with the French king, 23. is courted by the emperor in perſon, 24. who flatters him with the hope of the papal dignity, ib. he regulates the ceremonial obſerved at the meeting of the Engliſh and French kings, ib. attends the king in a viſit to the emperor, 27. where he is again flattered with the promiſe of the emperor's intereſt in his favour, in caſe of a vacancy in the papal chair, ib. mediates effectually between the emperor and the French king, iv. 29. his uncontroulable power in England, 29. he cauſes the duke of Buckingham to be forfeited, ib. is diſappointed of the papal chair, 43. is again flattered by the emperor with the hope of that dignity, ib. his ſpeech in the houſe of commons, 50. is again diſappointed of the papacy, 52. influences the king to conclude a treaty with France againſt the emperor, 59. inflames the king againſt the emperor, 65. and adviſes him to conclude a new treaty with France againſt the emperor, 66. receives a large preſent from the regent of France, 67. becomes generally odious, 68. and is reproved by the king, 70. a large revenue is ſtipulated for him out of Naples, if conquered, 77. he fortifies the king's ſcruples about his marriage, 86. is appointed, in conjunction with the archbiſhop of Canterbury, a commiſſioner to examine the validity of the king's marriage, 89. by a new commiſſion, Campeggio is joined with him in that affair, 93. the king and queen preſent themſelves before Wolſey and Campeggio, ſitting in judgment, 95. proceedure in that cauſe, till it is evoked to Rome, 96—98. Wolſey foreſees the writ of evocation to be the fore-runner of his ruin, 99. his deſtruction is reſolved on by the king, and the great ſeal is taken from him, 100. his plate and furniture are ſeized, 101. a long charge is voted againſt him by the houſe of peers, 102. he is pardoned, and his plate and furniture are reſtored, 104. he is arreſted, in order to take his trial, 114. his dying advice to the conſtable of the Tower, ib. 115. his death, 115.

Wool, a duty granted on exportation of, ii. 414. price of, in the reign of Edward III. 513. ſtaple of fixed, ib. an aid in wool, granted to the king, iii. 36. duties on exportation, granted to the king for life, 109.

Worceſter, battle of, vii. 203.

——— Earl of, created, iii. 467.

——— Marquis of, the laſt of the party of king Charles I. in England, that ſubmitted to the parliament, vii. 77.

Worſhip, public, a law regulating it, iv. 316. and againſt abſenters from it, 361.

Wotton, Doctor, Engliſh ambaſſador at Paris, concludes a peace with France, v. 18. in Scotland, concludes a treaty with the French, whereby they evacuate Scotland, 37. character, and hiſtory of, 282, 283. is ſent again into Scotland, and why, 283. returns haſtily, without taking leave of the Scots king, ib.

Wounds, prices of, fixed, i. 236.

Wriothesley, made chancellor of England, iv. 278. his extraordinary cruelty to a young lady, ſuffering for her religion, ib. 279. his character, 303. he oppoſes the election of a protector, ib. is created earl of Southampton, 305. See *Southampton*.

Wyat, Sir Thomas, a curious letter ſent to him, concerning the diſpute between Henry VIII. and Lambert, iv. 209, 210. he raiſes an inſurrection againſt queen Mary of England, 417. which is ſuppreſſed, and he condemned and executed, 418.

Wycherley, character of, viii. 325.

Y.

YELVERTON, a member of the houſe of commons, enforces, in a ſtudied harangue, the principles of liberty, v. 181, 182.

York City, ſtate of at the conqueſt, i. 225. primate of, crowns the Conqueror, 251. ſee of, declared ſubject to that of Canterbury, 275. county of, provides a guard for king Charles I. vi. 424.

——— Duke of, uncle of Richard II. his character, iii. 2. differs with his brother the duke of Lancaſter, 27. in the abſence of Richard II. he is left guardian of the realm, 42. joins his nephew's party, ib.

——— another, is appointed to ſucceed the duke of Bedford in his command in France, iii. 171. an account of his adminiſtration there, 173. reſigns the command to the earl of Warwic, 174. and on his death reſumes it, ib. an account of his partizans, 189. he is abſent in Ireland, during Cade's inſurrection, 195. on his return, ſees the neceſſity of ſetting up his pretenſion to the crown, 198. the topics of his partizans, 200, 201. the ſucceſs of his firſt armament, 204, 205. he is made by the parliament protector of the kingdom, 206. he takes the king priſoner at St. Albans, 208. is diveſted of his authority by the houſe of peers, 209. demands the judgment of the houſe of peers, on the validity of his claim to the crown, 213, 214

214. marches againſt the queen in the North, 216. is defeated, and ſlain in battle, 217.

York, ſon of the former, defeats a party of the queen's troops, headed by the earl of Pembroke, iii. 218. collects the remains of Warwic's army, and advances to London, 219. there aſſumes the name of king, and is promoted to the royal dignity, by a popular election, 220. See *Edward* IV.

—— ſon of Charles I. goes to York with his father, vi. 419. viſits him at Reading, vii. 99. makes his eſcape over ſea, 146. enters into the Spaniſh ſervice, 286. returns with the king, 337. aſſumes the command of the fleet as lord high-admiral, 338. beats the Dutch fleet, commanded by Opdam and Tromp, 412. upon the ducheſs's death, declares himſelf a roman catholic, 483. beats the Dutch fleet at Solebay, 496. is ſet aſide from being admiral, by the indulgence being revoked, 517. married to a princeſs of the houſe of Modena, 522. a bill is brought into the houſe of commons, to exclude him from the ſucceſſion, viii. 103. preſented by the earl of Shafteſbury to the grand jury of Middleſex, as a popiſh recuſant convict, 125. the excluſion bill is renewed in the houſe of commons, 129, 130. paſt in that houſe, 135. rejected in the houſe of peers, 136. he is appointed a commiſſioner to a Scots parliament, 163. his adminiſtration in Scotland, 167. he is reſtored to the office of lord high-admiral, without taking the teſt, 200. ſucceeds to his brother in the throne, 208. levies the cuſtoms and exciſe, granted his brother during life only, 209. calls a parliament, 213. his ſpeech in parliament, ib. 214. he obtains for his life the revenues ſettled on his brother, 217. and further ſupplies, ib. ſuppreſſes Monmouth's inſurrection, 222. cauſes him to be beheaded, 223. ſuffers great inhumanities to be committed, 224, 225. becomes odious to the nation, 229. re-aſſembles his parliament, 231. declares his intention to purſue arbitrary meaſures, 232. anſwers an addreſs of his houſe of commons in a ſurly manner, ib. 233. orders a feigned action to be brought againſt Sir Edward Hales, in order to try the diſpenſing power of the crown, 236, 237. brings four popiſh lords into the privy-council, 242. lodges the ſupreme authority in Ireland, in the hands of a papiſt, 243. introduces a Jeſuit into his privy-council, 244. commands the biſhop of London to ſuſpend doctor Sharp, for preaching againſt popery, 246. iſſues a commiſſion, for a high commiſſion court, ib. 247. cauſes a ſuſpenſion to be pronounced in that court, againſt the biſhop of London and Dr. Sharp, 248. puts papiſts in poſſeſſion of the ſovereign power in Ireland, 252. ſends an ambaſſador to Rome, and receives a nuncio from thence, 253. by a proclamations ſuſpend all the penal laws, 254. by mandate, recommends a friar to the degree of maſter of arts in Magdalen-college, 257. expels the preſident of that college, and all the fellows but two, for diſobedience, 258. publiſhes a ſecond proclamation, ſuſpending

Wool, a duty granted on exportation of, ii. 414. price of, in the reign of Edward III. 513. ſtaple of fixed, ib. an aid in wool, granted to the king, iii. 36. duties on exportation, granted to the king for life, 109.

Worceſter, battle of, vii. 203.

——— Earl of, created, iii. 467.

——— Marquis of, the laſt of the party of king Charles I. in England, that ſubmitted to the parliament, vii. 77.

Worſhip, public, a law regulating it, iv. 316. and againſt abſenters from it, 361.

Wotton, Doctor, Engliſh ambaſſador at Paris, concludes a peace with France, v. 18. in Scotland, concludes a treaty with the French, whereby they evacuate Scotland, 37. character, and hiſtory of, 282, 283. is ſent again into Scotland, and why, 283. returns haſtily, without taking leave of the Scots king, ib.

Wounds, prices of, fixed, i. 236.

Wriotheſley, made chancellor of England, iv. 278. his extraordinary cruelty to a young lady, ſuffering for her religion, ib. 279. his character, 303. he oppoſes the election of a protector, ib. is created earl of Southampton, 305. See *Southampton*.

Wyat, Sir Thomas, a curious letter ſent to him, concerning the diſpute between Henry VIII. and Lambert, iv. 209, 210. he raiſes an inſurrection againſt queen Mary of England, 417. which is ſuppreſſed, and he condemned and executed, 418.

Wycherley, character of, viii. 325.

Y.

YELVERTON, a member of the houſe of commons, enforces, in a ſtudied harangue, the principles of liberty, v. 181, 182.

York City, ſtate of at the conqueſt, i. 225. primate of, crowns the Conqueror, 251. ſee of, declared ſubject to that of Canterbury, 275. county of, provides a guard for king Charles I. vi. 424.

——— Duke of, uncle of Richard II. his character, iii. 2. differs with his brother the duke of Lancaſter, 27. in the abſence of Richard II. he is left guardian of the realm, 42. joins his nephew's party, ib.

——— another, is appointed to ſucceed the duke of Bedford in his command in France, iii. 171. an account of his adminiſtration there, 173. reſigns the command to the earl of Warwic, 174. and on his death reſumes it, ib. an account of his partizans, 189. he is abſent in Ireland, during Cade's inſurrection, 195. on his return, ſees the neceſſity of ſetting up his pretenſion to the crown, 198. the topics of his partizans, 200, 201. the ſucceſs of his firſt armament, 204, 205. he is made by the parliament protector of the kingdom, 206. he takes the king priſoner at St. Albans, 208. is diveſted of his authority by the houſe of peers, 209. demands the judgment of the houſe of peers, on the validity of his claim to the crown, 213, 214

214. marches againſt the queen in the North, 216. is defeated, and ſlain in battle, 217.

York, ſon of the former, defeats a party of the queen's troops, headed by the earl of Pembroke, iii. 218. collects the remains of Warwic's army, and advances to London, 219. there aſſumes the name of king, and is promoted to the royal dignity, by a popular election, 220. See *Edward* IV.

—— ſon of Charles I. goes to York with his father, vi. 419. viſits him at Reading, vii. 99. makes his eſcape over ſea, 146. enters into the Spaniſh ſervice, 286. returns with the king, 337. aſſumes the command of the fleet as lord high-admiral, 338. beats the Dutch fleet, commanded by Opdam and Tromp, 412. upon the ducheſs's death, declares himſelf a roman catholic, 483. beats the Dutch fleet at Solebay, 496. is ſet aſide from being admiral, by the indulgence being revoked, 517. married to a princeſs of the houſe of Modena, 522. a bill is brought into the houſe of commons, to exclude him from the ſucceſſion, viii. 103. preſented by the earl of Shafteſbury to the grand jury of Middleſex, as a popiſh recuſant convict, 125. the excluſion bill is renewed in the houſe of commons, 129, 130. paſt in that houſe, 135. rejected in the houſe of peers, 136. he is appointed a commiſſioner to a Scots parliament, 163. his adminiſtration in Scotland, 167. he is reſtored to the office of lord high-admiral, without taking the teſt, 200. ſucceeds to his brother in the throne, 208. levies the cuſtoms and exciſe, granted his brother during life only, 209. calls a parliament, 213. his ſpeech in parliament, ib. 214. he obtains for his life the revenues ſettled on his brother, 217. and further ſupplies, ib. ſuppreſſes Monmouth's inſurrection, 222. cauſes him to be beheaded, 223. ſuffers great inhumanities to be committed, 224, 225. becomes odious to the nation, 229. re-aſſembles his parliament, 231. declares his intention to purſue arbitrary meaſures, 232. anſwers an addreſs of his houſe of commons in a ſurly manner, ib. 233. orders a feigned action to be brought againſt Sir Edward Hales, in order to try the diſpenſing power of the crown, 236, 237. brings four popiſh lords into the privy-council, 242. lodges the ſupreme authority in Ireland, in the hands of a papiſt, 243. introduces a Jeſuit into his privy-council, 244. commands the biſhop of London to ſuſpend doctor Sharp, for preaching againſt popery, 246. iſſues a commiſſion, for a high commiſſion court, ib. 247. cauſes a ſuſpenſion to be pronounced in that court, againſt the biſhop of London and Dr. Sharp, 248. puts papiſts in poſſeſſion of the ſovereign power in Ireland, 252. ſends an ambaſſador to Rome, and receives a nuncio from thence, 253. by a proclamations ſuſpend all the penal laws, 254. by mandate, recommends a friar to the degree of maſter of arts in Magdalen-college, 257. expels the preſident of that college, and all the fellows but two, for diſobedience, 258. publiſhes a ſecond proclamation, ſuſpending

ſuſpending all the penal laws, and orders it to be read in all the churches, 259. cauſes ſix biſhops to be impriſoned for non-compliance, 261. orders all the reſt of the clergy to be proſecuted, 264. his queen is brought to bed of a ſon, ſoon afterwards, named James, 265. he rejects the offers of France, to aſſiſt him againſt his ſubjects and the prince of Orange, 278. finds by an experiment, that his army diſapproves of his meaſures, 280. he retracts all his meaſures, 281. his army deſerts to the prince of Orange, 285. he is deſerted by the princeſs Anne, and prince George, 287. ſends off the queen, and the infant prince, to France, 291. withdraws from St. James's, in the night time, ib. is ſeized at Feverſham, 294. returns to White-hall, ib. ſets ſail for France, 295. character of, 296, 297.

York, New, or New York, taken by the Engliſh, vii. 409. yielded to them by treaty, 432.

Z.

ZULESTEIN, commiſſion of, in England, viii. 274. his commiſſion from the Engliſh to the prince of Orange, ib. the meſſage he carried from the prince of Orange to king James II. 294.

FINIS.

20 JY 63